AN APPROACH TO CONTEMPORARY QUESTIONS
IN THE LIGHT OF ANTHROPOSOPHY

The Golden Blade

THE CENTENARY YEAR	*A. C. Harwood*
ANTHROPOSOPHY AMONG THE SCIENCES	*Rudolf Steiner*
ANTHROPOSOPHY AND THE VISUAL ARTS Two Lectures (hitherto untranslated) given at The Hague, April 8–9, 1922	*Rudolf Steiner*
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Edited by Arnold Freeman and Charles Waterman

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PUBLISHED ANNUALLY PRICE EIGHT AND SIX

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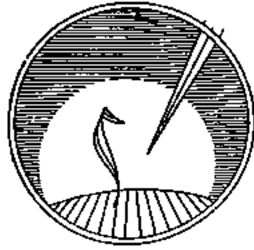
Price 8/6 (9/3 post free) from the Rudolf Steiner Bookshop, 35, Park Road, London, N.W.1, or the Rudolf Steiner Book Centre, 54, Bloomsbury Street, London, W.C.1.

Printed in Great Britain.



Anthroposophy, a way of thought rather than a body of dogma, springs from the work and teaching of Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925). He spoke of it as "a path of knowledge, to guide the spiritual in the human being to the spiritual in the universe".

The aim of this Annual is to publish writings which bring the outlook of Anthroposophy to bear on questions and activities relevant to the present time.

The title derives from a reference by Rudolf Steiner to an old Persian legend. "Djemjdid was a king who led his people from the north towards Iran, and who received from the God, whom he called Ahura Mazdao, a golden dagger, by means of which he was to fulfil his mission on earth . . . . It represents a force given to man whereby he can act upon and transform external nature".

The Centenary of Rudolf Steiner's Birth

A. C. Harwood

FOR some reason the world has come to love centenaries. No doubt they are profitable affairs to newspapers and journalists who make the most of them. But they could hardly do so unless there existed a general feeling that a hundred years makes a good time for taking stock, and perhaps especially the first hundred years. An event is then sufficiently far away to see its relations: a person has shed the unessential and reveals his true nature. "A poet," said Lord Melbourne, "should be dead: then you can get his works and be done with him." If he has been dead a hundred years, you can be done with him all the better.

Rudolf Steiner has not been dead a hundred years, and it was part of his own teaching that the centenary of a birth has not the same spiritual signifiance as the centenary of a death. But the centenary of his birth (February 27, 1961) will provide (it is hoped) an opportunity for bringing his work to the attention of a wider public; and, just because they will attempt to do this, his followers are bound to appraise the situation of Steiner's work and teaching in the world to-day in a fresh light.

In writing of his childhood, Steiner describes himself as brought up among the advanced technical inventions of the age—the country station with a few trains a day and the electric telegraph in the stationmaster's office. We can hardly help contrasting this environment with that of the typical modern child, warmed by an electric fire as he sits in front of the television, with a stream of cars racing past his door, and jet planes and satellites overhead. And all this the result of a direction of thought which Steiner saw to be one-sided and dangerous, and which he set out to redress.

It was not that he objected to the type of thinking. On the contrary, he welcomed its clarity and precision and many of the new conceptions with which it was endeavouring to unriddle the secrets of the world. Foremost among these was the idea of evolution, which, though not invented by the nineteenth century, certainly then attained a stature and significance unknown before. Steiner from the first maintained that for those who could grasp the life of the individual as spiritual form, it called for antecedent forms no less than for a developed physical organism. The idea of evolution as applied to the individual leads therefore inevitably to the idea of reincarnation, which alone can provide the necessary antecedent forms. But, alas, his contemporaries could not grasp the idea of spiritual forms: they were too immersed in seeing life in terms of material forces. And although the definition of material forces has undergone an immense change, the orthodox scientists

still seek a unified 'material' explanation of all phenomena.

To celebrate the 'centenary' of the famous encounter of Huxley and Bishop Wilberforce, the *Observer* recently staged another duel between Julian Huxley and Canon Mascall, in which Huxley dignifies the experience of consciousness with the name of *psychic-metabolism*. The original controversy supplies a pretty example of how two apparently complete opponents may be united at a deeper level of which they are unconscious. For, in the course of the argument, Huxley said to Wilberforce: "You know that you yourself were originally a little piece of matter no bigger than the end of this gold pencil case." Wilberforce did not deny his origin as a little piece of matter, or assert that his spiritual self descended from spiritual worlds.[1]

*

The incident is typical of the climate of thought with which Steiner had to contend. It was natural that as he developed his powers of spiritual perception and saw more and more clearly the spiritual origin of things, the gulf between his 'spiritual science' and 'natural science' seemed to grow wider and wider. Sometimes he went out of his way to build what he had to say on to recognised external facts or to develop his argument logically. At other times the revelations which he was impelled to give came flooding in such a torrent that they were left to rely on their own ring of truth, which can indeed be more potent and convincing than the closest chain of reasoning.

He certainly expected his followers to find a way of presenting these revelations so that they would be acceptable to the 'healthy human reason' of the ordinary unprejudiced mind. A supreme example of this is to be found in the last presentation of Anthroposophy which he gave to members of the Anthroposophical Society in 1924.[2] At the beginning of this series of lectures, he says he cannot speak as though Anthroposophy had not been developing for twenty years. An absolute beginning cannot be made again and again. He then sketches a new (and difficult) approach to the subject.

The first lecture contends (*inter alia*) that in the presence of death every man *unconsciously* feels that nature which *creates* all other forms can only *destroy* the human form, so that the question inevitably forms itself: whence comes the human form? The second lecture is concerned mainly with two gateways to the spiritual world, the gate of the moon and the gate of the sun. The

[1] Similarly, in the *Observer* controversy, Canon Mascall accepts the 'orthodox' natural science view that man derives from an ape-like stock—a view which requires considerable modification to make it compatible with the Christian teaching of the Fall and the Redemption.

[2] Formerly published under the title *Anthroposophy, an Introduction*, now being republished as *Anthroposophy, an Approach.*

former is to be found under the sign of necessity. All that brings a man to certain necessary experiences, such as the meeting with someone of importance to his life, proceeds from the moon. All that belongs to freedom, where he chooses what he will make of the experience, comes from the sun. Such ideas cannot be spoken of except through deep experiences of their reality in the speaker's life. The conscious experience of the anthroposophist is to address itself to the unconscious experience of his hearers. But it is only the deep which calls to the deep. Reader or listener demand the ring of experience in the words of writer or speaker.

The presentation and interpretation of Anthroposophy will therefore inevitably depend more and more on the individual. It is significant that there is now a small but growing collection of books issued by publishers of repute which draw their inspiration from Steiner's work, but are essentially the expression of the author's own character, research and outlook.[1] But there is, and for a very long time will be, the need for a direct exposition of Steiner's work and views. In one way this is easier than it was during his own lifetime. For as far as the inner life of man is concerned, there has been—as Steiner prophesied there would be—a new awareness of spiritual things, so that it is far easier than in Steiner's own lifetime to speak of such matters as reincarnation and karma, of the mystical life, and of the Mysteries. But in the sphere of nature materialism has become deeply entrenched. It is even a popular theory to-day that natural science has served the cause of religion by removing God from the natural world—where He is not and never was—so that He can be seen in His rightful place, namely in personal relations—which includes the relation of man to God as well as that of man to man.

There is, of course, some truth in this contention. There is an aspect of nature which has been handed over to impersonal forces—in order to provide a field for the development of human freedom. But it is difficult to break through the new scientific orthodoxy with the view that world and man have a spiritual origin or to give a hierarchical structure to the universe which first the Protestants and then the scientists have emptied of divine beings.

*

There is, however, one primary difficulty in the presentation of Steiner's work to the public which the Centenary would seem especially to mark out for a concentrated attack. Steiner's knowledge was gained through Initiation, and the modern mind knows nothing of the Initiate. Anyone who hears of the immense variety of subjects which Steiner handled, and of the fields in which he

[1] E.g., Owen Barfield, *Saving the Appearances*; Russell Davenport, *The Dignity of Man*: Karl König, *Das Mongolismus*; F. Winkler, *Man, the Bridge between Two Worlds.*

worked, instinctively feels that there is something preposterous in the claims his followers make for him. The day of the universal genius has long passed; it is only by intense specialisation that knowledge advances to-day. How can one man speak with authority on philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, history, religion, mineralogy, botany, zoology, etc., as well as putting his finger in the pie of education, agriculture, architecture, drama, medicine; and the Lord knows what else? The claim is ridiculous—without the idea of initiation. It is therefore of primary importance to establish the fact that man has latent in him possibilities of perception and conception other than those on which the modern view of the world is built.

These possibilities have not, of course, existed only *in posse* in the past. In different forms and degrees they were realised in the Mysteries, and in the persons of the Initiates who were the leaders of ancient civilisations. It is therefore proper and necessary to speak of Rudolf Steiner as bringing about a renaissance of Mystery Wisdom. But this Renaissance has so new a character that it is truer to emphasise in Steiner the character of the Forerunner. It is only in his capacity as the Forerunner of a new consciousness, able to survey human and cosmic affairs from a new altitude, that the immense scope of his work can be justified. To place him at the point where the renaissance of ancient powers of cognition becomes the birth of new is to see him in the true historical perspective—which is the proper task of a Centenary.

There is a growing awareness to-day — it owes not a little to Julian Huxley—that natural evolution has come to an end on the earth, and that the only being who can evolve further—through his own efforts—is man himself. It is the task of his followers to point to Rudolf Steiner as the man who has made that step in evolution—the great forerunner who has opened the new path for mankind.

The Position of Anthroposophy among the Sciences

Rudolf Steiner

*A Lecture, hitherto untranslated, given at the Hague (as part of a course for university graduates) on April 8, 1922 **

AS Anthroposophy spreads to fields where men usually seek their religious and, maybe, their moral impulses also, it encounters many persons who feel drawn towards such a spiritual stream. The modern spirit, which yesterday I allowed myself to call "the scientific spirit", has, in many respects, shaken old, traditional beliefs, and although many people approach the anthroposophical line of research somewhat sceptically, there are, nevertheless, very many to-day whose souls have at least an inclination towards it. But it is correct to say that, in one respect, Anthroposophy encounters difficulties when it would enter the fields of the various sciences. That is the particular aim of this course, and it will be my task to present here, in the main, the general, more comprehensive principles and results of our research, while the other lecturers will deal with special scientific fields.

But precisely such an arrangement must arouse all the antipathies—I use this word more in a theoretical than in a moral sense—which Anthroposophy encounters from scientific quarters. I can only assure you that one who is engaged in anthroposophical research fully understands how difficult it is for a man involved in scientific work to-day to pass from the scientific attitude into Anthroposophy. Although Anthroposophy has certainly much to correct in present-day science, and, at the same time, when organic and spiritual fields are included, very much to add to the present material for research, it does not of itself come into conflict with current science. It accepts the justified results of science and deals with them in the way I have just described. The reverse, however, does not occur; at least, not yet—as one may well understand. Anthroposophy is rejected; its results are not regarded as satisfying the strictly scientific criteria that one feels entitled to impose to-day.

In a short lecture I shall not, of course, be able to go into all that Anthroposophy can itself bring forward to serve as an effective foundation for its results. But I should like in to-day's lecture to attempt to characterise the position of Anthroposophy among the sciences, and to do this in a way that will enable you to understand

* From a shorthand report unrevised by the lecturer. Published by permission of the Rudolf Steiner-Nachlassverwaltung, Dornach, Switzerland.

that Anthroposophy, in laying its foundations, is as conscientious as any science with its own precise technique. For this, however, I shall have to inflict upon you somewhat remote discussions—things which in ordinary life may be called difficult but which are necessary in order to provide a certain basis for what I shall have to offer in an easier and, perhaps, more agreeable form in the next few days.

*

Many people to-day imagine that Anthroposophy starts somehow from the nebulous attitude of soul to be found in present-day movements that are really "mystical" or "occult". But to ascribe to Anthroposophy such a very questionable foundation is a complete mistake. Only one who knows Anthroposophy only superficially, or, indeed, through its opponents, can do that.

The fundamental attitude of consciousness in Anthroposophy has been drawn from that branch of present-day science which is least of all attacked in respect to its scientific character and importance. I admit, however, that many of our adherents—and opponents too—fail to perceive correctly what I have now to characterise by way of introduction.

The position of mathematics among the sciences has already been mentioned. Kant's pronouncement, that in every science there is only as much real knowledge—real cognition—as there is mathematics, is widely known. Now I have not to deal here with mathematics itself, with its value for the other sciences and in human life, but rather with the mental attitude a man assumes when "mathematicising"—if I may use this word; that is, when actively engaged in mathematical thinking. His attitude of soul is then, indeed, quite distinctive. Perhaps we may best characterise it by speaking, first, of that branch of mathematics which is usually called geometry and, at least in those parts of it known to the majority of people, has to do with space, is the science of space.

We are accustomed to speak of three-dimensional space; we picture it so constituted that its three dimensions, as they are called, stand at right angles to one another. What we have before our mind's eye as space is, in the first place, quite independent of man and the rest of the world. And because man as an individual being orientates himself in accordance with spatial laws, he pictures space before his eyes, independent of himself. He can certainly say that he is at this or that distance from any selected point; thus he inserts himself into space, as a part of space. And by regarding himself as an earthly being and assigning to himself certain distances from this and that star, he inserts himself into cosmic space. In a word, man regards space as something objective, independent of his own being. It was this that led Kant to call space an *a priori* intuition (*eine Anschauung a priori*), a mode of intuition given to man prior to experience. He cannot ask how he comes to have space; he must

simply accept it as something given; he must fit himself into it when he has attained full earthly consciousness.

But it is not so in reality. We human beings do actually build space out of our own being. More correctly: we build our idea (*Vorstellung*), our mental perception (*Anschauung*), of space from out of ourselves. Only, we do not do this consciously, because we do it at a time of life when we do not think about our own activities in the way that would be necessary if we were to come to a clear understanding of the nature of space in relation to our own being. Indeed, we should not have our intuition of space (*Raumanschauung*) if, in our earthly life, we did not first experience its three dimensions.

We do experience them. We experience one of them when, from out of our inability to walk upright from birth, we raise ourselves into the vertical position. We learn this dimension from the way in which we build it. And what we learn to know is not just any dimension, set at right angles to the other two. We learn to know this quite definite dimension of space—standing vertically, so to speak, upon the earth's surface—from the fact that we human beings are not born upright, but, in accord with the formative laws of our earthly life, must first raise ourselves into the vertical position.

We learn to know the second dimension of space in an equally unconscious manner. You will be well aware that man—to mention what pertains more to his inner than to his outer being—in developing the capacities which serve him in later life, learns to orientate himself from left to right, from right to left. One need only recall that we have our organised speech centre in a certain area of the brain, the so-called Broca convolutions, while the other side of the brain has no such organisation. One also knows to-day—and from accepted science—that the development of the speech centre on the left side of the human body is connected with the mobility, spontaneous at first, of the right hand. One knows, too, that an orientation from right to left develops, that this activity excited on the left by an activity on the right, or vice-versa, is experienced by us within the laws that form us—just as we experience our achievement of the upright position. It is in this co-ordinated orientation of right with left, or left with right, that we human beings experience the second dimension of space.

The third dimension of space is never really experienced by us completely. We first focus this so-called "depth-dimension" as we try to gauge it. We are constantly doing this, though deep down in the unconscious. When we make the lines of vision of our eyes intersect at a point and focus both eyes on this point, we expand space, which would otherwise have only two dimensions for us, into the third dimension. And with every estimate of spatial depth we build the third dimension unconsciously out of our own being and the laws that form us.

Thus one might say: we place, in a certain way, the three dimensions of space outside us. And what we conceive as space,

the space we use in geometry—Euclidean geometry, at first—is nothing more than an abstraction from what we learn to know concretely, with our own organism, as the three dimensions linked to our own subjective being. In this abstraction the quite definite configuration of space is ignored; the definite directions—vertical, horizontal and depth—have equal value. (This is always done when we make abstractions.) And then, when we have constructed, by abstracting from the three-dimensional space experienced within, the external space we speak of in geometry, we extend our consciousness through this external space alone.

We now come to the important thing. What we have won from out of ourselves is now applicable to external nature; in the first place, to inorganic, lifeless forms, though it can also be applied to the spatial and kinetic relations between organic structures. Briefly, this fact largely determines the character of our external world. Having accomplished this transition (this metamorphosis of space) from one domain, which really lives in us, to space commonly so called, we now stand with our spatial concepts and spatial experiences within the outer world and are able to determine our position and motion by spatial measurements. We actually go out of ourselves when we construct space in this way. We lift out of our body what we have first experienced within ourselves, placing ourselves at a point of view from which we look back upon ourselves as filled with space. In thus objectifying space we are able to study the external movements and relative positions of objects with the help of ideas formed geometrically within space; we feel thereby that we are on firm scientific ground when we enter into objects with what we have formed so earnestly from out of ourselves. In these circumstances we cannot doubt that we can live within things with what has come from us in this way. When we judge the distance, or the changing distance, between two bodies in the outer world according to spatial relations, we believe we are determining something completely objective and independent of ourselves. It does not occur to us that this could be otherwise.

Now, however, a fundamental and important problem confronts us here. What we have experienced subjectively in ourselves, transforming it, in the case of space, simply by making from it a kind of abstraction, now becomes something permeating—to a certain extent—the outer world and appearing to belong there.

Anyone who considers impartially what confronts us here must say: In his subjective experience of space in its three dimensions and in his subsequent objectifying of this experience, man stands within the external world with his own experiences. Our subjective experiences, being experiences of space, are at the same time objective. After all, it is not at all difficult, but trivial and elementary, to see that this is so. For when we move ourselves through space, we accomplish something subjective, but at the same time an objective event occurs in the world. To put it another way, whether

we see an automaton or a man move forwards, subjectivity does not come into consideration. What occurs when a human being lives spatially is, for the external disposition of the world, quite objective.

If we now focus attention on the human being as, in this way, he objectifies something of his subjective experience, moving himself in an objective domain by himself traversing space — for, in objectifying space, he really bears this space within himself also—we are led to say: If man could do with other experiences what he does when "mathematicising", he would be able to transfer, to some extent, the mathematical attitude of soul to other experiences. Suppose we could shape other experiences—our mode of perceiving the qualities of colours and tones, for example—in the same way that we create and shape our experience of space from out of ourselves! When we look at a cube of salt we bring the cubical shape with us from our geometry, knowing that its shape is identical with the spatial concept we have formed. If we could create from out of ourselves, let us say, the world of colour, and then confront external coloured objects, we should then, in the same way, project (as it were) into the outer world what we first build up in ourselves. We should thus place ourselves outside our body and even look back upon ourselves. This has been accomplished in mathematics, although it remains unnoticed. (I have given a geometrical illustration; I could give others also.) Neither mathematicians nor philosophers have paid attention to this peculiar relationship that I have just put before you.

In regard to sense perceptions, however, science has become really confused. In the nineteenth century physiologists joined hands here even with epistemologists and philosophers, and many people think with them as follows:

When we see red, for example, the external event is some vibration which spreads itself out until it reaches our organ of vision, and then our brain. The specific sensation of red is then released. Or the tone C sharp is evoked by an external wave motion in the same way.

This confusion has arisen because we can no longer distinguish what lives in us—within the confines of our body—from what is outside. All sense qualities (colours, tones, qualities of warmth) are said to be actually only subjective, while what is external, objective is said to be something quite different.

If now, in the same way in which we build the three dimensions of space from out of ourselves and find them again in things (and things in them)—if we could, in the same way, draw from ourselves what appears in us as sensation, and then set it before us, we should likewise find in things what we had first found in ourselves. Indeed, looking back upon ourselves we should find it again—just as we find in the outer world what we have experienced within us as space, and, looking back at ourselves, find that we are

a part of this space. As we have the space world around us, so we should have around us a world of intermingling colours and tones. We should speak of an objectified world of flowing colours and singing tones, as we speak of the space around us.

Man can certainly attain to this and learn to know as his own construction the world which otherwise only confronts him as the world of effects (*Wirkungen*). As we, albeit *unconsciously*, construct for ourselves the form of space out of our human constitution and then, having transformed it, find it again in the world, so we can train ourselves, this time by *conscious* effort, to draw from out of ourselves the whole gamut of qualities contained in the world, so as to find them again in things, and then again in looking back upon ourselves.

What I am here describing is the ascent to so-called "imaginative perception" (*imaginative Anschauung*). Every human being to-day has the same space-world—unless he be abnormally mathematical or unmathematical. What can live in us in like manner, and in such a way that we experience with it the world as well, can be acquired by exercises. "Imaginative perception"—a technical term that does not denote "fancy" or "imagination" in the usual sense—can be added to the ordinary objective perception of objects (in which mathematics is our sure guide), and will open up a new region of the world.

*

I said yesterday that I would have to expound to you a special method of training and research. I must describe what one has to do in order to attain to such "imaginative perception". In this we come to perceive as a whole the qualitative element in the world—just as, in a sense, we come to perceive space (which has, at first, no reality that engages our higher interests) as a whole. When we are able to confront the world in this way, we are already at the first stage of supersensible perception. Sense-perception may be compared to that perception of things in which we do not distinguish between triangular and rectangular shapes, do not see geometrical structures in things, but simply stare at them and only take in their forms externally. But the perception that is developed in "Imagination" is as much involved with the inner essence of things as mathematical perception is with mathematical relationships.

If we approach mathematics in the right frame of mind, we come to see precisely in the mathematician's attitude when "mathematicising" the pattern for all that one requires for supersensible perception. For mathematics is simply the first stage of supersensible perception. The mathematical structures we "perceive" in space *are* supersensible perceptions—though we, accustomed to "perceive" them, do not admit this. But one who knows the intrinsic nature of "mathematicising" knows that although the

structure of space has no special interest at first for our eternal human nature, mathematical thinking has all the characteristics that one can ask of clairvoyance in the anthroposophical sense: freedom from nebulous mysticism and confused occultism, and the sole aim of attaining to the supersensible worlds in an exact, scientific way.

Everyone can learn from a study of "mathematicising" what clairvoyance is on a higher level. The most astonishing thing is that mathematicians, who of all people ought to know what takes place when a man is "mathematicising", do not show a deeper understanding of what must be presented as a higher, qualitative "mathematicising"—if I may use this word—in clairvoyant research. For "imaginative" cognition, the first stage in this research, is only a perception that penetrates other domains of existence than those accessible to "mathematicising"; and it has been gained by exercises. In respect to human perception, however, much is understood differently once one is able to survey, in genuine self-knowledge, the whole inner nature of "mathematicising". For example, one arrives at the following:

On looking back to the way in which we came to know in early childhood the structure of space—by walking and standing upright, by orientating ourselves to right and left, by learning to gauge the depth-dimension, by connecting all this with the abstractly perceived space of geometry (which the child learns to know from inner experience)—we realise the serious and important consequences that follow if we cannot look back to the living origin, within our own being, of space—of our conception and perception of space—but simply accept it in its already transformed shape, independent of ourselves. For example, in recent times we have come to regard this space (with its three dimensions) in such a way that we have gone on to postulate a fourth and higher dimensions. These spaces and their geometries are widely known to-day. Anyone who has once learnt to know the living structure of space finds it most interesting to follow such an extension of mathematical operations (applicable to three dimensions) and to arrive at a fourth dimension that cannot be visualised, and so on. These operations are logical (in the mathematical sense) and quite correct. But anyone who knows the genesis of our idea of space, as I have described it, will detect something quite special here. We could take a pendulum, for example, and watch it oscillate. Watching it purely externally, we might expect it to swing further and further out. But it does not. When it has reached a definite point, it swings back again to the opposite side. If we know the relation between the forces involved, we know that the pendulum oscillates and cannot go further because of the relation between the forces.

In respect to space, one learns to know (to some extent) such an interplay of forces in the constitution of our soul. Then one views these things differently. From the logical, mathematical standpoint

one can certainly keep step with those who extend their calculations from three-dimensional to four-dimensional space. But there one must make a halt. One cannot pass on into an indefinite fourth dimension; one must turn back at a certain point, and the fourth dimension becomes simply the third with a minus sign before it. One returns through the third dimension. The mistake made in these geometrics of more than three dimensions is in going on abstractly from the second to the third, from the third to the fourth dimension, and so on. But what we have here, if I may express it in a comparison, is not simple progression but oscillation. Our perception of space must return into itself. By taking the third dimension negatively, we really annihilate it. The fourth dimension is the negative third and annihilates the third, making space two-dimensional. And in like manner we can find a quite real progression, even though, logically, mathematically, algebraically, these things can be carried further and further. When we think in accordance with reality, we must turn back at the fourth, fifth and sixth dimensions to the space that is simply given us. With the sixth dimension, we have abolished space and reach the point.

What really confronts us in the culture of our age? This—that its thinking has become abstract; that one simply continues along the line of thought that takes us from planimetry, stereometry, etc., whereas reality leads us back at the fourth dimension into space. But, in turning back then, we are by no means where we were when we found our way into the third dimension by gauging distances. We return spiritually enriched. If we can think of the fourth dimension (the negative third) in such a way that we return with it into space, then space becomes filled with spirit, whereas three-dimensional space is filled with matter. And we find space filled with ever loftier spiritual configurations when we pass along the negative third and second and first dimension and reach the point where we no longer have spatial extension but stand within the unextended—the spiritual.

What I am now describing is not formal mathematics, but the reality of spiritual perception. It is a path in real conformity with the spiritual and in contrast to the path that has adapted itself so closely to material appearances alone. This latter path, even though keeping close to mathematics—which does not, of course, work in a material way in the soul—leads nevertheless to an imperceptible world in which one can, at most, only calculate and construct imaginary mathematical spaces.

You see here that, by penetrating the mathematical domain completely, we are led to apprehend the inner nature of the spiritual present everywhere in the world. To understand the mathematical attitude of soul is to be led directly to the concept of clairvoyant experience. And then we raise ourselves to "Imagination" and, in the way I have still to describe, come thereby to a comprehensive survey of the spiritual that can be perceived, not in the ordinary

way, but in the way I have put it here—that is: by going out of the third and into the fourth dimension, and so on, and coming to the domain of no-dimensions—that is, the point. This leads us spiritually to the highest if we apprehend it, not as an empty point, but as a "filled" point.

I was once—it made a great impression on me—regarded with astonishment by an elderly author who had written much on spiritual matters. Seeing me for the first time, he asked: "How did you first become aware of this difference between perceiving the sense-world and perceiving the supersensible world?" Because I always like to express myself about these things with radical honesty, I replied: "In the moment when I learnt to know the inner meaning of what is called modern or synthetic geometry." You see, when one passes from analytic to synthetic geometry—which enables us, not only to approach forms externally, but to grasp them in their mutual relationships—one starts from forms, not from external co-ordinates. When we work with spatial co-ordinates, we do not apprehend forms but only the ends of the co-ordinates; we join up these ends and obtain the curves. In analytical geometry we do not lay hold of the forms, whereas in synthetic geometry we live within them. This induces us to study the attitude of soul which, developed further, leads us to press on into the supersensible world.

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I have now described the extent to which Anthroposophy can be sure that it proceeds from "mathematicising" as strictly as the natural science of to-day — though from another point of view. Natural science applies mathematics as it has been elaborated to date. But anyone who wishes to understand clairvoyant activity must seek it where it is present in its most primitive form: in the construction of mathematical forms. If he can then raise this activity to higher domains, he will be developing something related to elementary, primitive "mathematicising" as the more developed branches of mathematics are related to their anxioms. The primary axioms of clairvoyance are living ones. And if we succeed in developing our "mathematicising" by exercises, we shall not only see spatial relationships in the world around us, but learn to know spiritual beings revealing themselves to us, even with spiritual inwardness—as we learn to know the "cubicity" of a salt crystal. We learn to know spiritual beings when, in this way, we raise to higher domains what we develop by "mathematicising".

This is what I wished to say, at the outset, about the basis of what must receive recognition as "clairvoyant research" in Anthroposophy. We shall go on to see how, with such clairvoyant research, one can enter different fields of knowledge—the natural sciences as well as therapy, medicine, history, etc. We shall see that the sciences are not to be attacked; they are to be enriched by the

introduction of what can be known by supersensible perception.

A consideration of the course of human evolution over a certain period—how it developed and led at last to the elaboration of our present scientific thinking—can help to a right understanding of what our aims here are.

Let us focus our attention upon scientific thinking to-day. It is able to see clearly the formalism of mathematics, while it nevertheless learns from mathematics inner certainty and exact observation, regarding natural laws as valid only if they can be formulated mathematically. This is, at least, a kind of ideal for scientific method to-day. But it was not always so. The scientific spirit, as acknowledged to-day, has been elaborated in the course of human evolution. I should like to draw your attention to three stages only—of which the present is the third—in this development, and I shall do so in a more narrative form. I shall also touch on some of the things that can be said in support of what I shall relate.

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As we look back on human evolution, we do not, in fact, always find the same disposition of soul that man has to-day. He cultivates the scientific spirit as, in a sense, a most lofty thing. If we look back at the ancient Orient—not necessarily so far back as the most ancient Indian times, but to times more recent—we found much of what had been handed down as cognitive principles still retained. The path to knowledge was named quite differently then. In those ancient times—even the history of language can support this—man did not think of himself as he does to-day. Modern man has, on the one hand, his consciousness of self firmly established within him, and, on the other hand, a grasp, through observation, of what is mechanistic. But the man of the Orient, for example, could not have this feeling of himself. (As I have said, the history of language can prove this.) He felt himself, in the first place, as a *breathing* human being. To him, man was a breather. In self-contemplation he focussed his attention chiefly upon the respiratory process. He even related immortality to the respiratory process: death came to him as a kind of expiration of his soul.

Man a breather! Why did man in this former disposition of soul feel the human being as a breathing being? Because he did actually feel life in the respiratory process (which did not proceed so unconsciously as it does to-day). He felt the vibrations of life, life's rhythm, in his breathing; he felt breathing as one feels hunger and thirst to-day. But this was a continuous feeling in the waking state. When he looked with his eyes, he knew: the process of breathing now enters right into my head and into my eyes. He felt his perceptions permeated by the flow of the breath. It was just the same when the will stirred. He stretched out his hand and felt this movement as if it were something linked up with the respiratory movements. An expansion of the breath through the whole body

was felt as an inner life-process. He even felt the more theoretical perception of the outer world through the senses to be ensouled with breath, just as he felt the breath ensouling the movements of the will.

Man felt himself a breathing being, and because he could have said: "My breath is modified in this and that way when I see through my eyes, hear through my ears and receive through the effects of heat" — because in his sensations of all kinds he "saw" differentiated, modified, refined respiratory processes—because of all this the path of knowledge was for him a systematic training of the respiratory process. And this systematic training was for those earlier epochs in the evolution of man's cognition what university study is for us to-day.

We study in a different way now. But in those times, when one sought religious satisfaction or wished to acquire knowledge, one "studied" by systematically modifying the respiratory process; in other words, by developing what was later called Yoga Breathing, Yoga Training. And what did one develop? If we investigate what was attained by one who practised Yoga Breathing in order to reach higher stages of cognition, we find something striking. Those who came to be "savants" through Yoga exercises—the word "savant" is not quite appropriate to these earlier conditions, but perhaps one can use it—required as long for this as we do for a university course. In the knowledge so acquired they had grasped in the disposition of their souls what, in a later age—the Graeco-Roman, for example—was regarded as a world of ideas and present of itself in the soul, thus making Yoga unnecessary.

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This is really a very interesting thing—that what men had to strive for in earlier epochs through all kinds of exercises is present of itself in later epochs of evolution. It has then no longer the same significance as before. When Socrates, when Plato were alive, their philosophies had no longer the same significance as they would have had for the ancient pupils or teachers of Yoga, had they reached Socratic or Platonic truths. By this Yoga-breathing the pupil did not acquire exactly the same inner organisation as Plato, Aristotle or Scotus Erigena, but he came to the same disposition of soul [*Seelenverfassung*]. Thus we find systematic breathing exercises practised in ancient times, and we see that this cognitive path led to a certain vivid world of ideas.

One really gains a correct idea of what lived later in Parmenides and Anaxagoras if one says to oneself: What was given to men in this age as something self-understood, had been achieved in still earlier times through Yoga. It was always through exercises that men strove for the higher knowledge required by their own age. Thus in the perception of the world in later epochs, men were no longer aware of their breathing in self-contemplation, but they per-

ceived as the Greeks perceived (I have given more details of this in my *Riddles of Philosophy*). At that time one did not construct for oneself isolated thoughts about the world, for ideas and sense-experiences were one. One saw one's thoughts outside, as one saw red or blue and heard C sharp, G or B natural. Thoughts were in the world outside. Without knowing this, nobody understands the Greek view of the world. But the Greeks perceived only spirit permeated with sense-perceptions, or sense-perceptions permeated by spirit, and no longer differentiations in the process of breathing.

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Then once again men sought to attain a higher stage of cognition in all domains in which they were seeking higher knowledge. This stage was also gained through exercises. To-day we have rather vague ideas about the early Middle Ages and their spiritual life. A mediæval student did not learn so abstractedly as we do to-day. He, too, had to do exercises, and ordinary study was also combined with the doing of exercises. Inward exercises had to be carried out, though not so strenuously as with Yoga breathing; they were more inward, but still a set of exercises.

From this there remains a kind of deposit, little understood now, in what were called then the Seven Liberal Arts. They had to have been mastered by everyone who claimed to have received a higher education. *Grammar* meant the practical use of language. *Rhetoric* meant more: the artistic use of language. *Dialectic* was the use of language as a tool of thought. And when the student had practised these inwardly, as exercises, *Arithmetic* followed; but this, again, was not our abstract arithmetic, but an arithmetic which entered into things and was clearly aware that man shapes all things inwardly. In this way the student learnt *Geometry* through inward exercises, and this geometry, as something involving the human being, was the pupil's possession—a tool he could use.

All this then passed over into what was called *Astronomy*: the student integrated his being with the cosmos, learnt to know how his head was related to the cosmos, and how his lungs and heart resulted from the cosmos. It was not an astronomy abstracted from man, but an astronomy in which man had his place. And then, at the seventh stage, the pupil learnt to know how the Divine Being weaves and rules throughout the world. This was called *Music*; it was not our present music but a higher, living elaboration of what had been elaborated in thought-forms in Astronomy.

It was in this way that men of a later epoch trained themselves inwardly. The breathing exercises of earlier times had been replaced by a more inward training of the soul.

And what did one attain? In the course of the history of civilisation men came gradually to have thoughts apart from sense-perceptions. This was something that had to be acquired. The Greeks still saw thought in the world, as we see colours and perceive

tones. We grasp thought as something we produce, not located within things. The fact that men came to feel this in the constitution of their souls, that we can feel this to-day—that is the result of the training in Grammar, Rhetoric and so on to Music. Thought was thereby released. Men learnt to move freely in thoughts. In this way was achieved what we take for granted to-day, possessing it without these exercises—what we find when we go to school, what is offered in the separate sciences (as described yesterday). And precisely as man in different epochs had to advance by means of exercises—in ancient times by breathing exercises (Yoga) which gave him the Graeco-Latin conception of the world as something he took for granted; in later times by exercises that went from Grammar to Music and gave him the scientific standpoint we have to-day—so to-day he can again advance. He can best advance by setting out from what is most certain: namely, mathematics, recognised as certain to-day.

My reply to that author was true, although it so astonished him. It was mainly through synthetic geometry that I became clear about the clairvoyant's procedure. Naturally, not everyone who has studied synthetic geometry is a clairvoyant, but the procedure can be clearly presented in this way. Though that author was so astonished at not being told the sort of thing that people who "prophesy" are wont to relate, it is nevertheless true that Anthroposophy, setting out from the firm base on which science stands to-day, seeks to extend this base; and from this base, which science itself has laid, to carry further, into supersensible domains, what reliable science brings before us.

From here we must proceed more inwardly. And a still more inward procedure is the path to clairvoyant research which I had to describe in my books *Geheimwissenschaft* ("Occult Science") and *Wie erlangt man Erkenntnisse der Höheren Welten* ("How to Attain Knowledge of Higher Worlds"). But precisely such an historical survey as I have given can show you that anyone who stands to-day with full consciousness within Anthroposophy derives this consciousness from standing within the course of human evolution. My historical survey can also show you that I do not speak from personal predilection or subjective partiality when I assert that we need to undertake exercises in order to carry further the historical movement that has brought humanity to its present standpoint. Anyone who knows the course of history up to the present, and knows how it must continue, stands consciously within the whole historical process, and to this consciousness he adds the insight acquired by taking—inwardly, not outwardly—the spirit of modern science into the constitution of his soul.

Thus one may well say: Anthroposophy knows its position in respect to the science of to-day. It knows this in an absolute sense, because it knows the special character of contemporary science and rejects all that is dilettantish and amateurish. It builds further on

genuine science. On the other hand, Anthroposophy knows the historical necessities; knows that man's path must go beyond present achievements—if we do not wish to stand still, unlike all our forerunners, who wanted to advance beyond the stage of civilisation in which they shared. We, too, must go forward. And we must know what steps to take from the present standpoint of the scientific spirit.

In the next few days I shall have to depict what this actually involves. The foundations I have laid to-day will then appear, perhaps, in a more understandable form. But I may have been able to show that Anthroposophy knows from its scientific attitude—from an attitude as scientific as that of science—what its aims are in face of the contemporary world, of human evolution as a whole, and of the separate sciences. It will get to work because it knows how it has to work. Perhaps its path will be very long. If, on the other hand, one sees, in the subconscious depths of human souls, the deep longings for the heights that Anthroposophy would climb, one may surmise that it is necessary for the welfare of humanity that the path Anthroposophy has to take should not be too slow. But whether the pace be slow or fast may be less important for Anthroposophy than for human progress. In many domains we speak of being caught up in the "rapid tempo" of our time. May all that mankind is intended to attain by cognition of the supersensible be attained as rapidly as the welfare of mankind requires.

Translated by V. C. Bennie.

Anthroposophy and the Visual Arts

Rudolf Steiner

*A Lecture, hitherto untranslated, given at The Hague on April 9, 1922 (following the preceding lecture in this issue).**

WHAT I have to say to-day will be, in a sense, an interlude within this course of lectures, for I shall try, from the scientific point of view, to glance at the field of artistic creation. I hope, however, that to-day's considerations will show that this interlude is really a contribution which will help to elucidate what I said on the preceding days and what I shall have to say in the days that follow.

When the Anthroposophical Movement had been active for some time, a number of members became convinced that a building should be erected for it. Various circumstances (which I need not mention here) led finally to the choice of the hill at Dornach, in the Jura Hills near Basle, Switzerland. Here the Goetheanum, the Free High School for Anthroposophical Spiritual Science, is being built.† It is not yet completed, but lectures can already be held in it and work can be done.

I should now like to speak of the considerations (*inneren Verhältnissen*) that prevailed with us when designing this building. If any other spiritual movement of our time had decided to erect its own building, what would have been done? Well, one would have applied to one or more architects, and a building would have been erected in one or other of the traditional styles—Antique, Renaissance or Gothic. Then, in accordance with what is being done here or there in the various branches of art, craftsmen would have been called in to decorate the building with paintings and plastic forms.

Nothing like that could be done in the case of the Dornach building—the Free High School for Spiritual Science; it would have contradicted the whole intention and innermost character of the anthroposophical conception of the world. This conception is not an attempt to achieve something one-sidedly theoretical—an expression of cosmic laws in a sum of ideas. It intends to be something born from man as a whole and to serve his whole being. It would be, on the one hand, something that can very well be expressed in thought forms—as one expects of any view of the world that is propounded. On the other hand, the anthroposophical world-view would be essentially more comprehensive; it strives to be able to speak from the whole compass of man's being. It must therefore be able to speak, not only from the theoretical, scientific spirit, but from an artistic spirit also. It would speak from a

* From a shorthand report unrevised by the lecturer. Published by permission of the Rudolf Steiner-Nachlassverwaltung, Dornach, Switzerland.

† The first Goetheanum, burnt down on New Year's night, 1922/23. The second Goetheanum, modelled by Rudolf Steiner not long before his death in 1925, was opened in 1928.

religious, a social, an ethical spirit; and to do all this in accordance with the needs of practical life in these fields.

I have often expressed the task confronting us in Dornach with the help of a trivial comparison. If we think of a nut with its kernel inside and the shell around, we cannot think that the grooves and twists of the shell result from other laws than those that shape the kernel. The shell, in clothing the nut, is shaped by the same laws that shape the kernel. When the building at Dornach, this double cupola, was erected, our aim was to create an architectural, plastic, pictorial shell for what would be done within it as an expression of the anthroposophical view of the world. And just as one can speak in the language of thought from the rostrum in Dornach about what is perceived in supersensible worlds, so must one be in a position to let the architectural, plastic, pictorial frame for the anthroposophical world-view proceed from the same spirit.

But a great danger confronts us here: the danger of having ideas about this or that and then simply giving them external expression in symbolic or insipidly allegorical form. (This is frequently done when world-views are given external representation: symbols or allegories are set up—thoroughly inartistic products which flout the really artistic sense.) It must be clearly understood, above all, that the anthroposophical conception of the world rejects such symbolic or allegorical negations of art (*Widerkunst, Unkunst*). As a view of the world, it should spring from an inner spiritual life so rich that it can express itself, not allegorically or symbolically, but in genuinely artistic creations.

In Dornach there is not a single symbol, not a single allegory to be seen. Everything that has been given artistic expression was born from artistic perception, came to birth in the moulding of forms, in creating out of the interplay of colours (*aus dem Farbig-Malerischen heraus*); it had its origin in a thoroughly artistic act of perception and had nothing to do with what is usually expressed when people come and ask: What does this mean? What does that signify? In Dornach no single form is intended to mean anything—in this sense. Every form is intended to *be* something—in the genuinely artistic sense; it means itself, expresses itself.

Those people who come to Dornach to-day and maintain that something symbolic or allegorical is to be seen there, are just projecting into our building their own prejudgements; they are not expressing what has come to birth with this building. Our aim is that the same spirit—not the theoretical spirit but the living spirit that speaks from the rostrum or confronts us from the stage—should speak also through the artistically plastic forms, through the architecture, through the paintings. The spirit at work in the "kernel"—the spirit that finds expression through the spoken word—is to shape the "shell" also.

Now, if the anthroposophical view of the world is something

new entering human evolution in the way I have ventured to describe in the two previous lectures, then, naturally, what had been in the world before could not find expression in our architectural style, our plastic and pictorial forms—i.e. in the visual art of our building. No artistic reminiscences, Antique, Renaissance or Gothic, could be brought in. The anthroposophical world-view had to show itself sufficiently productive to evolve its own style of visual art.

Of course, if such intentions press on one's heart and soul, one becomes very humble and one's own most severe critic. I certainly know that, if I had to build the Dornach building a second time, much that now appears to me imperfect, often indeed wrong, would be different. But this is not the essential thing. The essential thing, at least for to-day's lecture, is the intention (*das Wollen*) that I have just described. It is of this that I wish to speak.

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When we speak of visual art, in so far as we have to consider it here—that is, the plastic art to which the anthroposophical world-view had been directed, as by inner necessity, through the fact that friends came forward and made the sacrifice required in order that the building at Dornach could be started—when we speak of visual art in this sense, we need, before all else, to understand thoroughly the human form. For, after all, everything in visual art points to, and proceeds from, the human form. We must understand the human form in a way that really enables us to create it.

I spoke yesterday of one element, the spatial element, in so far as this is an element in our world and, at the same time, proceeds from our human being. I said that the three spatial dimensions, by which we determine all the forms underlying our world, can be derived from the human form. But when one speaks as I spoke yesterday, one does not arrive at the apprehension of space needed for sensitive, artistic creation if one intends to pursue plastic art—that plastic art which underlies all visual art—with full consciousness. Precisely when one has space in its three dimensions so concretely before one's mind's eye as in yesterday's considerations, one sees that the space arrived at in this way cannot be the space in which one finds oneself when, for example, one forms—also in "space", as we say—the human form plastically. One cannot obtain the space in which one finds oneself as a sculptor. One must say to oneself: That is quite a different space.

I touch here on a secret pertaining to our human way of looking at the world—a secret that our present-day perception has, one might almost say, quite lost. You will permit me to set out from a way of looking at things that is apparently—but only apparently—quite abstract, theoretical. But this excursion will be brief; it is intended only as an introduction to what will be able to come before our minds' eyes in a much more concrete form.

When we intend to apply to objects in this world the space of

which I spoke yesterday—we apply it, of course, geometrically, using, in the first place, Euclidean geometry—we set out, as you all know, from a point and set up three axes at right angles to one another. (As I pointed out yesterday, one ought to take this point in concrete space to be within the human body.) Any region of space is then related to these axes by determining distances from them (or from the three planes that they determine). In this way we obtain a geometrical determination of any object occupying space; or, as in kinematics, one can express motion in space.

But there is another space than this: the space into which the sculptor enters. The secret of this space is that one cannot set out from one point and relate all else to it. One must set out from the counterpart of this point. And what is its counterpart? Nothing other than an infinitely remote sphere to which one might look up as at, let us say, the blue vault of heaven.

Imagine that I have, instead of a point, a hollow sphere in which I find myself, and that I relate all that is within it to this hollow sphere, determining everything in relation to it, instead of to a point by means of co-ordinates. So long as I describe it to you only in this way, you could rightly say: Yes, but this determination in relation to a hollow sphere is vague; I can form no mental picture when I try to think it. Well, you would be right; one can form no mental picture. But man is capable of relating himself to the cosmos—as we, yesterday, related ourselves to the human being (the "anthropos"). As we looked into the human being and found the three dimensions—as we can determine him in relation to these three dimensions, saying: his body extends linearly in one of the dimensions; in the second is the plane of the extended arms and all that is symmetrically built into the human organism; and in the third dimension is all that extends forwards and backwards, backwards and forwards—so, when we really look at the "anthropos" as an organism, we do not find something extended in an arbitrary way in three dimensions. We have before us the human organism built in a definite way.

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We can also relate ourselves to the cosmos in the same way. What occurs in the soul when we do so? Well: imagine yourself standing in a field on a clear, starry night, with a free view of the sky. You see regions of the vaulted sky where the stars are closely clustered, almost forming clouds. You see other regions where the stars are more widely spaced and form constellations (as they are called). And so on. If you confront the starry heavens in this merely intellectual way—with your human understanding—you achieve nothing. But if you confront the starry heavens with your whole being, you experience (*empfinden*) them differently.

We have now lost the perceptive sense for this, but it can be re-acquired. Facing a patch of sky where the stars are close together

and form almost a cloud, will be a different experience from facing constellations. One experiences a patch of sky differently when the moon is there and shines. One experiences a night differently when the moon is new and not visible. And so on. And precisely as one can "feel" one's way into the human organism in order to have the three dimensions—where space itself is concrete, something connected with man—so one can acquire a perception of the cosmos, that is, of one's cosmic environment (*Umkreis*). One looks into oneself to find, for example, the three dimensions. But one needs more than that. One can now look out into the wide expanses and focus one's attention on their configurations. Then, as one advances beyond ordinary perception, which suffices for geometry, one acquires the perception needed for these wide expanses; one advances to what I called, yesterday and the day before, "imaginative cognition". I have still to speak about its cultivation.

If one were simply to record what one sees out there in cosmic expanses, one would achieve nothing. A mere chart of the starry heavens, such as astronomers make to-day, leads nowhere. If, however, one confronts this cosmos as a whole human being, with full understanding of the cosmos, then, in face of these clusters of stars, pictures form themselves within the soul—pictures like those one sees on old maps, drawn when "imaginations" took shape out of the old, instinctive clairvoyance. One receives an "imagination" of the whole cosmos. One receives the counter-image of what I showed you yesterday as the basis, in man, of the three geometrical space-dimensions. What one receives can take an infinite variety of shapes.

Men have, indeed, no idea to-day of the way in which men once, in ancient times, when an instinctive clairvoyance still persisted among them, gazed out into the cosmos. People believe to-day that the various drawings, pictures—"imaginations"—which were made of the zodiacal signs, were the products of phantasy. They are not that. They were sensed (*empfunden*); they were perceived (*geschaut*) on confronting the cosmos. Human progress required the damping-down of this instinctive, living, imaginative perception, in order that intellectual perception, which sets men free, should come in its place. And from this, again, there must be achieved—if we wish to be whole human beings—a perception of the universe that attains once more to "Imagination".

If one intends to take, in this way, one's idea of space from the starry heavens, one cannot express it exhaustively by three dimensions. One receives a space which I can only indicate figuratively. If I had to indicate the space I spoke of yesterday by three lines at right angles to one another, I should indicate *this* space by drawing everywhere sets of figures (*Konfigurationen*), as if surface forces (*Kräfte in Flächen*) from all directions of the universe were approaching the earth and, from without, were working plastically on the forms upon its surface.

One comes to such an idea when, advancing beyond what living beings—above all, human beings—present to physical eyes, one attains to what I have been calling "Imagination". In this the cosmos, not the physical human being, reveals itself in images and brings us a new space. As soon as one gets so far, one perceives man's second body—what an older, prescient, instinctive clairvoyance called the "etheric body". (A better name is "body of formative forces" (*Bildekräfteleib.*) This is a supersensible body, consisting of subtle, etheric substantiality and permeating man's physical body. We can study this physical body if, within the space it occupies, we seek the forces that flow through it. But we cannot study the etheric body (body of formative forces) which flows through the human being if we set out from *this* space. We can study this only if we think of it as built up out of the whole cosmos: formed plastically from without by "planes of force" (*Kraftflächen*) converging on the earth from all sides and reaching man.

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In this way, and in no other, did plastic art arise in times when it was still an expression of what is elemental and primary. Such a work as, for example, the Venus of Milo reveals this to an intuitive eye. It was not created after a study of anatomy, in respectful reliance on forces which are merely to be understood as proceeding from the space within the physical body. It was created with a knowledge, possessed in ancient times, of the body of formative forces which permeates the physical body and is formed from out of the cosmos—formed from out of a space as peripheral as earthly space (physical space) is central. A being that is formed from the periphery of the universe has beauty impressed upon it—"beauty" in the original meaning of the word. Beauty is indeed the imprint of the cosmos, made with the help of the etheric body, on a physical, earthly being.

If we study a physical, earthly being in accordance with the bare, dry facts, we find, of course, what it is for ordinary, physical space. But if we let its beauty work on us—if we intend to intensify its beauty by means of plastic art, we must become aware that the beauty impressed upon this being derives from the cosmos. The beauty of this individual being reveals to us how the whole cosmos works within it. In addition, one must, of course, feel how the cosmos finds expression in the human form, for example.

If we are able to study the human form with inward, imaginative perception, we are induced to focus our attention, at first, on the formation of the head apart from the rest. But, looking at this formation as a whole, we do not understand it if we try to explain it merely by what is within the head. We understand it only if we conceive it as wrought from out of the cosmos through the mediation of the body of formative forces.

If we now pass on to consider man's chest formation, we reach

an inward understanding of this—an understanding in respect to the human form—only if we can picture to ourselves how man lives on the earth, round which the stars of the zodiacal line revolve. (Only apparently revolve, according to present-day astronomy, but that does not concern us here.) Whereas we relate man's head to the pole of the cosmos, we relate his chest formation—which certainly functions (*verläuft*) in the recurrent equatorial line—to what runs its course, in the most varied ways, in the annual or diurnal circuit of the sun.

It is not until we pass on to consider the limb-system of man, especially the lower limb-system, that we feel: This is not related to the external cosmos, but to earth; it is connected with the earth's force of gravity. Look with the eye of a sculptor at the formation of the human foot; it is adapted to the earth's gravitational force. We take in the whole configuration—how the thigh bones and shin bones are fitted together by the mediation of the knee—and find it all adapted, dynamically and statically, to the earth, and to the way in which the force of gravity works from the earth's centre outwards, into the universe.

We feel this when we study the human form with a sculptor's eye. For the head we need all the forces of the cosmos; we need the whole sphere if we want to understand what is expressed so wonderfully in the formation of the head. If we want to understand what finds expression in the formation of the chest, we need what, in a sense, flows round the earth in the equatorial plane; we are led to earth's environment. If we want to understand man's lower limb-system, to which his metabolic system is linked, we must turn to the earth's forces. Man is, in this respect, bound to the forces of the earth. Briefly: we discover a connection between all cosmic space—conceived as living—and the human form.

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To-day, in many circles (including artistic circles), people will probably laugh at such observations as those I have just made. I can well understand why. But one knows little about the real history of human development if one laughs at such things. For anyone who can enter deeply into the ancient art of sculpture sees from the sculptured forms created then that feelings (*Empfindungen*), developed by the "imaginative" view of the starry heavens, have flowed into those forms. In the oldest works of sculpture it is the cosmos that has been made perceptible in the human form.

Of course, we must regard as knowledge, not only what is called such in an intellectual sense, but knowledge that is dependent upon the whole range of human soul-forces. One becomes a sculptor—really a sculptor—from an elemental urge, not just because one has learnt to lean on old styles and reproduce what is no longer known to-day, but was known in this or that period, when this or that style was alive and sculptors were yet creative. One does not become a

sculptor by leaning on traditions—as is usual to-day, even with fully fledged artists; one becomes a sculptor by reaching back, with full consciousness, to the shaping forces which once led men to plastic art. One must re-acquire cosmic feelings; one must be again able to feel the universe and see in man a microcosm — a world in miniature. One must be able to see the impress of the cosmos stamped upon the human forehead. One must be able to see from the nose how it has received the imprint of what has also been stamped upon the whole respiratory system: the imprint of the environment—of what revolves round the earth in the equatorial and zodiacal lines. Then one senses what one must create (*darstellen*). One does not work by mere imitation, copying a model, but one re-creates by immersing oneself in that force by which Nature herself created and shaped man. One forms as Nature herself forms. But then one's whole mode of feeling, in cognition and artistic expression, must be able to adapt itself to this.

When we have the human form before us, we direct our artistic eye at first to the head. We do this with the urge to give plastic form to the head. We then try to bring out all the details of this head, treating every surface with loving care: the forehead, the arches above the eyes, the ears and so on. We try to trace, with all possible care, the lines that run down the forehead and over the nose. We proceed, in accordance with our aim, to give this or that shape to the nose. In short, we try to bring out, with loving care, through the different surfaces, what pertains to the human head.

Perhaps what I am now about to say may sound heretical to many, but I believe it flows from fundamentally artistic feelings. If, as sculptors, we were striving to form human human legs, we should feel persistent inhibition. One would like to shape the head as lovingly as possible, but not the legs. One would like to hide them—to by-pass them with the help of pieces of clothing, with something or other that conforms sculpturally to what finds expression in the head. A human form with correctly chiselled legs—calves, for example—offends the sculptor's artistic eye. I know that I am saying something heretical, but I also know that it is thereby the more fundamentally artistic. Correctly chiselled legs! — one does not want them. Why not? Well, simply because there is another anatomy for the sculptor; his knowledge of the human form is different from the anatomist's. For the sculptor—strange as it may sound—there are no bones and muscles. For him there is the human form, built out of the cosmos with the help of the body of formative forces. And in the human form there are for him forces, effects of forces, lines of force and force-configurations. As a sculptor I cannot possibly think of the cranium when I form the human head; I form the head from without inwards, as the cosmos has moulded it. And I form the corresponding bulges on the head in accordance with the forces that press upon the form

from within outwards and oppose the forces working in from the cosmos.

When, as a sculptor, I form the arms, I do not think of the bones but of the forces that are active when, for example, I bend my arm. I have then lines of force, developing forces, not what takes shape as muscle or bone. And the thickness of the arm depends on what is present there as life-activity, not on the muscular tissue. Because, however, one has above all the urge to make the human form with its beauty conform to the cosmos, but can do so only with the head—the lower limbs being adapted to the earth—one leaves the lower limbs out. When one renders a human being in art, one would like to lift him from the earth. One would make a heavy earth-being of him, if one were to give too definite shape to his lower limbs.

Again, looking at the head alone, we see that only the upper part, the wonderfully vaulted skull, is a copy of the whole cosmos. (The skull is differently arched in every individual. There is no general, only an individual, "phrenology".) The eyes and the nose resemble, in their formation, man's chest organism; they are formed as copies of his environment, of the equatorial stream. Hence, when I come to do the eyes of a sculptured figure of a human being, I must confine myself — since one cannot, as you know, represent a man's gaze, whether deep or superficial, by any shade of colour—to representing large or small, slit or oval, or more or less less straight eyes. But how one represents the way the eye passes over into the form of the nose, or how the forehead does this—how one suggests that man sees by bringing his whole soul into his seeing—all that is different when the eyes are slit, oval or straight. And if one can only feel how a man breathes through his nose, this wonderful means of expression, one can say: As a man is in respect to his chest, as its form is shaped by the cosmos, working inwards, so does he, as a human being, press what breathes in his chest, and what beats in his heart, up into his eyes and nose. It comes to expression there in the plastic form.

How a man is in respect to his head only finds proper expression in the cranium, which is, in respect to its form, an imprint of the cosmos. How a man reacts to the cosmos, not only by taking in oxygen and remaining passive, but by having his own share of physical matter and, in his chest, exposing his own being to the cosmos—that finds sculptured expression in the formation of the eyes and his nose.

And when we shape the mouth? Oh, in shaping the mouth we really give shape to the whole inner man in his opposition to the cosmos. We express the manner in which the man reacts to the world out of his metabolic system. In forming the mouth and shaping the chin — in forming all that belongs to the mouth-formation — we are giving form to the "man of limbs and meta-

bolism", but we spiritualise him and present him as an outwardly active form. Thus one who has a human head before his sculptor's eye has the whole man before him—man as an expression of his "system": the "nerve-sense-system" in the cranium with its remarkable bulges; the "eye-nose-formation" which, if I were to speak platonically, I should have to call an expression of the man as a man of courage—as a man who sets his inner self, in so far as it is courageous, in opposition to the external cosmos; and the mouth as an expression of what he is in his inner being. (Of course, the mouth, as a part of the head-formation, is also shaped from without, but what a man is in his inner being works from within against the configuration from without.)

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Only some sketchy hints that require to be thought out could be given here. But you will have seen from these brief indications that the sculptor requires more than a knowledge of man gained from imitating a human model; he must actually be able to experience inwardly the forces that work through the cosmos when they build the human form. The sculptor must be able to grasp what takes place when a human being is plastically formed from the fertilised ovum in the mother's body—not merely by forces in the mother's body, but by cosmic forces working through the mother. He must be able to create in such a way that, at the same time, he can understand what the individual human being reveals of himself, more and more, as the sculptor approaches the lower limbs. He must, above all, be able to understand how man's wonderful outer covering—the form of his skin—results from two sets of forces: the peripheral forces working inwards, from all directions, out of the cosmos, and the centrifugal forces working outwards and opposing the former. Man in his external form must be, for the sculptor, a result of cosmic forces and inner forces. One must have such a feeling towards all details.

In art one needs a feeling for one's material and should know for what this or that material is suited; otherwise, one is not working sculpturally but only illustrating an idea, working novellistically. If one is forming the human figure in wood, let us say, one will know when at work on the head that one must feel the form pressing from without inwards. That is the secret of creating the human form. When I form the forehead, I am constrained to feel that I am pressing it in from without, while forces from within oppose me. I must only press, more lightly or more strongly, as required in order to restrain the forces working from within. I must press, lightly or strongly, as the cosmic forces (which indicate how the head must be formed) permit.

But when I come to the rest of the human body, I can make no progress if I form and build from without inwards. I cannot but feel that I am inside. Already when I come to form the chest, I

must place myself inside the man and work plastically from within outwards. This is very interesting.

When one is at work on the head, one comes through the inner necessity of artistic creation to work from without inwards—to think of oneself on the extreme periphery and working inwards; when one forms the chest, one must place oneself inside and bring the form out. Lower down one feels: here I must only give indications; here we pass over into the indefinite.

Artistic creation of our time is very often inclined to regard the sort of things I have been saying here as an inartistic spinning of fancies. But it is only a matter of being able to experience artistically in one's soul what I have just hinted at: of being able actually to stand, as an artist, within the whole creative cosmos. Then one is led, from all sides, to avoid imitating the human physical form when one approaches plastic art. For the human physical form is itself only an imitation of the "body of formative forces". Then one will feel the necessity felt, above all, by the Greeks. They would never have produced the forms of their noses and foreheads by mere imitation; an instinct for such things as I have just described was fundamental with them. One will be able to return to a really fundamental artistic feeling only if, in this way, one can place oneself with all the inner feeling of one's soul—with one's inner "total cognition" (if I may use this expression)—within nature's creative forces. Then one does not set to work on the external, physical body, which is itself only an imitation of the etheric body, but on the etheric body itself. One forms this etheric body and then only fills it out (in a sense) with matter.

What I have just described is, at the same time, a way out of the theoretical view of the world and into a living perception of what can no longer be viewed theoretically. One cannot construct the sculptor's space by analytical geometry, as one constructs Euclidean space. One can, however, perceive (*erschauen*), by "imagination", this space—pregnant with forms, everywhere able to produce shapes out of itself, and from such perception (*Schauen*) one can create forms in plastic art, architectural or sculptural.

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At this point I should like to make a remark which seems important to me, so that something which could easily be misunderstood will be less misunderstood. If someone has a magnetic needle, and one end points to the north, the other to the (magnetic) south, it will not occur to him —if he does not want to talk as a dilettante—to explain the direction of the needle by inner forces of the needle: that is, by considering only what is comprised within the steel. That would be nonsense. He includes the whole earth in his explanation of the needle's direction. He goes outside the magnetic needle. Embryology makes to-day the dilettantish mistake; it looks at the human ovum only as it develops in the mother's

body. All the forces that form the human embryo are supposed to be therein. In reality, the whole cosmos works through the mother's body upon the configuration of the embryo. The plastic forces of the whole cosmos are there, as are the forces of the earth in directing the magnetic needle. Just as I must go beyond the needle when studying its behaviour, so, when considering the embryo, I must look beyond the maternal body and take account of the whole cosmos. And I must immerse myself in the whole cosmos if I want to apprehend what guides my hand, what guides my arm, when I strive, as a sculptor, to form the human figure.

You see: the anthroposophical world-view leads directly from merely theoretical to artistic considerations. For it is not possible to study the etheric body in a purely theoretical way. Of course one must have the scientific spirit, in the sense in which I characterised it yesterday, but one must press on to a study of the "body of formative forces" by transforming into "imaginations" what weaves in mere thoughts; that is, by grasping the external world, not only by means of thoughts or natural laws formulated in thoughts, but by "imaginations". What we have so grasped, however, can be expressed in "imaginations" again. And if we become productive, it passes over into artistic creation.

It is strange to survey the kingdoms of nature with the consciousness that such a body of formative forces exists. The mineral kingdom has no such body; we find it first in the plant kingdom. Animals have a body of formative forces; man also. But the plant's is very different from the animal's or man's. We are confronted here by a peculiar fact: think of yourself as equipped with the sensitive powers of an artistic sculptor and expected to give plastic shape to plant forms. It is repugnant to you. (I tried it recently, at least in relief.) One cannot give a form to plants; one can only indicate their movements in some vague way. One cannot shape plants plastically. Just imagine a rose, or any other plant with a long stalk, plastically formed: impossible! Why? Because, when one thinks of the plastic shape of a plant, one thinks instinctively of its body of formative forces; and this is within the plant, as is its physical body, but directly expressed. Nature sets the plant before us as a work of plastic art. One cannot alter it. Any attempt to mould a plant would be bungling botchwork in face of what Nature herself produces in the physical and formative-force bodies of a plant. One must simply let the plant be as it is—or contemplate it with a sculptor's mind, as Goethe did in his morphology of plants.

An animal can be given plastic shape. The artistic creation of animal forms is, indeed, somewhat different from artistic creation when we are confronting a human being. One needs only to understand that if an animal is, let us say, a beast of prey, it must be apprehended as a "creature of the respiratory process." One must see it as a breathing being and, to a certain extent, mould all the rest around the respiratory process. If one intends to give

plastic shape to a camel or a cow, one must start from the digestive process and adapt the whole animal to this. In short, one must perceive inwardly, with an artistic eye, what is the main thing. If one differentiates further what I am now indicating in more general terms, one will be able to give plastic shape to the various animal forms.

Why? Well, a plant has an etheric body, created for it from out of the cosmos. It is finished. I cannot re-shape it. The plant is a plastic work of art in the world of nature. To form plants of marble or wood contradicts the whole sense of the factual world. It would be more possible in wood, for wood is nearer to the plant's nature; but it would be inartistic. But an animal sets its own nature against what is being formed from without, out of the cosmos. With an animal, the etheric body is no longer formed merely from the cosmos; it is also formed from within.

And in the case of a human being? Well, I have just said that his etheric body is formed from the cosmos only so far as the cranium is involved. I have said that the respiratory organisation, working in a refined state through eyes and nose, opposes the cosmic action, while the whole metabolic organisation, through the formation of the mouth, offers opposition also. What comes from the human being is active there and opposes the cosmos. Man's outer surface is the result of these two actions: the human and the cosmic. The etheric body is so formed that it unfolds from within. And by artistic penetration to "within", we become able to create forms freely. We can investigate how an animal forms its etheric body for itself from its being (*Wesenheit*), and how a courageous or cowardly, a suffering or rejoicing human being tunes his etheric body to his soul life; and we can enter into all that and give form to such an etheric body. If we do this, and have the right sculptural understanding, we shall be able to form the human figure in many different ways.

Thus we see that, when we come to study the etheric body—the "imaginative body"—we can let ordinary scientific study be thoroughly scientific, while we, however, pass on to what becomes, of itself, art. Someone may interpose: Indeed, art is not science. But I said, the day before yesterday: If nature, the world, the cosmos are themselves artistic, confronting us with what can only be grasped artistically, we may go on asserting that it is illogical to become artistic if we would understand things, but things simply do not yield to a mode of cognition that does not pass over into art. The world can be understood only in a way which is not confined to what can be apprehended by thoughts alone, but leads to the universal apprehension of the world and finds the wholly organic, natural transition from observation to artistic perception, and to artistic creation too. Then the same spirit that speaks through the words when one gives expression, in a more theoretical way—in the

form of ideas—to what one perceives (*erschaut*) in the world, will speak from our plastic art. Art and science then derive from the same spirit; we have in them only two sides of one and the same revelation. We can say: In science, we look at things in such a way that we express in thoughts what we have perceived; in art, we express it in artistic forms.

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From this inner, spiritual conviction was born, for example, what has found expression in the architecture, and in the painting too, in the building at Dornach. I could say much about painting also, for it belongs, in a sense, to the plastic arts. But that would bring us to what pertains more to man's soul life and finds direct expression, not in the etheric body alone, but in the soul tingeing the etheric body. Here, too, you would see that the anthroposophical apprehension of the world leads to the fundamentally artistic level—the level of artistic "creativity"—whereas we to-day, in the religious as well as in the artistic sphere—though this is mostly unknown to artists themselves—live only on what is traditional, on old styles and motives. We believe we are productive to-day, but we are not. We must find the way back into creative nature, if our work is to be artistically spontaneous, original creation.

And this conviction has led, of itself, to Eurhythmy: the branch of art that has grown upon the soil of Anthroposophy. What the human being does in speech and song, through a definite group of organs, as a revelation of his being, can be extended to his whole being, if one really understands it. In this respect all the ancient religious documents (*Urkunden*) speak from old, instinctive, clairvoyant insights. And it is significant that it is said in the Bible that Jahwe breathed into man the living breath. This indicates that man is, in a certain respect, a being of respiration. I indicated yesterday that, in olden times of human evolution, the view predominated that man is a "breather", a being of respiration. What man, as a being of respiration, becomes in "configurated breathing" —i.e. in speech and in song—can be given back to the whole man and his physical form. The movements of his vocal cords, his tongue and other organs when he speaks or sings, can be extended over his whole being—for every single organ and system of organs is, in a certain sense, an expression of his whole being. Then something like Eurhythmy can arise.

We need only remind ourselves of the inner character of Goethe's doctrine of metamorphosis, which is not yet sufficiently appreciated. Goethe sees, correctly, the whole plant in the single leaf. The whole plant is contained in the leaf in a primitive form; and the whole plant is only a more complicated leaf. In every single organ he sees a whole organic being metamorphosed in some way or other, and the whole organic being is a metamorphosis of its individual

members (*Glieder*). The whole human being is a more complicated metamorphosis of one single organic system: the glottal system. If one understands how the whole human being is a metamorphosis of the glottal system, one is able to develop from the whole man a visible speech and visible song by movements of his limbs and by groups of performers in motion. And this development can be as genuine, and can proceed with as much inner, natural necessity as the development of song and speech from one specialised organ. One is within the creative forces of nature; one immerses oneself in the way in which our forces act in speaking or singing. When one has grasped these forces, one can transfer them to the forms of motion of the whole human being, as one transfers, in plastic art, the forces of the cosmos to the human form at rest. And as one gives expression to what lives within a man—emerging from his soul in poetry or song, or in some other art—as one expresses what can be expressed through speech, song or the art of recitation, so, too, can one express through the whole human being, in visible speech and song, what lives within him.

I should like to put it in this way: When we, as sculptors, give plastic shape to the human form, creating the microcosm out of the whole macrocosm, we create one pole; when we now immerse ourselves in the man's inner life, following its inner mobility, entering into his thinking, feeling and willing—into all that can find expression through speech and song—we can create "sculpture in motion" (*bewegte Plastik*). One could say: when one creates a work of plastic art, it is as if the whole wide universe were brought together in a wonderful synthesis. And what is concentrated in the deepest part of the human being, as at a point within his soul, strives, in the formed movements put out by the eurhythmist, to flow out into cosmic spaces. In the art of Eurhythmy—in "sculpture in motion"—the other pole responds from the human side. In the sculptor's plastic art we see the cosmic spaces turn towards the earth and flow together in the human form at rest. Then, concentrating on man's inner life, immersing ourselves in it spiritually, we perceive (*schauen*) what, to some extent, streams out from man to all points of the periphery of the universe and would meet those cosmic forces that flow in upon him from all sides and build his form; we design Eurhythmy accordingly.

I should like to add: the universe sets us a great task, but the beautiful human form is the answer. Man's inner life also sets us a great task; we explore infinite depths when, with our soul's loving gaze, we concentrate on man's inner life. This human inner life, too, strives out into all the wide expanses and, in darting, oscillating movements, would give rhythmic expression to what has been "compressed" to a point—as plastic art strives to have all the secrets of the cosmos compressed in the human form (which is, for the cosmos, a point). The human form in plastic art is the answer to the great question put to us by the universe. And when man's

art of movement becomes cosmic and creates something of a cosmic nature in its own movements—as in the case of Eurhythmy—then a kind of universe is born from man, figuratively at least.

We have before us two poles of visual art: in the very ancient plastic art and in the newly created art of Eurhythmy. But one must enter into the spirit of what is artistic, as we did above, if one would really understand the right of Eurhythmy to be considered an art. One must return to the way in which plastic art once took its place in human life. One can easily picture to oneself shepherds in a field who, in the small hours of the night, turn their sleepy, but waking, eyes to the starry heavens and receive unconsciously into their souls the cosmic pictures formed by the configured "imaginations" of the stars. What was revealed to the hearts of primitive men in this way was transmitted to sons and grandsons; what had been inherited grew in their souls and became plastic abilities in the grandsons. The grandfather felt the cosmos in its beauty, the grandson formed beautiful plastic art with the forces which his soul had received from the cosmos.

Anthroposophy must look into, and not only theorise about, the secrets of the human soul. It must experience the tragic situation of the human soul, all its exultations and all that lies between. And Anthroposophy must be able to see more than what evokes the tragic mood, what is now exultant and all that lies between. As one saw the stars clearly in older "imagination", and was able to receive into one's soul the formative forces from the stars, so one must take out of the human soul what one perceives there, and be able to communicate it through outer movements; then Eurhythmy begins.

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What I have said to-day is only intended to be once more a cursory indication of the natural transition from Anthroposophy as a body of ideas to Anthroposophy as immediate, unallegorical, unsymbolical plastic art, creating in forms—as is our aim. Anyone who sees this clearly will discover the remarkable relation of art to science and religion. Science will appear on one level, religion on another, and art between them. It is to science, after all, that man owes all his freedom—he would never have been able to attain to complete inner freedom without science—and what man has gained as an individual — what his being, regarded impartially, has gained by his becoming scientific — will be apparent. With his thoughts he has freed himself from the cosmos; he stands alone and is thereby a human individuality. As he lives with natural laws, so does he take them into his thoughts. He becomes independent in face of nature. In religion he is drawn to devotion; he seeks to find his way back to the essential foundations of nature. He would be again a part of nature, would sacrifice his freedom on the altar of the universe, would devote himself to the Deity—would add to

the breath of freedom and of individuality the breath of sacrifice. But art, especially plastic art, stands between, with all that is rooted in the realm of beauty.

Through science man becomes a free, individual being. In religious observance he offers up his own well-being, on the one hand maintaining his freedom, but already, on the other, anticipating sacrificial service. In art he finds he can maintain himself by sacrificing, in a certain sense, what the world has made of him; he shapes himself as the world has shaped him, but he creates as a free being this form from out of himself. In art, too, there is something that redeems and sets free. In art we are, on the one side, individuals; on the other, we offer ourselves in sacrifice. And we may say: In truth, art sets us free, if we take hold of it scientifically, with ideas—including those of spiritual science. But we must also say: In beauty we find again our connection with the world. Man cannot exist without living freely in himself, and without finding his connection with the world. Man finds his individuality in thought that is free. And by raising himself to the realm of beauty—the realm of art—he finds he can, again in co-operation with the world, create out of himself what the world has made of him.

Translated by V. C. Bennie.

Anthropsophy and Religion

Alfred Heidenreich

WHEN Rudolf Steiner came out fully on to the public scene in the last culminating phase of his life, after the end of the first war, he often referred to his work as *anthroposophisch orientierte Geisteswissenschaft*. This was the term which had ripened over the years as the most adequate name for his teaching. It was *Wissenschaft*—science—in the exact meaning of the word. The observation of fact, the penetrating thought, the searching question, the weighing up of possibilities, the freedom from preconceived ideas, all the qualities which make the scientific attitude, were present in his method. But it was a science which refused to be confined to the material field, although it should never be overlooked that Steiner was a scientist in the material field, too. His reading and factual knowledge of material science, including theoretical and applied physics, and theoretical and applied chemistry, were phenomenal. But his new and specific sphere of research was the Unseen. For this purpose the spirit part of man had to be developed according to those scientific methods which he has explained in his fundamental books.

Once this was done, he could say that "Anthroposophy is a knowledge of all that which the spirit organism of man can observe in the spirit world in the same way in which the sensory organism of man observes the physical world." And he applied the full conscientious scientific discipline of mind to his exploration of the Invisible. Hence he founded a true *Geistes*wissenschaft, a science of the spirit. And it was "*anthropo*sophically orientated." It opened a new epoch in the history of occultism. Until Steiner, all occultism had been *theo*sophically orientated, derived from ancient wisdom, handed down and taught in mystic schools and occult societies. Its original sources lay in an ancient form of human consciousness. It was based on visions received as the result of subtle changes in the physiological conditions of the human organism.

Steiner broke with all this. His starting point was the dormant faculties of higher knowledge in a human consciousness which has undergone a scientific training. These faculties could be trained to become conscious apart from their physical organs—*leibfrei*. And the human being, himself the "anthropos", was the key to the riddles of the universe. Man the Unknown was to become Man the Known. In this way his science of the spirit was "anthroposophically orientated."

The Spirit-World which Steiner's method opened up for first-hand scientific observation and research, revealed itself as a world of tremendous energies sustaining life, sensation, thought; a world of beings differing in their degrees of consciousness; a world of dynamic events reacting on the physical universe. Though approached in this epoch-making new manner, it was of course the same world with which the great religious systems of humanity in their several different ways had endeavoured to maintain contact through teaching, through prayer and ritual. It was the world covered by the whole majestic doctrinal structure concerning God, heaven, life after death, the last judgment, which Roman Catholic Christianity regards as final and entrusted to the Roman Church for ever, and which Protestant Christianity regards as unknowable to man's reason and an object of faith only. Now this world had become an accessible field of scientific research by the awakened spiritual power of a human consciousness, and a method had been developed by which the practice of this research could be taught.

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This situation must raise the most far-reaching questions imaginable. It touches on the innermost nerve of man's spiritual life. In actual fact, however, the full implications of this revolution have only gradually become apparent. The relevant questions have still largely to be formulated and sorted out with patience, with reverence and with an open mind. This momentous process is not really served by quick posers such as: Is Anthroposophy a new religion? Has Anthroposophy superseded religion? Is Anthroposophy compatible with religion? Such questions, natural as they may be, oversimplify the issue.

Rudolf Steiner himself treated the problem as one which emerges and grows with the expanding life of the impulse which he injected into human evolution. When interviewed on the subject, he said many different things to different people at different times. But it is possible to trace one fundamental line of thought and direction in this matter which goes through the whole of his teaching. The principle is, as far as I can see, formulated for the first time precisely in a short essay, written early in the century, which has been published in the first of the three little volumes entitled *From the Contents of the Esoteric School*.

"Theosophy is not a religion", Rudolf Steiner writes in this early essay, still using the earlier term Theosophy, but meaning Anthroposophy, "but a means for the understanding of the religions. Its relationship to the religious documents is the same as that of mathematical truth to the documents which have been written as mathematical textbooks. Mathematics can be understood from their own sources, the laws of space can be perceived without reference to an old book. But if one has perceived them, if one has absorbed the truth of geometry, one will estimate all the more highly that old book which has placed these laws for the first time before the human mind. It is thus with Theosophy."

The statement is clear. But it reveals also the core of the

problem. "Theosophy is not a religion", the statement says emphatically. But as it continues it shows that the subject-matter of Theosophy is the same as that of religion, or at least as that of the religious documents. And as Theosophy or Anthroposophy is the fresh discovery compared with the old book, is it not natural that it should be taken as superseding "the old book", however much one may affirm that it is itself not a religion?

Some ten years later, on the threshold of reaching the general public, Rudolf Steiner gave a public lecture at Liestal in Switzerland (11.1.16) on "The Task of Spiritual Science and its Building at Dornach." This lecture, available as a separate publication, is among the best introductory material for inquirers. Apart from a plain fundamental exposition of the task of Anthroposophy, Rudolf Steiner deals with a number of popular questions and misconceptions.

One of these questions is "how Anthroposophy is related to the religious life of man." Rudolf Steiner says: "Religions are facts in the historic life of the human race. Spiritual Science can indeed go so far as to study the spiritual phenomena which in the course of evolution have appeared as religion. But Spiritual Science can never wish to create a religion, just as little as Natural Science can harbour the illusion of being able to create anything in nature.... Neither need the intensity with which anyone practises his religion and his ritual services be in any way impaired by that which he finds in Spiritual Science."

In this representative public statement, Rudolf Steiner draws the line even more definitely. Religion is recognised as one of the great facts of life. It is acknowledged as resting on its own ground, like the natural phenomena of creation. Anthroposophy can study them as Science does, but cannot create them.

There, for the purposes of this public statement, the matter ends. But the student of Steiner's work in general has still an unresolved question in his mind. Is not the very method of anthroposophical research, even irrespective of its object, bound to have a religious flavour? And often its object is religion itself. Steiner's Anthroposophy is by no means simply a study of comparative religion, or a higher criticism of sacred texts. It speaks, in a sense, the same language as religion. Its approach to spiritual realities, and of course to spiritual beings, is of necessity devotional rather than analytical, or at any rate it grows more devotional the further it progresses. No reader of Steiner's fundamental textbook on "How to Attain Knowledge of Higher Worlds" can overlook the stress which is laid on devotion and reverence. It is an indispensable quality of mind for the explorer into the Invisible. There is, indeed, a special lecture on "The Mission of Religious Devotion," which Steiner gave in 1909 in Berlin. Where, then, in spite of seemingly categorical statements, is the real difference?

Let us look at one more quotation from Steiner's writings. We

choose a passage from his *Letters to Members* of the year 1924, so that we may have a representative utterance from the beginning, the middle, and the end of his anthroposophical career. In the first of these "Letters" (20.1.1924), Rudolf Steiner gives the following moving description of Anthroposophy:

"If Anthroposophy to begin with has its roots in the insight into the Spirit World already gained, its branches, leaves, flowers and fruits grow into all the fields of human life and action. With the thoughts which reveal the beings and laws of the spirit world, it extends its call into the depth of the creative human soul: the artistic powers are called forth. Art receives a universal stimulus.

"It makes the warmth which radiates from the uplifted gaze to the spirit flow into hearts: the religious sense awakens in true devotion to the Divine in the world. Religion receives a profound deepening.

"It opens its fountains and the charitable human will can draw from them. It makes alive the love between human beings and thereby creates impulses for moral action and true social practice.

"It fructifies the observation of nature through the germinating power of spiritual vision and thereby turns mere knowledge of nature into wisdom of nature."

Many students of Anthroposophy will enthusiastically confirm from their own experience what Rudolf Steiner says. Not least those who through Anthroposophy have had their religious life quickened, and the many who only through Anthroposophy have found their way again to what had been a lost country. But on the other hand it cannot be denied that a considerable number of men and women who were estranged from religion did not feel inspired by Anthroposophy to embrace religion, again or for the first time, but took Anthroposophy itself, bona fide, as a substitute. They accepted and practised it as a form of spiritual life which replaced religion for them. I think I am right in saying that today at least half the members of the Anthroposophical Society treat Anthroposophy in this manner. It is a very subtle problem and it is not at all easy to express a judgment on the rights or wrongs of the matter.

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At one time, however, Rudolf Steiner himself seems to have felt somewhat uneasy about this development. In a "cycle" given in Berlin in the early months of 1917 and published under the title of "Cosmic and Human Metamorphosis", he included what can be regarded as one of the most profound lectures on the Mystery of the Trinity. In the course of this lecture (20.2.1917), he went out of his way to make an unusual interpolation (*Einschaltung*), as he called it.

"At this point", he said, "I believe I ought to make an interpolation which is important and which should be really well understood, particularly by the friends of our Spiritual Science. The

matter should not be represented as if spiritual-scientific endeavours were intended as a substitute for the life and practice of religion. Spiritual Science can in the highest degree, and particularly concerning the Mystery of Christ, be a support, a foundation for the life and practice of religion. But Spiritual Science should not be made a religion; but one ought to be clear that religion in its active life and living practice within the human community kindles the spirit-consciousness of the soul." And Steiner proceeds further to say that the spirit-consciousness which is attained in a living religious practice can lead to the desire for more detailed spiritual knowledge, such as is made available in anthroposophical teaching, which in return can become a further support for the religious life. In other words, Steiner outlines here the idea of an interaction and mutual support between Anthroposophy and religion. He implies a basic and necessary differentiation of function between the two, which should, however, be co-ordinated for the benefit of the spiritual seeker.

This "interpolation" had an important historic consequence. It caused a number of young Anthroposophists to approach Rudolf Steiner with the question whether he regarded an independent movement for the renewal of religion as desirable or necessary. This approach took the form of a short, carefully worded memorandum in which this interpolation was quoted as the prime cause for the enquiry. Rudolf Steiner responded at once with a degree of ready co-operation which astonished the enquirers. The result was the foundation of the Movement for Religious Renewal known as "The Christian Community", the name given to it by Rudolf Steiner himself.

This foundation revealed Rudolf Steiner himself as an event in the history of religion. For through his instrumentality nothing less occurred than a re-statement or re-creation of the sacramental mysteries of Christianity, together with a new priestly succession. Rudolf Steiner himself did not assume the priestly quality, but as Initiate conferred it on Friedrich Rittelmeyer, the first head of the Christian Community, in whom the new succession has its beginning. One has to go far back in history in order to find standards of comparison. The figure of Moses comes to mind, who instituted a new priesthood through his brother Aaron without accepting priestly office himself. Referring to the foundations of the Christian Community, Rudolf Steiner wrote, "I cannot but reckon this experience as one of the solemn festivals of my life". (*Goetheanum*, II, 32).

In many ways we are still too close to these events to appreciate fully their historic consequence and significance. But it is clear that with the birth of "The Christian Community", religion, and in particular Christian religion, entered altogether into a fundamentally new epoch, and with it a new factor entered the relationship of Anthroposophy to religion. For the first time in 2,000

years it has become possible to unite complete freedom of thought and belief with the full cosmic reality of sacramentalism. For it is a fundamental principle of the Christian Community that both priests and members have complete freedom in their personal spiritual life and research. The "Creed" which Rudolf Steiner gave and which, I think, will one day be universally recognised as one of the most inspired new documents of Christianity, does not contain the formula "I believe". It is a sequence of twelve affirmative sentences covering the mysteries of Christianity in such a manner that the contemplation of this document, the meditative use of it, will lead the seeker in complete freedom to a growing insight into these mysteries.

On the other hand, the Seven Sacraments grouped around the "Act of Consecration of Man", the renewed Eucharist, like the planets around the sun, have become in their rebirth through Rudolf Steiner the pattern and archetype of creative human activity in the spirit of Christ. Their spiritual power is directed towards the transformation of the earth and of nature as much as towards the healing of human souls.

For the first time in Christian history we have to-day a true Infant Baptism, and not only an adaptation for children of a baptismal Ritual for Adults. For the first time in Christian history we have a Confirmation which meets the psycho-somatic condition of the adolescent, for the first time a Marriage Service which recognises the full spiritual equality of man and woman, for the first time Last Rites—a Service of Annointing as well as a twofold Funeral Service—which accompany the departing soul with full knowledge through the Gate of Death and into the Spiritual World; and, above all, for the first time a Communion Service in which the Sacred Presence of Christ can be clearly understood by the modern mind, and therefore worshipped in full spiritual freedom by the modern Christian. And so for the first time in history it has become possible to combine the two supposedly irreconcilable extremes of Christianity, Catholicism and Quakerism, in a living "Quaker-Catholicism" or "High Church without Dogma"—names which have been given to the Christian Community by observers from outside.

With Rudolf Steiner's help, it became possible also "to take the Bible back to the Altar". The immense amount of new light which Steiner has thrown on the origin and meaning of the sacred Scriptures made an entirely fresh treatment of the Bible possible. The Gospels especially could be shown as a path to the living Christ rather than as a plain record of the historic Jesus. Among the biblical scholars of the Christian Community, Emil Bock, to whose memory an article in this number is devoted, was an outstanding figure.

Besides these two spheres of religion mentioned hitherto—the

"priestly" task and the "prophetic" task, to give them their traditional names—the third element, the "pastoral" task, has been equally renewed through Rudolf Steiner's work. Apart from his general comprehensive presentation of the nature of man and of the interplay of the living body with soul and spirit which in itself opens up a truly modern approach to "pastoral" problems, Rudolf Steiner laid the foundation for co-operation between priest and doctor through a special course on Pastoral Medicine, in the last weeks of his public life. It can be imagined what it means that, for the first time, the facts of reincarnation and karma can be brought to bear by Christian ministers on the problems of sin, guilt and forgiveness, and the burdens which individual souls may have to bear can be understood and eased in the light of that truth. Compassionate service, friendliness, neighbourliness, in short all the social attitudes which one expects to find in a religious Community can be lifted in the light of Steiner's teaching from the level of moral obligation to the level of imaginative love. In this new quality of community life there lies a valuable safeguard against the dangers of self-centredness and spiritual egotism which so easily affect the solitary seeker.

While the new sacramental organism, with its new priestly succession, was given by the Initiate to the Christian Community alone, the other gifts of religious renewal can be freely shared by anyone else. They can be shared by other Churches, they can be shared by Anthroposophists. However, Rudolf Steiner took pains to explain that it should not be regarded simply as a matter of course that members of the Anthroposophical Society become members of the Christian Community, or vice-versa. It should be, in each case, a clearly considered decision. People must be free to join the Anthroposophical Society without changing their Church, if they so wish; and people must be free to join the Christian Community without being committed to go to anthroposophical lectures or meetings, if they so wish.

In itself, this distinction is so natural and reasonable that it should not present any practical difficulty. It must be said, however, that at the beginning a measure of confusion prevailed.

It was perhaps inevitable that in the first few months after the foundation of the Christian Community, a number of Anthroposophists joined the religious movement without adequate discrimination. When Rudolf Steiner saw the danger of this development he found ways and means to stop it. In a celebrated lecture (Dornach, December 30, 1922), he drew a firm distinction between the functions of the anthroposophical and the religious body: they are as different from each other, he said, as the circulatory and the nervous system in the human being. And he added that those who had found their way into Anthroposophy have no need for religious renewal. It cannot be denied that this lecture caused a hostile attitude against the Christian Community among

a number of Anthroposophists.

I have hesitated in referring to this incident, since it belongs perhaps rather to the internal history of the Anthroposophical Movement. But my attention has been drawn to the fact that this lecture is not seldom referred to as an orientation on principle regarding Anthroposophy and religion, and it therefore needs to be considered in this context. Taken by itself, without its historical setting, it can indeed be bewildering. But in the historical mood at the time when the Anthroposophical Society passed through heroic growing pains in becoming a world movement, Steiner had to ask his followers to support with single-minded devotion the Anthroposophical Society, and not to have their spiritual energies and material resources preoccupied in the interests of a young and perhaps attractive sister movement, which had really set itself special tasks and had undertaken to break new ground.

Those of us who are left as witnesses of those times and events can fully understand and appreciate the reasons which prompted Rudolf Steiner to speak as he did on that occasion, which was indeed only one night before the fatal tragedy of the burning of the Goetheanum. But perhaps we have also a responsibility to hand down to the growing number of students who today take an interest in Steiner's works, something of the living circumstances in which this or that directive was given.

Perhaps the most significant comment which Rudolf Steiner himself gave to this controversial lecture is this: "What must be sharply differentiated in the field of ideas comes together again in the human being." ("*Was in der Idee scharf getrennt werden muss, im Menschen vereinigt es sich wieder.*") Anthroposophy and religion must be sharply differentiated in the field of ideas, but in the human being they come together again. No doubt this differentiation could be more clearly seen if it were more adequately realised that religion does not only, or perhaps not even primarily, cultivate the individual spiritual life, but has its principal function in acts of communal worship and in the formation of communities. Of course, the study of Anthroposophy also brings people together in groups and societies and may lead to a variety of social undertakings. But it is in the nature of things that the earnest and consistent pursuit of the occult path of higher development demands in the first place the activity and advance of the individual, while the formation of community is one of the chief terms of reference of religion, which links the worshipper also with the wider brotherhood of man. Before the altar, the highest Initiate and the humblest believer can meet on terms of equality.

As a helpful corollary to this it may be added that Rudolf Steiner described it as the task of Anthroposophy and the Anthroposophical Society to advise people in a general manner on their spiritual development, and as the task of religion, and specifically

of the Christian Community, to help people in their problems of life and destiny. Furthermore, he regarded it as a matter of course that for the great events of life — baptism, marriage, burial — Anthroposophists should turn to the Christian Community. In fact, he set the example for it himself.

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It is evident that the problem threatens to become one-sided, and perhaps even somewhat unreal, if one treats Anthroposophy and religion in terms of a primitive "either"—"or". The relationship is more subtle. I have always found it helpful that on occasion Rudolf Steiner compared the relationship between the Anthroposophical Society and the Christian Community—and by implication between Anthroposophy and Religion—with the relationship between the three functionally differentiated spheres of the Threefold Commonwealth. He who understands the one will understand the other, he said. For in Steiner's conception the three functional spheres of the Threefold Commonwealth are also "clearly differentiated in the field of ideas, but come together in the human being". This indication is wonderfully illustrated in the monumental lectures on "Cosmology, Religion, and Philosophy", which Rudolf Steiner gave in Dornach from September 6–15, 1922, in the evenings of the first week of the foundation events of the Christian Community.

If Rudolf Steiner could have stayed with us longer, if he had not been so tragically taken away from us at a comparatively early age and at a crucial moment in the development of the Anthroposophical Society, I believe he would have said and done many more things—perhaps contradictory on the surface—to elucidate this important subject of Anthroposophy and religion. But whatever he might have done—in a sense it is rather futile to entertain such speculations—he would have safeguarded above everything the freedom of decision for the individual in this matter. It is quite possible that he made some apparently contradictory remarks on purpose in order that no one should be able to misuse his authority and to dogmatise on the subject. The most un-Steiner like attitude is taken up by people who pick out one single statement and say: Now here Dr. Steiner has made it exactly clear what he thinks about Anthroposophy and religion. In the last analysis, the relationship between Anthroposophy and religion is not an academic problem —only hairsplitting intellectuals may be attracted to a theoretical discussion of the subject— but a problem of life which individual people will solve differently, and perhaps even solve differently during different periods of their life. And they must be left free to do so.

Some complicate the issue by introducing the question of "need". Do I "need" religion, they ask, if I have Anthroposophy? This question seems to me as intelligent as if someone asks, Do I need to drink tea in the afternoon if I have coffee for breakfast?

Of course there is no "need" to do so. But many people will witness to the enrichment of their lives which comes from having both. And they should be left free to do so.

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There is one side to the problem which has arisen more insistently and universally than in Steiner's life-time: the religious education of children and the religious life of young people. More and more anthroposophical families have children, and many hundreds of children go to Rudolf Steiner schools every year. A conscientious observer is bound to admit that the laying of the foundation of a living religion in the hearts of the children is a serious problem. Rudolf Steiner hoped for a close co-operation of Anthroposophists with the Christian Community in this sphere. This hope has not yet been quite realised.

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It might appear from much that has been said that the problem—Anthroposophy and Religion—is largely a domestic affair among followers of Steiner. But this is not the case. I believe that the manner in which disciples of Steiner deal with the matter will set the pattern for an increasing number of people, as time goes on. Steiner's Anthroposophy, in the widest sense, is beginning to infiltrate into our civilisation. It may split our civilisation into two camps. The camp in which the reality of the Spirit and of the Spirit-World is taken seriously, will be the minority. It will add immeasurably to its strength if its members know how to combine Anthroposophy and religion.

Ultimately this combination touches on the same mystery as the relationship of man and woman. Rudolf Steiner refers to this remarkable parallel in a set of lectures on "Reincarnation and Karma" (Stuttgart, February 21, 1912). He talks there about "Faith" and "Knowledge" in the same sense that we have been talking in this article about religion and Anthroposophy. And Rudolf Steiner explains: "For him who recognises the spiritual facts the matter is clear. The same relationship which exists in external life between the sexes, applies to the relationship between Faith (Religion) and Knowledge (Anthroposophy). . . . Indeed, the parallelism goes so far that we can say: 'Just as a human being changes his sex in his subsequent incarnation, so that as a rule he alternates between male and female, so as a rule an incarnation more open to religion (*mehr gläubige*) is followed by one more open to knowledge (*mehr vernunftgemäss*).' . . . As a rule these facts produce mutual stimulus and supplementary experience."

Perhaps with this statement Steiner speaks the final word. There may be "bachelors" of Anthroposophy and of religion. There may be difficult marriages between the two. But there will also be happy marriages.

America: Land of the Apocalypse

L. Francis Edmunds

AMERICA is brash, turbulent, untidy. America is hearty, gay, adventurous. In America all is doing. The wheels of fortune do not turn, they whirl. Success is meteoric, failure calamitous. And all the time the millions multiply, millions of souls, billions of dollars. Men earn and spend luxuriously. Yet many grime in the shadow of machines, machine in the cloudy dust of enterprise, and many lose their way or are shunted off to nowhere! Time is a merciless taskmaster. Gray hairs are not wanted. America is young—perilously young. History piles up in decades. American history is compulsory in all schools, but all eyes look front: the backward glance is rare.

And yet, America has a past of a kind, a brief but crowded past. Here more sharply than elsewhere this century has left a world behind to face a new. A few decades have lifted America to the pinnacle of western economic power. A few decades more and American policy will be determinative for this whole terrestrial globe. Where will the power lie then, east of west or west of east? What manner of power? Soviet triumphs make a stir, but the West is the master-genius of the machine: American enterprise demands it. American limbs seem born for it. It is hardly conceivable that the East will prevail. What will prevail in the West, machine or man?

America is proud of her late origin; proud of the moral heroism and endurance of her first settlers; proud of her spontaneous, non-traditional constitution. Yet does what ruled in her sturdy fore-runners still rule to-day? Is the spirit of the early fathers the spirit still of modern America? What *is* the spirit of America?

Matter Over Man

Early morning. The approach to New York harbour. Haze and low-hanging clouds. A massive front of buildings soaring skywards. Further back, the tallest building in the world, caught in cloud: from its public parapet, the walls sheer down, a twelve hundred and fifty feet perpendicular drop to a midge population below. The will and ingenuity of man raised these mighty mono-liths of stone on their hard granite beds. Human skill triumphant over matter.

At night these buildings tower with sparkling lights, thousands of lights from thousands of offices. An army of cleaners works through the night to prepare them for the morning. How many rows of ledgers and account books! Countless ciphers knot the invisible threads of industry and commerce into a mesh-work round

the world, involving countless lives and livelihoods. Wall Street and beyond!

Manhattan. Millions living storey upon storey. A six-storey building is here a pigmy, a twenty-storey building a moderate size. Avenues run parallel north-south, streets run parallel east-west: all is rectangular and criss-cross. Avenues and streets are thick with traffic, urging traffic held impatient at the frequent stop-signs. Pavements lined day and night with standing cars. Taxis with inside notices: "Sit back and relax." Vociferous taxi-drivers, hoot-ing, horning, and complaining, often in a foreign accent, "Where are we rushing?" But we rush all the same.

Parts of New York are quiet, clean, dignified and pleasant; parts have a grandeur all their own; parts look grimy and neglected; parts are derelict with poverty and sinister with crime. Gangsterism is rife: savage, lurking aggression seems to threaten everywhere.

People always. Traffic always. Police cars and ambulances with shrieking sirens paralyse other traffic as they tear their way through the packed thoroughfares to some fateful rendezvous. Police carry pistols as well as batons.

Central Park is a great rectangular slab of green. What relief to walk on grass, to see a crop of naked rocks, to look at trees, to edge one's way along a stretch of water! Yet citizens are warned to avoid the lonely hours. They crowd for the most part near the exits or along well-beaten tracks where many pass. Police cars patrol the ways. Police boxes stand ready to transmit an emergency call.

New York never sleeps. There are movie shows commencing at midnight, radio programmes for insomnia victims, strollers at all hours, eating houses at all hours. A restaurant attendant tells a customer: "The day we open a new shop, we lose the key, for service *never* stops." Food can be bought at stores till two or three in the morning.

And the people! All languages are spoken here and English in all accents. There are New Yorkers born and bred who love their city, its feel of solid stone, its restless motion, its flashing entertain-ment, its motley crowds. To others, New York is least of all America: it is the port of entry for a ceaseless press of immigrants coming as fast as quotas will allow, the gateway for an Old World in search of a New.

And America, the United States of America, absorbs them all, assimilates them all, makes citizens of all. Thirty children in a classroom: where do they come from — meaning, where do their people come from? From anywhere in all five continents, all jostled together. Some are first, some second, some third or even fourth generation back—pride mounts with the number, but even the furthest back are immigrants still! A land of immigrants! Each classroom is an Old World held in the nutshell of a New.

Yet America, so composite, stands for itself, is one. Mighty

mountains, mighty rivers, mighty plains and forests, mighty deserts, mighty floods and hurricanes and earthquakes, mighty America, large in all its aspects, absorbs, assimilates, transforms all into itself, into America. America is the mill of the modern age; it grinds old grain, all grain, into a new flour — American flour, American bread, American economy, American independence, the American way of life. What *is* the American way of life?

This multiple society under its one flag is startlingly recent. All of this America, apart from its few indigenous Indians, is a product of this modern age, is post-renaissance. In its brief history Commemoration Day stands for a pristine moment. An eighteenth-century church in Boston is labelled "ancient monument." How much is left in modern America of the high resolves which gave it birth? Even a hundred years ago, less than a hundred, the fever of modern enterprise had not as yet set in. There was an Emerson, a Lincoln, a Whitman, and there were many others lesser known abroad—men of heart and vision drawing their strength from the core of their own manhood, true singers and true servants of the times of which they dreamed. A world in the making, and the watchword, Liberty! Statue of Liberty! There it stands, but what now spreads out behind it? The prevailing word naively stated still is Liberty, but the overall drive is for money and possession. Men in their millions measure life by goods. The dollar is become the overlord.

What do they actually possess, these millions? A house which they do not own, a car which they do not own, television sets, washing-machines, labour-saving devices and gadgets of all kinds, even clothes on their backs which they often do not own—what do they possess? Their lives are heavily mortgaged to things they do not own — mortgaged to payments and insurance policies which must at all costs be maintained. Credits are persuasively encouraged. Holidays abroad on credit. Enjoy to-day and pay to-morrow—on easy, attractive terms! Whilst factories are churning out their goods and markets are flowing over with stocks, there is always the haunting fear of a slump, of unemployment and sudden ruin. In the scramble to keep up with the latest and the best, the latest being synonymous with best, wives, too, must work. One eye at least on the neighbour and his latest acquisition. To possess less than he is to lose face, is mental torture and disgrace. Children, too, must have the best, everything that credit can provide, everything but their parents' time. Time is the dearest commodity of all and offers no credit. But in an apartment flat, with parents busy, time hangs heavy on the children. Television can take care of that, television all day and every day. Television instructs, comforts and consoles not only children but all ages—television, and, as need arises, the psychiartrist.

America stands to-day as the most powerful nation in the world

—a power vested in the dollar. American influence extends as far as the dollar will allow. Economics thus becomes a primary affair of government. Production at highest pitch, three shifts a day. Production in turn demands consumption. At home and abroad, men must buy. Here the techniques of psychology come to the aid of an art of advertisement which is ruthless and prolific. Advertisement virtually controls the newspapers, the radio, the television programmes; it blares out goods with merciless insistence at all times and everywhere. As for the goods, surface gloss, quick performance, rapid decay—these will keep the wheels going round. The margin between purchase and repair is reduced to a negligible quota. Repair means individual labour and labour is all too costly. Why bother to repair when a little extra will procure the latest and the best? The result is dumps of wreckage, eyesore dumps which nevertheless guarantee a speedy turnover. How long can this last?

Production must not cease at any cost. Production seriously arrested would mean large-scale unemployment. Since nerves are frayed already and pockets compromised, this would quickly lead to panic and panic to upheaval and the fearful threat of communism. The only alternative would then be war—war produces and consumes fearfully. This is the nightmare spectre in the background—production for war as a means for maintaining peace.

This precisely is the situation in the world. The war potential over all this globe has risen to such dizzy heights of horror that the mind reels back refusing to contemplate. Forced prosperity and mounting fear become close companions in their search for safety methods to avert disasters. Controls become a necessity, centralisation an accepted fact. And now ideologies appear as benefactors in the name of all the virtues. One way or another, Communism appears to win.

Were this to happen—and what is to prevent it?—it would be a terrible travesty of all the hopes that lived in all the hearts which yearned so passionately for moral independence and inner freedom at the founding of America. By what magical force of human nature can those hopes be still upheld against the anti-human coercions implicit in the world struggle to-day—a struggle in which America is obliged to play the most dominant role? What is to save America and, with America, the rest of the world, from falling into the slave-driven state of a modern Egypt without the depth of mystery of the Egypt of old? The Statue of Liberty is verily become the Sphinx of modern times!

Man Over Matter

A New England school. A Sunday afternoon. Several of the older scholars are gathered for informal talk with a passing visitor. They have many questions. Eventually these turn to the dangers of radio-active fall-out, the threat of atomic war, the future outlook. They are young, eager for life and action, eager to know. Yet,

young as they are, they have seen the writing on the wall. Fear enters the room—fear at man's helplessness. How meet the challenge of their anxious, questioning faces?

"We are all familiar with shadows, are we not?" "Yes."

"But where there is a shadow there must also be a light?" "Yes."

"And can there be a shadow without a light?" "No."

"And if the shadow is very deep, what then?" "The light must be as strong."

"Yes, that is a law of nature. Have you known nature to lie?" "No."

"Well, we have been considering shadows of another kind. May we not learn from nature here also? Can there be *any* shadow without a light?"

Silence.

"What then must men do—surely not lose themselves in gazing at the shadows? May not the shadows point them to the light?"

Impressive silence.

"Here we are not talking of outer things only, but of matters which concern man himself. We are smothered in doubts, perplexities and fears. They of themselves can offer no solution. For too long in this materialistic age has man's gaze been turned to outer things away from himself. He has forgotten the source of his own being—the source of light within him. Now outer circumstances compel him to turn inward. Only the light man carries in himself can help him. In fact, it is he himself, obstructing his own light, who casts the shadows.

"That is the challenge of our time, the challenge to you, that men should learn to relate all outer circumstances to inner causes. The cause for the outer circumstances and their solution lies in man. The shadows are deep but the light is strong. Man in our day, more than ever before, must turn to the light within him.

Seen this way, our age has a special task, to turn from the shadows towards the light; to turn from a knowledge of things to a knowledge of man. Fear, too, is a shadow and courage can disperse it. Man from the sources of his being can transform all circumstances and disperse all shadows. This has to be discovered and made the basis of a new knowledge. You have it in your hearts to make this discovery."

Suddenly there was a mood of confidence. A wave of social warmth swept through the room, a sense of fellowship and a high common task. These were children still, but what their hearts had understood their minds would grasp later. Such children may be met anywhere in America. Beneath the welter of materialism, with all its turbulent distractions, there is a force of heart, virginal and pure, biding its time to be awakened. Even adult Americans are children at heart. That is the wonder of America.

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A small lecture-theatre in a State College in the West. Some two hundred young men and women fill the auditorium. It is a voluntary class in philosophy instituted by the lecturer. Attention is eagerly concentrated on what he says. In a world of things, what is the state of man? That is the ruling question which underlies the course. The following excerpts are from a lecture he delivered to an audience of lecturers. They give the fighting position of the man.

"The ailment of our civilisation which has been incubating for centuries and has finally reached its period of crisis is called *the depersonification of man and of reality as a whole*. The depersonification of man consists in reducing man to a behaving 'thing' . . . Now the characteristic of a *thing* that merely 'behaves' is . . . that it can be manipulated and placed within a scheme of other things like a pawn or any other object that is predictable in what it can be or do. A *thing* is devoid of self-determination, of self-valuing and of self-possessed action. . . . A *thing* cares not whether it has being or has no being at all, nor does it care if other things are or not. . . . A *thing* does not love, does not hate, does not develop despair nor dread of its very being. A *thing* is simply convenient. . . . A *thing* is the very antithesis of a person. And it is well indeed that things have this character, for they are made to be used—that is their nature. Their supine, unself-determining character is the whole of their worth.

"Men are not impersonal things. Men do not merely 'behave,' they *act*. They are not merely objects of observation. They are subject-agents who maintain whatever being they have by making choices and who know intimately what it means to make such choices. They are self-observers, they are self-conscious. Men can choose to be 'things', of course, as they have done many times in history and are now doing on an unprecedented scale. . . . What I am trying to say is that men are not simply capable of choosing; they are the actual fact of this choosing, and this is another way of saying that they represent the living fact of *freedom* in the world, however conditioned by outer circumstances. . . .

"The tragedy of our civilisation, as I see it, is that the thing-pattern has been gradually and insidiously extended to man himself and to all his doings. And this has been accomplished, sometimes deliberately, by power-seekers disguised as statesmen, educators, philosophers, and even as leaders of man's spiritual life, but more often by scientific scholarship without wisdom. . . .

"Man is not merely something that can be known about: he can know himself, and, indeed, *must*, if he is to choose himself. And the choice of himself, the choice of his freedom, is the fundamental fact about a man. . . . Now it is incredible that such a patent fact could ever have been forgotten. Yet, this is precisely what has happened, and this self-oblivion of man is all the more fearsome considering that it has found its way into the souls of

men who were originally dedicated to the principles of personalised life and freedom. . . .

"The incontrovertible fact is that we, who had chosen to become the trustees of spiritual reality, that is, of the *self-determined person*, we who had lit beacons of light over the oceans of the world, we who generated by our faith in the human person a new confidence in the subject-agent who is man. . . . we too, seemingly, are engulfed in this universal somnolence, this self-forgetfulness, this hypnotic fascination for an externalized and depersonified view of man. For us, too, I am afraid, man is beginning to behave like a rat in a maze.

"I submit, ladies and gentlemen, that this is the view of man we consciously or unconsciously impart to our young people in hundreds of colleges and universities all over this land. I submit, also, that as long as we are part of this fraud, which is eliminating the self-determining subject from human history, we shall remain accomplices in this greatest of all crimes ever to be perpetrated against mankind. I am not referring to atom bombs and their consequences, but to that real annihilation of man which is the self-denial of the freedom that he personally represents in the world."

This splendid man had found a philosophy class of meagre academic interest for the few and had turned it into an enthusiastic crusade in defence of man. The hearts of his young listeners, as they sat alert and alive before him, were totally at one with him. His was no emotional tirade but an appeal through thought to conscience. The response was deep and strong.

On the occasion described he introduced a visitor who chose to speak on Goethe.

"Goethe was least of all a theorist. His art was to observe nature closely as it appeared to the naked senses with a mind entirely free from hypothetical thoughts. Having observed a given phenomenon, he would shift the conditions slightly so as to observe the immediately adjacent phenomenon, then the phenomenon adjacent to that, until he had a whole range of related phenomena from which to revert to the original phenomenon. His observation would range back and forth, sometimes for weeks, months and even years, seeking within the total range of the observed phenomena for a key phenomenon present in them all. Gradually this would take shape for his mind's eye as the all-pervading idea. He felt that it lifted before his inner vision out of the phenomena themselves. The idea as he experienced it was not something he had cleverly thought out; it was as present a reality as any sense-perception, the culminating revelation of nature's own mode of working; it was not he who formed ideas about nature but nature which revealed her secret to him as idea.

"What then was man? Man, in Goethe's view, did not stand apart from nature looking on as a detached spectator, measuring,

computing and theorizing. He stood, with all that he was, within nature, the crown of nature: in him nature became self-aware. It was not man who thought subjectively about nature, but nature which revealed her objectivity in him. To think otherwise, to think of nature as proceeding from blind causes and of man as being haphazardly endowed with a capacity to formulate ideas, was a form of blasphemy, a denial of nature and of man.

"Man, for Goethe, was not a mere onlooker of nature, he was nature's own creation, he owed everything he had to her wise working. In him this wisdom reached the level of idea, the stage of consciousness. To this consciousness the world could reveal its innermost meaning. In the meaning of the world man held a central place. Placed at the peak of outer nature, in him nature could achieve a second birth as art, philosophy and human culture. In man outer experience and inner experience met in mutual interplay. Everything real had its ideal aspect. The physically real was there for the senses to behold: the capacity to behold the spiritually ideal had to be trained and awakened. The outwardly perceived real and the inwardly perceived ideal united in man. To condemn oneself to the evidence of the physical senses alone was to forego one's manhood. To remain within the idea alone was to grow a stranger to life. To unite inner and outer in every moment of experience, to behold the sense world with inner faculties of vision, to confirm the ideal world with reference to the senses—this Goethe called *sinnlich-sittlich* perception, seeing along with the outer phenomenon the idea creatively at work within it.

"For him, this dual perception was the only mode of grasping the total phenomenon in its reality. There was a time in the ancient past when the outer world was termed illusion and the inner world alone reality—at that time man felt himself a stranger here on earth. To-day the physical world is termed reality and inner experience subjective illusion. Therefore man finds himself a slave to matter, powerless to help and heal himself. For Goethe, nature embodied the idea. In the idea, man was at one with nature.

"Men being only on the path to progress may see equally yet think and interpret differently. This for Goethe did not mean that there could be several truths, but rather particularized versions of one universal truth. The idea is indivisibly one. As men overcame their separate limitations, he expected there to come a time when the one all-illuminating truth would become common revelation—revelation not approaching man as a gift of grace from above but as the fruit of his own growing. This for him was the path to freedom. Thus Goethe's studies of nature and his evolution of Faust followed exactly the same method.

"Goethe saw man standing within the kingdoms of nature, carrying within him the very same laws which he might behold around him but transformed, metamorphosed, raised to a level where they lit up in him as the all-containing idea of his own exis-

tence. Nature was not bound to the physical senses, but could extend for human vision to include the divine world-order. There were no definable limits to human growing, no definable limits to all-ruling nature.

"Here was a view of man totally unlike that of to-day, a view which placed man centrally within the entire world-process. Goethe's scientific work lay more or less forgotten and discredited in the archives at Weimar, where he had lived and worked. It was first brought to light in an ordered form by Rudolf Steiner, who stands still to-day as Goethe's foremost interpreter, but even so Goethe's way is scarcely acknowledged. The most ardent admirers of his poetry still shrug their shoulders at his science, although he himself was convinced that his scientific work would have far greater value for posterity. Instead, we have learned to analyse man down to his material elements and then to seek in matter for an explanation of his manhood. Wisdom is not knowledge. Knowledge analyses life, wisdom promotes it. We have much knowledge, but in terms of wisdom the modern view of man is utter folly, for it denies man to himself.

"The world to-day is suffering dreadfully from this folly. That which Goethe felt and demonstrated by his life, that Rudolf Steiner advanced to Anthroposophy—a word which may be interpreted as a wisdom-filled understanding of man. It is understanding of man that we above all need. This requires something different from the analytical faculties on which we have learned wholly to rely. Goethe, the artist-scientist, possessed such faculties. Steiner shows us how we may acquire them."

The talk concluded, there was a volley of applause. Young students came running out of the lecture-theatre demanding what they could do next. Here is a further tribute to America. Recognition is swift and lasting if the encounter is with actual experience. It has been said that Americans want evident proof before they can accept. Yes, but there is a quick, intuitive sense for the quality, the validity of a man's utterance, and that is proof. It has been said that America is quick to applaud, quick to forget. Maybe, but there are ever those who are awake and aware, who applaud with their hearts and never forget. They are realists in ideas, idealists in action, direct, immediate. They are to be met everywhere. In them is the hope of the land.

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Examples could be multiplied to show that in this land something is working in the depths which belies the outer face of things, something remarkable and rare, new and ultra-modern, promise of a new type of manhood, a new type of consciousness. It needs only to grow awake to itself.

There was an occasion when a number of young people, teachers, actors, artists, scientists, met for a week-end conference. Attention

was drawn to the deliberate distinction made by Galileo and his followers between the primary and the secondary qualities. The primary qualities relate to measure, weight and number, which lend themselves to easy demonstration. The secondary qualities relate to warmth, colour, smell and all those inward attributes of man which bring response to faith and love and beauty. It was shown how the whole of our modern science from Galileo on is based on the calculables alone. In this way, everything significant in human nature, all the incalculables which make the essence of man's being, were cast out from the start. No wonder that man has no place in the world. Man is an outcast from the universe he has fancifully created, a universe composed of formulæ and numbers.

To-day we begin to reap the nemesis of this. Man is discredited. He has become a digit. That which was then cast out needs to be gathered up, fostered and directed to imbue the modern intellect with new life-forces, even as the sap which rises in the wintry trees releases a new season of life. Then the science of things can reach up to things spiritual. Then man will find man again and life have meaning. Thoughts such as these and the discussions which followed changed lives in that week-end. In America, seemingly so bound to matter, the light of Damascus may flash through at any moment: true, only for individuals here and there—but what is the parable of the mustard seed?

New World — New Age

America is like no other land, for it is composed of elements of all the lands. The American people are like no other people, for they include the peoples of the world. The story of America is like no other story, for it was born of the age we live in, and this age is itself still in its early beginnings. What the eye sees is the afterworking of Galileo's impulse, is mechanisation, automation, man triumphing over matter and falling victim to it. Here the demons of depersonification work with untold force. But, by a miracle there is here also a freshness of outlook, a freedom from bias, an immediacy of perception, a readiness for moral action for which the world waits. Here in the merging of races, nations, types of all kinds, there is slowly forming a type of man beyond all these; for him the earth will find new meaning in the fellowship of stars and man new meaning in the fellowship of divine Beings. The end of this process is a long way off, but the beginning can be perceived as germinal points hidden by much rank growth.

In this land where materialism is so rife, the flash of the spirit possesses unspeakable strength. In this land where the forces of death are so large, life has the throb of a new pulse. The New World is not just one more continent; it is a world belonging to a New Age: it offers the ground for a new reach of consciousness. Here, where unfreedom is so threatening, is the testing ground for

that inborn freedom which no earthly bond may bind.

America is saddled with many greeds, yet Americans abound with generosity. The virtue to be developed by America, according to Rudolf Steiner, is altruism. That translated could mean—Love thy neighbour as thyself. The mission of America, according to him, is to expand from earth-bound to cosmic consciousness. America will find fulfilment long hence, when the springtime sun will have moved into Aquarius, but it is in Pisces that Aquarius is prepared as a seed within its fruit.

America is all contradictoriness. Outwardly America may well become the greatest materialising power in history—present symptoms point that way; inwardly are gathering the forces to overcome this very power. Resilience of will, which is so strong there, may be for Mammon or for God. This land awaits the fiercest spiritual battle of all times—but a battle must have at least two fronts. Michael stands closest when the dragon is nigh.

Asia has borne its part—ancient culture-epochs built on higher authority by descent, priestly authority, kingly authority, authority of father over son.

Europe flowered with the birth of nationhood, and within the nations, the rights of free-born individual men.

To America flock the individuals of all nations. America is destined for the new community of freedom-loving men. All evils will oppose her in her mission, but the age of Philadelphia must come.

Out of the Father, out of a higher nature, are we born on earth: so speaks the East. In Christ we die to find our true selves: so speaks the best in Europe. Finding ourselves, we find our fellow-men: so speaks the hope of America. East and Middle and West are Three in One. America is West. What America is destined to become is for all men.

To achieve the community of the future, based as it must be not on natural instinct and the blood but on the force of common human understanding, men must first overcome their present selves. Hence the war of each against all and each against himself, the war of the Apocalypse. The world is preparing for this war, which will absorb all other wars. Man over matter or matter over man: with God or with Mammon: sheep or goats. That will be the ultimate test for the free-born, spirit-born man of the far future, the ultimate struggle for the true community.

The onset of our modern age marks the beginning only of this struggle, which is to extend through centuries and millenia, the struggle for a human society sustained in utmost freedom. Already in the few brief centuries which have passed, many have been the martyrdoms for freedom's sake. This impulse to freedom, like every spiritual birth, brings overwhelming forces of retrogression against it. Authoritarian rule over the soul and totalitarian control of the means of subsistence are rearing their opposing mights

everywhere. Yet, from the dawn of this modern age, the call of the human heart has been for freedom.

Freedom for what? Freedom to be oneself, freedom to find the tables of the law written in one's own heart, freedom to translate in terms of self-discovery old modes of conscience into new compassionate insight, to derive from insight and an inborn sense for truth the motive forces to shape the world anew. This is the greatest longing of modern man. This very longing makes him modern. It is nearly seventy years ago since Rudolf Steiner wrote his book on freedom, *Die Philosophie der Freiheit*—in English, "The Philosophy of Spiritual Activity." Freedom as described in this book marks a new phase in human awareness and responsibility. It gives, in terms of thought accessible to every man, the spiritual ground for this New Age into which mankind has entered, the age which saw the birth of America as a new world entity.

The birth of America and the birth of the impulse to freedom are co-incident. They are inseparable facts of history. America is too easily regarded as an extension merely of the world that was. It became invaded all too quickly by old-world ambitions. A heavy burden rests on America. Along with the impulse to freedom came the greed for gold. This dual and conflicting nature is hers to-day. Yet the child call of America was for freedom—freedom for all men irrespective of race, creed, rank, and all other outer differences—freedom to be oneself, to determine life out of inborn, individual sources of responsibility. Amid a thousand obvious contradictions, deep in her nature, this child call is heard still.

The archetypal picture for man has advanced from East to West: first the Father, the ground of all existence: then the Son moving amongst men upon that ground: then the disciples gathered in "an upper room."

> And suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting.
>
> And there appeared unto them cloven tongues as of fire, and it sat upon each of them.
>
> And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance.

It is the Pentecost of the disciples, meeting man to man in an "upper room", which is the seed force of the new community. Here is the promise for all times that those who strive for the spirit will one day be united in the spirit. Here is freedom. It is the very antithesis of the war of each against all. Both forces work strongly in America, the forces of decadence accumulated from the past and leading to interminable strife, and the forces of renewal streaming in from the future for the forming of community.

As the Father has been known from all times in the East, as the Son made His entry between East and West, so the western world in particular awaits the oncoming power of the Holy Spirit. And the

War of the Apocalypse is the battle for or against the Holy Spirit, the battle of man with himself, the New Adam versus the Old—the ultimate war towards which all wars are tending. Freedom stands only at the end.

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America is in very truth the child of the New Age. Her soil was preserved for centuries on centuries for this particular time. Christ sent his disciples out to all the world: their mission was to prepare for a World Pentecost. America is the greatest spiritual experiment of all times. To America have come human elements from all the world, awaiting the promise of the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Truth, the Comforter. No wonder that all inimical powers are also gathered there.

The true spirit of America tells of the ever-youthful, ever-becoming and germinating forces of true manhood which are destined to overcome the world. Over against this, America is in danger of becoming a world-dominating political Power such as the world has not yet seen. Yet the true spirit of America is there. It is not confined to America, for it belongs to the age we live in and to all the world. There is this difference. Whereas the best that is in Asia speaks from ancient understanding and the best that is in Europe out of an enlightened heart, what is new and native in modern America springs from the loins: her young and fecund nature aches to give birth. America needs the best that is in Asia, the best that is in Europe, to find and to know the best that is in herself. America especially must learn that East and Middle and West are Three in One.

The Age of the Apocalypse has surely begun. It is the age in which men must either waken to conscious freedom in the spirit or sink to sub-human levels of self-oblivion. Against this impulse to freedom will rise all the forces that bind man to his lesser nature: it is here that the powers and mights conducive to unfreedom have their firm roots. Dire evidence of this we have already seen. The Old Adam will not die readily, nor will the New Adam find an easy birth.

In the greater struggles to come, America must play a leading part. She has yet to prove that the New World was born for a New Age, that the New World is intended to be the ground of preparation for a World Pentecost. The greatest temptations and the greatest hopes lie in America. By all the signs and tokens of our times, in the totality of events from East to West, America is, of all lands, the land of choice between moral ascent to freedom in spirit and wholesale subjugation to instinct and to matter—the land of the Apocalypse.

Jack the Giant-Killer and Ourselves*

Isabel Wyatt

IN this age of technical science, Man's intelligence, which once flowed into him from the Gods, now breaks free and confronts him in his own inventions. Demonic powers, which seek to make him a soulless robot, slip into his machines, and his mechanised civilization plunges towards the abyss. It can be saved only by the rebirth in him of a form of perception which can penetrate spiritual realms and so alter the direction of his course. But where formerly this higher perception was instinctive, god-bestowed, now it must be striven for and wholly conscious.

Can any contemporary question, then, be more urgent, more fundamental, than the question as to how we are to encompass this rebirth?

The suggestion that fairy-tales could have a vital bearing on *any* contemporary question must seem to modern thinking bizarre beyond belief. Yet Rudolf Steiner includes an understanding of them among the approaches to this supersensible sight.

"In our time," says Dr. Steiner, "begins that new age in which it becomes necessary again to find access to higher worlds. For this a certain transition must be established; and it is scarcely possible to make this transition more simply than by a sensible revival of a feeling for fairy-tales. Between that spiritual world to which Man can raise himself by clairvoyance and the world of the intellect and the senses, the fairy-tale is perhaps the truest of all mediums. The very way in which the modest fairy-tale approaches us, not laying a claim in any sense to be an image of external reality, but boldly disregarding all outer laws of external realities, makes it possible for the fairy-tale to prepare the human soul to receive again the higher spiritual world." (*Symbolism and Fantasy*).

Fairy-tales, then, are not written in earthly language, about earthly events; they are written in supersensible language about supersensible events. For the world of the fairy-tale is this very world to which we ourselves must now aspire. In the fairy-tale are preserved records of what that earlier god-bestowed perception saw and experienced there. Thus the fairy-tale can familiarise us with the sort of world we ourselves shall find there when we reach it, as travellers' tales can prepare us beforehand for a sojourn in some land beyond the seas.

"The first starting-point of all true fairy-tales," says Dr. Steiner, "was the remains of a primeval clairvoyance. In conditions between sleeping and waking, the veil of the physical world was lifted, and

* The version of *Jack the Giant-Killer* quoted is from a Chapbook of 1805 in the British Museum.

the spiritual world became visible." (*The Interpretation of Fairy-Tales*).

In these intermediate states, atavistic instincts and impulses which had outgrown their legitimate limits of space and time were seen by a man as giants—"the facsimile of his own former figure in those olden times, when he had not yet withdrawn himself from the Nature-forces, where men could control the weather, and in the howling windstorm tear up trees—men of immense strength, men possessed of a giant form. Through that which is the giant in man, through strength, everything was fashioned. But the giants are stupid, because they belong to a time when men could not use the Intellectual Soul; they are strong, but stupid." (*The Interpretation of Fairy-Tales*).

The giant, then, belongs to the astral world, in which Man still legitimately becomes a giant, his astral body in sleep expanding over the whole realm of the stars. But when the giant powers encroach, they become inimical and destructive. Then those who experienced that spiritual vision which gave us our fairy-tales saw another figure set over against them, a figure small and young and physically weak, but conscious, wide-awake, endowed with keen reasoning and nimble presence of mind.

"Shrewdness, aptly applied skill, is the quality of the Consciousness Soul, far removed from the strength of the giants; and these shrewd forces, in all sorts of cunning ways, overcame the rough forces which otherwise would have dominated life. The incidents of his own inner life which can still be perceived by Man in the spiritual world include the overcoming of the rough forces of the giants by the forces of intelligence and shrewdness." (*The Interpretation of Fairy-Tales*).

Sometimes, in the fairy-tale, this small, shrewd figure is a poor boy helped by a precocious cat or fox; sometimes he is a clever little tailor. He is small and young because he is man's latest attribute, the then newly dawning Consciousness Soul. In English fairy-tales he is often named Jack; we meet him in *Jack and the Beanstalk*, in *Jack and the Snuffbox*, in *How Jack went to seek his Fortune*; and we meet him in purest archetype in *Jack the Giant-Killer*, a fairy-tale of particular significance to the English-speaking peoples on account of the light it throws on their own tasks and nature, and the increase in self-knowledge it can bring to them.

First Adventure of Jack the Giant-Killer

The first words of *Jack the Giant-Killer* make the mind sit up with a start. It opens, not with "Once upon a time," but with "When good King Arthur reigned."

What inner connection can there be between Jack and good King Arthur?

Dr. Steiner speaks of the "Arthur Stream" as "carrying the cosmic image of Christ as Sun-Hero from Ireland and England

across North and Central Europe, bringing the Impulse of the Sun, the Michael Impulse, into earthly civilization." (*London Lecture*). "The task of the Knights of King Arthur, under the name of knightly 'Adventure,' was to civilize Europe at a time when the spiritual life of Europe still stood under the influence of strange elemental beings who worked right into the life of Man." (*Lectures on Karma*).

"Legends of King Arthur's Round Table give in pictures the external facts of inner Mysteries taking place in the dawn of our epoch. These pictures point to the efforts made by the souls of men who were making progress in regard to the refining and cleansing of the forces of the astral body, which for the seer came to expression in the imagery of monsters, giants, etc." (*The Mysteries of Christianity and of the East*).

"The Round Table," Malory tells us, "is the round world." So Jack lived and did his doughty deeds in the climate of a community whose mission was to be the core of a world-wide human culture, for which they worked by subduing monsters and giants both in the outer world and in their inner selves.

> When good King Arthur reigned, there lived near the Land's End of England a farmer's son called Jack. He was brisk and of a ready, lively wit, so that nothing and nobody could worst him.

Here, indeed, stands the authentic Consciousness Soul! And yet already in it there are glimpses of a realm of life missing in the clever little tailor or the vagrant boy who owns a Puss-in-Boots. His occupation is significant; Jack is a farmer's son. Not only does he stand firmly on the Earth; he also works with the Earth in friendly partnership, each giving the other gifts.

His home, also, is significant. Already this reveals him as in the Celtic stream, for Cornwall is the last stronghold of the Celt in England. Old Cornish folk call Land's End *Pen-von-las*, the End of the Earth. Beyond it lies the lost land of Lyonesse, its churches, meadows, cornfields, woods, washed over by the sea. So Jack's Earth lies close to Water; master of mineral matter though he is, he lives very near the borders of the etheric.

> In those days the Mount of Cornwall was kept by a huge giant named Cormoran. He was eighteen feet in height, and about three yards round the waist, of a fierce and grim countenance, the terror of all the neighbouring villages. He lived in a cave in the midst of the Mount; and whenever he wanted food he would wade over to the mainland and take it, tying sheep and hogs round his waist like a bunch of tallow-dips. He had done this for many years, so that all Cornwall was in despair.

If Jack's home is significant, Cormoran's is even more so. For we know the Mount of Cornwall to-day as St. Michael's Mount. The Book of Landaff calls it *Dinsol*, the Castle of the Sun, for in Druidic days it was a centre of solar Mysteries. When, in 495,

Michael stood on its rocky side and spoke to fishermen in the bay below, it was given the Saxon name of *Mychelyroz*, Michael's Place—to whom should the Castle of the Sun belong if not to that mighty archangel who is Planetary Regent of the Sun? When Jack plans to rescue it from the decadent powers who wrongfully hold it to the grievous hurt of the whole countryside, he is already fighting in the spirit of the Arthur Stream, "that carries the Michael Impulse into earthly civilization."

> Jack got a horn, a shovel and a pickaxe, and went over to the Mount in the beginning of a dark winter's evening. Before morning he had dug a pit twenty-two feet deep and nearly as broad, covering it over with long sticks and straw. Then he strewed a little mould over it, so that it appeared like plain ground.
>
> Jack then placed himself on the side of the pit furthest from the giant's lodging; and just at the break of day he put the horn to his mouth and blew:
>
> *Tantivy! Tantivy!*
>
> This noise roused the giant, who rushed from his cave, and tumbled into the pit, making the very foundations of the Mount to shake.*

Jack, the Consciousness Soul at home upon the Earth, the farmer's son in alliance with the Earth, uses farm tools and the Earth itself when he digs his trap for Cormoran. He waits for the helpful moment of sunrise before he wakes the giant and lures him to his doom. For the Night-man, grown as wide as the cosmos, must shrink to the dimensions of the physical body when he becomes Day-man. "In sleep," says Dr. Steiner, "ancient man felt his soul expanded into the universe; at sunrising he contracted into the world of external reality." (*Symbolism and Fantasy*).

> "Oh, Giant," quoth Jack, "where are you now? Oh, faith, you are gotten now into Lob's Pound."
>
> He gave him a most weighty knock with his pickaxe on the very crown of his head, and killed him on the spot.
>
> Jack searched the cave, and found much treasure. He was given a sword and a belt, on which was written in letters of gold:
>
> *Here's the right valiant Cornishman*
> *Who slew the giant Cormoran.*

The death-blow Jack deals Cormoran is described with such precision that the picture conjured up is that of the point of the pickaxe entering the fontanel and extinguishing the decadent clairvoyant consciousness associated with the pineal sense-organ. Cormoran's accumulated treasure of dream-wisdom becomes Jack's; his exploit is recorded in his aura; with the acquisition of sword and belt he achieves the first stage of his gradual transformation from farmer's boy to Knight of the Round Table.

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* Visitors to St. Michael's Mount to-day are still shown "the Giant's Well, the pit in which Jack trapped Cormoran."

Second Adventure

> Four months later, Jack, on his way to Wales, fell asleep in a lonesome wood near the enchanted castle of the giant Blunderbore, who found him and read his belt. He dragged him to his castle, where the ground was strewn with human bones, and left him a captive there while he went to fetch his brother to share this meal.
>
> Jack saw them coming.
>
> "Now," quoth Jack to himself, "my death or my deliverance is at hand."
>
> In the corner of the room he found two strong cords; in the end of each he made a noose, which he dropped over the heads of the giants as they were unlocking the castle's iron door. The other ends he threw across a beam, and pulled with all his might till they were hanged. Then he slid down one of the ropes, and, drawing his sword, killed them both.
>
> Jack took the giants' keys and unlocked the rooms of the castle; here he found three fair ladies, tied by the hair of their heads. He gave them their liberty, and went on his way to Wales.

Now the tables are turned; it is when Jack's own consciousness is dimmed—when he falls asleep—that he in his turn falls prey to a giant. But he turns this peril to profit, for never in all his adventures is he caught unaware again. Indeed, in his next adventure, it is this new heightened consciousness that saves him from death.

Third Adventure

> On his way to Wales Jack was benighted, and came to a lonely house, where a two-headed giant gave him shelter with a false show of friendship. After Jack had retired to bed, he heard the giant muttering in the next apartment:
>
> "Though here you lodge with me this night,
> You shall not see the morning light;
> My club shall dash your brains outright."
>
> So up Jack got from his bed, laid a billet of wood in his place, and hid in a corner of the room. At the dead time of the night, in came the giant, and pounded the bed with his club.
>
> Next morning, Jack gave the giant hearty thanks for his night's lodging.
>
> "How have you rested?" quoth the giant. "Were you disturbed at all in the night?"
>
> "Only by a rat," replied Jack, "who gave me two or three slaps with her tail."
>
> With that, greatly wondering, the giant led Jack to breakfast, bringing him a bowl containing four gallons of hasty pudding. Jack put a large leather bag under his loose coat, and poured the pudding into it unseen.
>
> "Now I will show you a trick," Jack told the giant.
>
> And he took a knife, and ripped open the bag; and out came the hasty pudding.
>
> "I can do that trick myself," the giant vaunted.
>
> But when he did so, he fell down dead.

It is at "the dead time of the night," when normally he would have been unconscious in sleep, that Jack's danger is greatest. But

the course of the story hints that a certain occult development is beginning to unfold in him; he is learning to remain conscious during sleep. And when morning comes, so shrewd is his Day-man intellect that he is able to lead the giant into encompassing his own downfall.

Fourth Adventure

Now it happened in these days that King Arthur's only son was journeying into Wales, in search of a beautiful lady who was possessed with seven evil spirits.

His father had given him two horses, one for him to ride, the other laden with money. He came to a market-town, where he beheld a vast crowd of people; when he asked the reason, he was told:

"They are arresting the corpse of a man who has died owing large sums of money."

"Go bury the dead man," said the Prince. "Let his creditors come to my lodging, and there their debts shall be paid."

They did so, and came in such numbers that by nightfall the Prince had only two pence left for himself.

Now Jack the Giant-killer, coming that way, was so taken with the generosity of the Prince that he desired to be his servant; and next morning they set forward on their journey together.

As they were riding out of the town, an old woman called after the Prince, saying:

"He has owed me two pence these seven years. Pray pay me as the rest."

So the Prince gave the old woman all he had left.

King Arthur's son gives us, as he gave Jack, an immediate impression of selfless nobility; we recognize in him the personality striving for its highest Egohood. He bears with him a treasure of inherited Sun-forces; for, in the Round Table's reflection of the heavens, King Arthur is the Sun.

But the Prince does not selfishly clutch and hide that treasure, as the giants do; in paying the dead man's debts with it he does a free deed of love and sacrifice. While Jack is remarkable for a vigorous working-together of head and will-forces (as in the Consciousness Soul), from King Arthur's son radiate warm heart-forces. He bears within him the faculty of love.

In recognizing the Prince as a being to be served and venerated, and in uniting his own destiny with his, Jack takes a further step forward on his path of transformation. The cunning of the Clever Fox or Puss-in-Boots displayed in the hasty pudding episode is uplifted into the nobler intelligence of the horse. Hitherto Jack has gone on foot; now he rides. To sword and belt he has added a knight's third requisite, a steed.

In the beautiful lady possessed with seven evil spirits, King Arthur's son, the striving spirit, seeks to redeem and tranquillise the still passion-tossed soul. "The storms which rage in the human soul must be recognized," says Dr. Steiner. "Only then can we free it from the lower disturbances and bring it into order. . . .

Backward Luciferic Beings of seven different kinds remained behind upon the Moon and worked upon the astral human body. We know that if our evolution is not carried out aright, it is owing to the power of these seven different kinds of Luciferic Beings." (*Excursus on Mark*).

So, in the Apocalypse, the Luciferic beast who rises out of the sea has seven heads. The fairy-tale reveals itself as well aware of the origin of the lady's seven evil spirits, for with a marvellous sureness of touch it presently mentions Lucifer by name as her secret associate.

And now, with consummate artistry, the story traces the steps by which the Prince's sacrifice in paying the dead man's debts leads eventually to the deliverance of the lady.

When the sun got low, King Arthur's son said:

"Jack, since we have no money, where can we lodge this night?"

"I have an uncle lives within two miles, a three-headed giant," quoth Jack. "Do you stay here until I return; I will go before and prepare the way for you."

Jack rode to the gate of his uncle's castle and knocked hard.

"Who is there?" called the giant.

"None but your poor cousin Jack," Jack replied.

"What news with my poor cousin Jack?" the giant asked.

"Dear uncle, heavy news, God wot," Jack answered him.

"Prithee, what heavy news can come to me?" quoth the giant. "I am a giant with three heads; I can fight five hundred men in armour, and make them fly like chaff before the wind!"

"But here is King Arthur's son," Jack told him, "coming with a thousand men in armour, to kill you and to destroy all that you have!"

"Oh, Cousin Jack, this is heavy news indeed!" groaned the giant. "I will run and hide myself; and do you lock and bolt and bar me in, and keep the keys until the Prince is gone."

Jack therefore secured the giant in a vault underground. Then he went for his master, and brought him into the castle, where they made merry and slept well. Early next morning Jack furnished the Prince with gold and silver, and sent him three miles forward on his journey. Then he led the giant out of his underground vault.

"What shall I give you, Cousin Jack," asked the giant, "for keeping my castle safe?"

"I want nothing," Jack told him, "but the old coat, cap, sword and shoes which are at your bed's head."

"You know not what you ask," quoth the giant. "They are the most precious things I have. The coat will keep you invisible; the cap will tell you all you want to know; the sword cuts asunder whatever you strike; the shoes are of extraordinary swiftness. But you have been very serviceable to me. Therefore take them with all my heart."

So Jack took them and joined the Prince.

It is their lack of money which directs them to the castle of this giant with whom Jack has a blood-connection, whose store of ancient supersensible riches would appear to be honestly come by,

and whom Jack does not seek to slay, since this giant uncle's might is not exercised tyrannously, and all he asks is not to be molested as Night-man, but to be left in peace in the darkness of his underground vault till the menace of the Day-man has passed.

Out of this accumulated treasure from the night-world Jack enriches the Prince, and himself bears away a four-fold reward which marks a further stage in his development towards a reawakening of higher organs of the soul.

He receives a coat of darkness to make him invisible. That is, he learns to move in the realms of the night-consciousness with the wakeful awareness of the day-consciousness, even when released from the physical body of which this wakefulness had hitherto been an attribute.

He receives a cap which will tell him all he wants to know, for his strengthened powers of imaginative thought have freed themselves from the limiting logic of the waking intellect.

He receives the sword which cuts asunder whatever you strike; he has made himself master of the destructive forces of the spinal consciouness, that inner will which regulates organic activity during sleep, but which, if it breaks into our waking life, manifests as antipathy.

He receives the sword of swiftness, moving securely in those realms of the supersensible where the earthly physical laws of time and space cease to operate.

The four gifts together reveal Jack as having reaped the harvest of life rightly lived in the sense-world at the level of the Consciousness Soul, in that through this he has become so firmly established within himself that he remains fully self-possessed, vigilant and able to wield sound judgment even in the midst of this other welling, weaving world of perpetual transformations.

In what follows he is able to use the four gifts in the Prince's service.

> King Arthur's son and Jack went on till they came to the house of the lady. She prepared a splendid banquet, after which she told the Prince she had a task for him. She wiped his mouth with a handkerchief, saying:
>
> "You must show me this handkerchief to-morrow morning, or else lose your head."
>
> So saying, she put the handkerchief into her bosom.
>
> The Prince went to bed in great sorrow; but Jack's cap of knowledge told him how to obtain the handkerchief. In the middle of the night the lady called on her familiar spirit to carry her to Lucifer. But Jack put on his coat of darkness and his shoes of swiftness, and was there as soon as she was.
>
> When she entered the palace of the Old One, she gave the handkerchief to old Lucifer, who laid it upon a shelf. Jack took it from the shelf, and brought it to his master, who shewed it next day to the lady, and so saved his life.
>
> On that day she gave the Prince a kiss, and told him:
>
> "To-morrow morning you must show me the lips I shall kiss

> to-night, or else lose your head."
>
> "Ah, if you kiss none but mine, I will," replied the Prince.
>
> At midnight she went to the palace of the Old One as before, and was angry with old Lucifer for letting the handkerchief go.
>
> "But now," quoth she, "I will be too hard for King Arthur's son, for I will kiss *your* lips, and how can he shew me those?"
>
> This she did. But Jack, when she had departed, unsheathed the sword which cuts asunder whatever you strike, and cut off Lucifer's head. He brought this under his invisible coat to his master, who next day pulled it out by the horns before the lady.
>
> This broke the enchantment; the evil spirits left her, and she appeared in all her beauty. The Prince and the lady were married next morning, and went back to the Court of King Arthur, taking Jack with them. There Jack, for his many great exploits, was made a Knight of the Round Table.

In *The Effects of Occult Development on the Self and Sheaths of Man*, Dr. Steiner has a passage which throws light on this astonishing sequence.

"Thus inner experience," he says, "teaches us to know Lucifer as the Night Spirit. It is part of the change that goes on in our self and our astral body (during an occult development) that at night we feel ourselves in the company of Lucifer. You may perhaps at first think that it must be disagreeable to a person, when he goes to sleep and becomes clairvoyant, to become aware that during the night he comes into Lucifer's company. But if you reflect more deeply, you will realize that it is better to know that we are in his company than to think that he is not there. . . .

"After his first misleading of men, they were not permitted to see him any more; therefore the Divine-Spiritual Being who was watching over the progress of mankind had to draw a veil over the vision of the night. Sleep covers from man with darkness the world in which he is from the time of his going to sleep until he awakens. At the withdrawal of the veil which covers the night with darkness, we should instantly perceive Lucifer by our side. If man were strong enough, this would do no harm; but as at first he could not be strong in the sense required by our earthly development, this veil had to be drawn during his sleep at night, so that no further misleadings, through the direct vision of Lucifer from the time of his going to sleep until reawakening, should come to man. . . .

"Man is now living towards a future when, each time he awakes, he will have—at first like a fleeting dream, but later more clearly—the impression: 'Thy companion during the night was Lucifer.' In the ever-developing clairvoyant conditions of the human soul, the Luciferic influence will work principally during sleep, or in all the conditions which are indeed similar to sleep but in which there is consciousness."

Jack, therefore, through his uncle's gifts (that is, through the occult development proper to our times) sees Lucifer as Night Spirit legitimately; the lady, through the possession by the "seven back-

ward Luciferic spirits who had remained behind upon the Moon," sees him irregularly and atavistically, not in accordance with our present stage of evolution, so that it is with profound spiritual exactitude that the fairy-tale characterises him in his connection with the lady as "Old Lucifer" and "the Old One."

The head belongs to the past; it is a metamorphosis, says Dr. Steiner, of the will-forces of the previous incarnation; and the human embryo, like the tadpole, makes manifest that it is from the head that the rest of the body grows. So, in beheading Lucifer, Jack is severing for the lady her wrongly carried-over connection with former conditions of existence, now long passed away.

"Wherever the soul is not governed by the Ego or controlled by the spirit, Lucifer rules; this is the danger of *soul without spirit*." (Emil Bock, *The Apocalypse*). But the lady, the soul, appears in all her beauty when she is redeemed by the Prince, the higher, Christ-filled Ego, who, through Jack's instrumentality, liberates her from the Luciferic obstacles to her true evolution and unites with her in love.

Jack, on his part, receives recognition as a soul working in the service of the Michael Impulse—he is made a Knight of the Round Table.

Fifth Adventure

Jack soon went searching for giants again.

Near the entrance to a cave he saw a giant sitting on a block of timber, with a knotted iron club by his side. His eyes were like flames of fire, the bristles of his beard like rods of iron wire, his locks like curling snakes.

Jack alighted from his horse, and put on the coat of darkness; then, coming close to the monster, he struck a sword-blow at his head, but, missing his aim, cut off his nose instead. At this, the giant roared like claps of thunder, and began to lay about him with his iron club like one stark mad.

But Jack, running behind him, drove his sword up to the hilt in the giant's back, so that he fell down dead. This done, Jack cut off the giant's head, and sent it to King Arthur, by a wagoner he hired for that purpose.

Jack now resolved to enter the giant's cave in search of his treasure. Passing along through a great many windings and turnings, he came to a large room, with a boiling cauldron, and a great table, and a window barred with iron, through which he saw great numbers of miserable captives.

Straightway unlocking the door, he set them free, and, searching the giant's coffers, shared the gold and silver equally among them. Then he took them to a neighbouring castle, to celebrate their deliverance.

The giant's locks like curling snakes are reminiscent of Medusa's; like hers, they point to an atavistic mode of apprehension, belonging to a period before the lobes of the brain became static, when to clairvoyant sight they reached forth from the head with searching hands. "Certain lobes of the brain which now lie enclosed in the skull," says Dr. Steiner, "were freely mobile during the Old Moon

evolution. To-day they are rigid, and can no longer move physically; but they do move etherically when we *think*. If we had not this firm skull enclosing the lobes of the brain, we should stretch out these lobes and make gestures with them—but we should not *think*. The lobes of the brain had first to be made physically rigid, and it had to be possible for the etheric brain to tear itself free." (*Occult Reading and Occult Hearing*).

In this giant, then, Jack has to overcome a decadent form of cognition inimical to the clear and highly conscious thinking right for the present stage of evolution; and it is significant that he does so by running his sword into the giant's back, man's most unconscious part.

The picture of the head is unfolded further when Jack enters the cave, traversing there the many windings and turnings of the labyrinth of the brain within the hollow rock of the enclosing skull. A vision of the night-activity of the etheric body, the sheath that builds and nourishes, meets him in the boiling cauldron, preparing food to be set on the great table (for in sleep the digestive processes penetrate to the head), and in the captives, who, through their window, receive this nourishment only through the sense-impressions of sight, smell and sound.

For it is thus that Dr. Steiner, in *The Effects of Occult Development on the Self and Sheaths of Man*, describes that experiencing of the etheric body at the moment of going to sleep which he calls the Grail Imagination—the wounded earth-man in an inner room within the skull's stone walls, and, streaming up into the head to nourish and renew him, and with him the noblest portions of the brain, the purest and finest products of the senses, the purest and finest extracts of the metabolism's alchemy.

The fairy-tale even indicates that it is, as Dr. Steiner says, at the moment of going to sleep that Jack meets this experience. For it tells us that he alighted from his horse (the waking day-intelligence) and put on his coat of darkness (the night-consciousness which remains aware, though freed from the physical body).

The brain is quite specially the organ of the Consciousness Soul; it is the Consciousness Soul that shapes the convolutions of the grey cortex. When the Consciousness Soul can perceive and control the etheric body, it unfolds its highest faculties and ripens into the Imaginative Soul—that is to say, it becomes that which Michael wills it to be in our time. The fairy-tale would seem to hint that Jack at this point reaches this stage of development.

Sixth Adventure

In the midst of all this mirth, a messenger brought news that one Thunderdell, a giant with two heads, having heard of the death of his kinsmen, had come from the northern dales to be revenged on Jack. He was now within a mile of the castle, which stood on a small island, surrounded by a moat thirty feet deep and twenty feet wide,

over which lay a drawbridge. Jack had this bridge cut through on both sides almost to the middle; then, putting on his coat of darkness and taking his sword of sharpness, he marched against the giant.

Although the giant could not see Jack, he smelt his approach and cried out:

"Fee-fi-fo-fum!
I smell the blood of an Englishman.
Be he alive or be he dead,
I'll grind his bones to make my bread."

"You have first to catch me," quoth Jack.

And, putting on his shoes of swiftness, and throwing off his coat of darkness that the giant might see him, he ran from Thunderdell, who followed him like a walking castle, so that the very foundations of the Earth seemed to shake at every step.

Jack led him a long dance, and at last ran lightly over the drawbridge, the giant pursuing him at full speed with his club. When the giant reached the middle of the bridge, where Jack had had it cut, his great weight broke it down, and he tumbled headlong into the moat, where he rolled and wallowed like a whale.

Jack now got a cart-rope, which he cast over Thunderdell's two heads, and, with the help of a team of horses, drew him ashore. Then, cutting off both heads with his sword of sharpness, he sent them to King Arthur.

The Consciousness Soul is an island in its detachment, its separation. The Imaginative Soul is an island in that its core of Earth is embraced on all sides by Water. Both aspects play into this Thunderdell adventure. It is by means of the etheric (by plunging him into water) that Jack subdues this giant, passing confidently from waking night- to day-consciousness, in which, with most practical application of intelligence, he uses a team of horses to bring his victim to land.

By sending to King Arthur first the head of the giant with the snake-locks, now Thunderdell's heads, and later that of Galligantua, Jack continually renews connection with the fountain-head of his striving.

Seventh Adventure

After some time Jack, taking leave of the knights and ladies he had rescued, set out for new adventures. Through many woods he passed, and came at length to the foot of a high mountain. Here, late at night, he found a lonesome house, and knocked at the door. It was opened by an aged man with a head as white as snow.

"Father," said Jack, "can you lodge a benighted traveller that has lost his way?"

"Yes," said the old man. "You are right welcome to my poor cottage."

Whereupon Jack entered. Down they sat together; and the old man said:

"Son, I see by your belt you are the great conqueror of giants; and behold, my son, on the top of this mountain is an enchanted castle, kept by a giant named Galligantua, who, by the help of an old conjuror, betrays many knights and ladies into his castle, where, by magic art, they are transformed into shapes other than their own. But above all I grieve for a duke's daughter, whom they snatched

away from her father's garden, carrying her through the air in a burning chariot drawn by fiery dragons, and securing her within the castle, where they transformed her into a white hind."

"Has no knight attempted," asked Jack, "to break the enchantment and work her deliverance?"

"Many knights have attempted it," the old man told him, "yet none could accomplish it, on account of two dreadful griffins at the castle gates, who destroy all who come near. But you, my son, in your coat of darkness, may pass by them unseen; and on the gates you will find engraven how the enchantment may be broken."

At this, Jack gave the old man his hand, and promised him:

"In the morning I will venture my life to free this lady."

In the morning Jack arose, put on his magic coat, cap, sword and shoes, and set out. When he reached the top of the mountain, he passed the two dreadful griffins invisible and without fear. Beyond them, on the castle gates, he found a golden trumpet hung by a silver chain, and under it these words engraved:

Whoever shall this trumpet blow
Shall Galligantua overthrow,
And break the black enchantment straight;
So all shall be in happy state.

Jack blew the trumpet, and the castle trembled to its vast foundations; the giant and the conjurer were in horrid confusion, biting their thumbs and tearing their hair, knowing their wicked reign was at an end. As the giant stooped to take up his club, Jack, at one blow, cut off his head, whereupon the conjurer, mounting up into the air, was carried away in a whirlwind.

At once the enchantment was broken; all the lords and ladies who had so long been transformed into birds and beasts returned to their proper shapes; and the castle vanished away in a cloud of smoke.

The head of Galligantua was conveyed to the Court of King Arthur, whither Jack followed, with the lords and ladies who had been delivered. Whereupon, as a reward for his good services, King Arthur prevailed upon the duke to bestow his daughter in marriage on honest Jack. So married they were; and the whole kingdom was filled with joy at the wedding. Furthermore, King Arthur bestowed on Jack a noble castle, where he and his lady lived in great joy and happiness all the rest of their days.

The old man with the snow-white hair of heavenly wisdom, to whom Jack's way leads him at last, is like a memory of those lonely hermits, guardians of hidden spiritual knowledge, to whom the knights in Malory, Wolfram von Eschenbach and Chrétien de Troyes come on the eve of their initiation. Jack goes forth from him next morning armed with all the gifts his development has brought him, aided by the old man's guidance, fired by a new high quest—the deliverance of the gently-bred duke's daughter who has been reft away from that realm of pure and paradisal life, her father's garden, her innocent sense-longing turned into a white hind. (The stag is frequently a fairy-tale picture for sensitive and delicate heightened sense-impressions.)

In place of the hunting-horn he blew on the Mount of Cornwall to arouse Cormoran, Jack now blows a golden trumpet, which,

like Joshua's, can make stone walls tremble. There is even something a little apocalytic in the scene. Gianthood is ended; with the "old conjurer" (the bearer of retarding mediumistic forces) the last of the atavistic clairvoyance in the blood is whirled away; the castle of illusion vanishes; all that is decadent perishes; the lords and ladies under enchantment regain their human forms.

When Dinsol, the Castle of the Sun, lapsed into the hands of Cormoran, atavistic forces seized what had once been given to Man by Michael, Lord of Cosmic Intelligence. Jack redeems that gift. All his exploits, all the stages of his own development, are steps in that redemption. The new faculty by which Man turns aside from the abyss, wresting his own downward path into the parabola of a new ascent, is bound up with this new Michael thinking, this new conscious clairvoyance, in which concept and percept become one.

Jack, the brisk young farmer's son, has become a Knight of the Round Table, with a duke's daughter for bride and a castle of his own. In him the Consciousness Soul, furthering Michael's will, has attained nobility.

The Search for Felix the Herb-Gatherer*

Emil Bock

IN the fateful year 1879, when the Michael Age began—the age in which we are now living—Rudolf Steiner, who was then 18, had an important experience. He had come to live in the big city from a world in which he had been used to a very simple life, a world moreover that was then still strongly pervaded by the forces of nature. This was when he began his studies at the Technical College in Vienna. He needed to be escorted over the threshold of the modern world; and it was significant for him that he found such a guide in Felix the herb-gatherer, who understood plants as a friend and had a deep feeling for the spirit of the earth and all the processes of nature. In the Mystery Plays he is known as Felix Balde, and is a metamorphosis of the "Man with the Lamp" in Goethe's fairy-tale.

It has often been remarked that the emergence of Rudolf Steiner from a rural family background reflected to some extent the destiny of mankind in the second half of the nineteenth century, rather as the advancing hand of a clock mirrors the passage of time. During his childhood and youth he was surrounded by the world of nature, but even then the early signs of a rising technical civilisation entered unobtrusively but decisively into his life.

At Pottschach and Neudörfl his parents lived in the stationmaster's house outside or right on the edge of the village, so that the family was somewhat isolated from the other villagers. This part of the Austrian Southern line ran through an unspoilt region where the railway still represented an innovation that was revolutionising people's lives. The big moment of the day was always when the train came in or left! The elders of the village—the mayor, the parson and the schoolmaster—would gather for the occasion. And for the stationmaster's children, too, the most important room in the building was where father sat by his morse transmitter, receiving and passing on the telegraphic messages.

The makeshift homes which the railway company provided for its employees were not intended for a settled existence. Rudolf Steiner's father was constantly being moved from one part of Lower

* This article, based on a lecture given by the late Emil Bock in Stuttgart in November, 1958, has been translated from the Christmas 1959 issue of the *Mitteilungen aus der Anthroposophischen Arbeit in Deutschland* by kind permission of the Editors and of Lic. Emil Bock's daughter and literary executor, Frau Dr. Kacer-Bock.

Austria to another, so that the boy's home was constantly changing. There was something symbolic about this, reminiscent of the way humanity has to be uprooted, when nature withdraws before the advance of civilisation.

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Circumstances were such that Rudolf Steiner as a young lad experienced this transition in a very acute form. This had to do with the profound sympathy he felt for his father in all that the latter went through emotionally. In *The Story of My Life* he says of his father that he was not happy in his work: "He saw the work of the railway as his duty, but he had no love for it.... Sometimes he was on duty for three days and nights at a stretch. Then he would have 24 hours off. There was nothing colourful about his life. It was a dismal grey." This was not easy for "one with a passionate nature that was easily aroused, especially when he was a young man."

How had the father come to take up this work? The answer takes us to a turning-point, a dramatic climax, in the life of this man of peace and goodwill. His own father—Rudolf Steiner's grandfather—had been a forester all his life. His whole existence was bound up with the life of the forest, which for him meant the immense undisturbed forests north of the Danube, stretching away to the Czech border and known to this day as the Waldviertel. He was responsible for one of the big areas of forest belonging to the Hoyos family.

The whole ambition of Rudolf Steiner's father was to follow the same career. He had the job of gamekeeper, which led on to the position of forester, in the same part of the Waldviertel. The forest was his home, his world; and it was there that he would have liked to spend his whole life. But a difficulty arose which finally compelled him to leave his native forest. He became engaged to a girl, who was also in the service of the Hoyos family at Schloss Horn, south of his own district of Geras. In those districts the old ideas of serfdom were not yet extinct, and it was on this basis that the Count was able to forbid the marriage.

It seems that the young couple waited patiently for a long time, hoping their master would change his mind. In the end the rift came suddenly, when Johann was already 32 and his fiancée 27. No doubt approaching destiny — later to be known as Rudolf Steiner — was helping, from another world, to bring things to a head. At short notice Johann Steiner, who had now decided to marry, had to leave his beloved forest and look around for another job. What he found was work as telegraph operator on one of the new stretches of railway that were coming into existence everywhere and creating a sudden demand for workers.

After a short time in Styria, possibly as a trainee, Johann Steiner was appointed station telegraph operator in a remote spot,

far away on the Croatian border. It was a long way from his forest home—in fact, one might say "right out of the world." He was married in May, 1860, and in February, 1861, Rudolf was born.

It was with dramatic violence that destiny thrust these quiet people into a homeless existence, when they left the life of the woods for the new world that was developing so rapidly with technical progress. All the time the growing lad could feel the homesickness which gnawed at his father's soul, sometimes causing him real distress. To the end of his days the older Steiner never really got over the change. It was natural that when in the nineties he was able to retire, he and his wife went back to the Waldviertel which was their home.

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In 1879, when Rudolf Steiner had finished at the Realschule in Wiener Neustadt at the age of 18, the Austrian Southern line kept its promise to his father to move him nearer Vienna to facilitate the son's further education. The family left Neudörfl for the railway town of Inzersdorf on the southern outskirts of Vienna, where the Southern line originally came to an end. From there the young student was able, once term started, to go in every day to his lectures. Even before that, during the summer holidays before lectures began, he often went into Vienna. This was how the meeting with Felix the herb-gatherer, which was to mean so much to him, came about:

> That is how I came to know an ordinary working man, who happened to go into Vienna every week on the same train as myself. He collected medicinal herbs in the country and sold them in Vienna to the chemists' shops. We became close friends. When he spoke of the spiritual world, one realised that it was from experience. He was a man of deep integrity and devotion, though no scholar. True, he had read a good deal of mystical literature, but what he said was quite uninfluenced by this reading. This was the direct product of his soul-life, in which there was an elemental creative wisdom. . . . It was as though his personality was nothing but a mouthpiece for some spiritual being that spoke from occult worlds. With him it was possible to look deep into the secrets of nature. On his back he carried his bundle of herbs, but in his heart he carried the spiritual gifts he received from nature as he gathered his plants. . . . So in time I began to feel as though I was in contact with a soul from distant times, who possessed an instinctive knowledge of the past, uninfluenced by civilisation, science and present-day ideas. (*The Story of my Life*, pp. 39-40.)

Seeing him with this rural eccentric in the streets of Vienna, people would look round at them, as Felix shared his spiritual treasures with the young man, treasures that mankind has gradually lost on its odyssey through time. In the autobiographical lecture given on February 1, 1913, at the conference marking the foundation of the Anthroposophical Society, Rudolf Steiner touched on the story of the herb-gatherer:

In my first year at college, something quite special had already happened . . . a strange personality crossed my youthful path . . . despite scanty education, there was deep understanding and wisdom. . . . "Felix," who lived with his peasant family in a remote and lonely little village in the mountains, had his room packed with occult and mystical literature and was himself deeply imbued with such wisdom. . . . Everywhere in the neighbourhood of his home he collected plants of all kinds and could explain their essential nature and occult origins. There were tremendous occult depths in the man. It was remarkable what one could discuss with him, going with him on his lonely journeys. . . .

Obviously the lively intercourse which Rudolf Steiner had with Felix did not take place only in the streets of Vienna, as they went from the South Station to the centre of the city. The two of them would sometimes go out together in the woods on early morning expeditions in search of herbs.

The first scene of the first Mystery Play (*The Portal of Initiation*) shows Felix Balde replying to Benedictus's "Your every word is more precious to me than I can say," with "It was impertinence that made me so talkative when you did me the honour of letting me accompany you on our mountain walks." And in the rough draft, where the characters still bear the same names as in the Goethean fairy-tale, the "Lily" says to the "Man with the Lamp": "He told me how he went round with you collecting herbs and how you led him into remote places, where rare flora were found growing on soil so thin that it barely covered the rock . . ."

On one occasion Rudolf Steiner visited Felix in his cottage in the place he called a "quiet mountain village". It was on June 22, 1919, in Stuttgart that he came to speak of this, when describing Felix once again:

There is a spot in Lower Austria from which the view of the mountains, especially at sunset, is very fine, as you look south towards the Lower Austrian Schneeberg, the Wechsel and the northern fringe of the Styrian mountains. Here there is a small unassuming cottage with the following inscription over the door: *In Gottes Segen ist alles gelegen* ("With the blessing of God all things are good"). I have only once been in that house, and that was as a young man. There were no outward pretensions about the man who lived there. His occupation was to go about collecting medicinal herbs, and his house was crammed with them. Once a week he packed up the herbs in a knapsack and travelled with them on his back to Vienna. At that time . . . I had to follow the same route; we used to travel together to the South Station and then walk along the road leading into the Wieden district of Vienna. . . . This man's speech had a quite different ring from that of most people. When he spoke of the leaves on the trees or of the trees themselves, but more especially when he spoke of the marvellous intrinsic properties of his medicinal herbs, it became apparent how closely this man's soul was bound up with the whole spirit of that part of the countryside. . . . He was in his own particular way a great sage. . . . Apart from the herbs with which his little cottage was crammed, he had quite a library of notable books of all kinds—which had this in common, that their principal features were related to the principal features and fundamental character of his own soul. He was not well off. There was

not much money to be made from the trade in herbs, which had been collected in the mountains—in fact very, very little. But his face bore an expression of deep contentment and he possessed great wisdom. (From the cycle, "Social and Pedagogical Questions in the Light of Spiritual Science," lecture 7.)

Everything Dr. Steiner said about the herb-gatherer suggested that there was some mystery surrounding his personality. It was particularly after he became well-known as Felix Balde and was seen on the stage in the mystery plays in that guise, merging with Goethe's "Man with the Lamp", that he became a veritably mythical figure. The question of discovering some actual place where Felix had lived and whether anything could still be traced about the man himself was therefore approached with some hesitation.

However, some friends did try to find out where the herb-gatherer had lived and what his name was in real life. For a long time it was definitely understood that his name was Felix Krakotzki and that he lived in Münchendorf, a quiet village near Laxenburg in the Hungarian Plain south of Vienna. This is the report I had in my hands in the forties: "Count Polzer, Dr. Emil Hamburger and Dr. Walter Johannes Stein were in Münchendorf in 1919. A cobbler called Scharinger said Felix took messages to Vienna for a textile firm and collected herbs. He was the only person they found who had known Felix. He spoke of Felix as "a jolly fellow and a great one for telling jokes in the inn. He had two sons, one of whom rented a farm near Münchenhof in 1919. The other was a gamekeeper on the estate of Count Hoyos near Gutenstein".

These three friends, leading figures in the Anthroposophical Society, intended to follow up their enquiries in the church registers, but gave up on being told that all particulars had been destroyed. I was never able to understand their being put off so easily. Why, I wondered, did they not try and get in touch with one of the sons, who were said to be still alive? In 1950 I had the opportunity to visit Müunchendorf myself. Unfortunately my visit had to be a very short one, as I had risked going without a passport into what was at that time still the Russian zone. I thought I might trace something not only of Felix but of Johannes Wurth, the village schoolmaster in Lower Austria, to whom Dr. Steiner had, without giving his name, made some striking allusions in the year 1919.

Down in one of the back cottages of the village I came across a headmaster's widow, then aged ninety. These villages are built in the Hungarian manner. They consist of rows of single-storey houses stretching to right and left along the main street. On passing through the gateway of one of these low buildings you find yourself in an alley at right angles to the main street; and here there are once again cottages to right and left.

The old lady had quite a lot to say about Johannes Wurth, although he had died as far back as 1870. She herself was a head-

master's daughter and had married her father's predecessor. Before long she was telling me of the detailed record which her father had kept of events in Münchendorf. This chronicle had recently disappeared. She encouraged me to have a search for it and gave me the names of several very old villagers, who would be able to help me. We should be sure, she thought, to find everything there that we needed.

Finally I asked her about the herb-gatherer, Felix. She remembered him at once: "Yes, old Felix, he often used to come over to us in the evenings, Sundays especially; and after that he would sit in the inn with the men from the village." When I asked where he would have come from, at first she could not say. After a time she said she thought he must have come from Laxenburg.

This was the first hint that Münchendorf was not after all the home of the herb-gatherer. But all further enquiries undertaken by friends at that time were fruitless.

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During the years that followed, interest grew in Felix, and in the unresolved questions relating to his life. It turned out that the church registers for Münchendorf as well as for Laxenburg and the immediate surroundings had been preserved intact; but there was no trace of anybody called Felix Krakotzki. There was one point on which all who took part in these enquiries were in agreement: Münchendorf in no way fitted the description Dr. Steiner gave of Felix's home. In the first place it was not a "mountain village", as it lay in the broad plain known as the "Wiener Becken". Secondly, there was surely no question there of seeing the mountains clearly of which Dr. Steiner had spoken, the wonderful formations of the Schneeberg, Rax and Wechsel in their sunset colouring.

No further progress was made until the beginning of 1958, when preparations were under way for bringing out the *Pädagogische Seminar* lectures given by Dr. Steiner in 1919 at the foundation of the Waldorf School. A clue emerged that had been overlooked. In previous editions sentences had often been omitted, if they were not easy to read in the original notes. It now turned out that one such sentence referred to the home of the herb-gatherer:

> Recently I had occasion to explain that the man Felix lived in *Trumau*. The name of the old cobbler, who knew the archetype of Felix Balde, was Scharinger from Münchendorf. Felix is still a living tradition in those parts. All the characters to be found in my Mystery Plays are actual individuals.

It suddenly became clear that Dr. Steiner had himself said where Felix lived—at Trumau. Nobody had taken in this fact before. Trumau is only 6 km. south of Münchendorf and has just the same character.

The publication of this passage from the *Pädagogische Seminar* threw into sharp relief the whole question of how Münchendorf had

ever come to be regarded as Felix's home; also why those friends who were in Münchendorf in 1919 had dropped their enquiries with such astonishing alacrity. The fact was that they were not really in Münchendorf on account of the herb-gatherer. They were there primarily for something quite different.

In the lecture given by Dr. Steiner in Stuttgart on June 22, 1919, referring to the visit he had once paid to Felix's humble home, he had gone on to speak of another visit he had paid. The impression given was that both took place in the same village, if not in adjoining cottages:

> When speaking of the visit I paid to my good friend Felix in his little cottage, I had to think of how at the same time I looked up the widow of the schoolmaster in her home. Although her husband had died some years before, I visited her because this Lower Austrian schoolmaster was a most interesting person. His widow still had the fine library he had assembled. There one could find all that German scholarship had collected and recorded about the German language and the content of myths and legends, for the invigoration of the German people. Until his dying day the opportunity never came for this solitary schoolmaster to emerge into the limelight. It was only after his death that extracts from his literary remains were published. But I have still not been able to see the lengthy journals kept by this lonely schoolmaster, in which are to be found pearls of wisdom. I do not know what has become of them.

Among the audience at this lecture were some of the leaders and principal speakers in the movement for the Threefold Commonwealth, then in full swing. The audience also included those who were being considered for the College of Teachers in the Waldorf School, Stuttgart, prior to its foundation. Among them was the enthusiastic but temperamental Dr. Walter Johannes Stein.

It will have been especially Dr. Stein who took Dr. Steiner's reference to the notebooks of the schoolmaster in Lower Austria as a request to procure these for him. After the lecture he may well have gone up to Dr. Steiner with the words: "We shall get hold of these journals for you, Herr Doktor." Dr. Steiner must have told him that the schoolmaster's name was Johannes Wurth and that his last home was Münchendorf.

It was therefore the journals of Johannes Wurth, who died in 1870, that Dr. Stein, Dr. Hamburger and Count Polzer were looking for in those weeks that followed the conference—and not for Felix the herb-gatherer. They were successful. When lectures were resumed in Stuttgart, they were able to hand over to Dr. Steiner the comprehensive four-volume journal. (The entries proved to be less rewarding than had been expected. Copies of them are to be found in Dornach.) When the friends proudly handed over their find, they were also able to report that they had come across traces of the herb-gatherer in Münchendorf.

Now Rudolf Steiner's lecture about his visit to Felix and to Johannes Wurth's house had been given on June 22, 1919. The

reference to the chance discoveries which these friends had made of traces of Felix occurred in the course of the same seminar lecture in which Dr. Steiner mentioned the name, Trumau. This lecture was not given until August 26, 1919. When Dr. Stein and the others were in Münchendorf, they must have been under the impression that Felix's surname was Krakotzki.

When Dr. Steiner mentioned Trumau, he had obviously wanted to correct the impression that Felix, like Johannes Wurth, had lived in Münchendorf. For some reason or other no attention was paid to this allusion at the time. Probably the name of the village was not taken in. At any rate, it was not recorded accurately in the shorthand notes.

When this allusion came to light and was clearly deciphered recently, I asked friends to see to it that the enquiries which had proved fruitless in Münchendorf were followed up in Trumau. The first result was that Dr. Steiner's description of the place as a quiet mountain village, and of the view away to the mountains in the south, seemed to suit Trumau no better than Münchendorf. Nor could the name Krakotzki be traced among the lists of inhabitants, though names of Czech or Polish origin were to be found there, as in Münchendorf and throughout the surrounding countryside.

I became more and more inclined to think that we were not meant to ferret out the details of Felix's life. Perhaps we had to fail in our enquiries, so that no "revelation" should detract from the mythology that had grown-up around the personality of the herb-gatherer — a mythology justified by the marvellous soul qualities which he had undoubtedly possessed. The consequence was that when I had to go to Vienna for a fortnight in the autumn of 1958, I had given up all thought of continuing my search for traces of Felix.

My first morning in Vienna was unexpectedly free. I went out to Mödling for the sake of the view from those hills, and thus to renew my experience of the landscape's unique character. In front of me lay the western end of the broad Hungarian plain, known as the "Wiener Becken". If you wish to understand Vienna, you must get to know this country. Rudolf Steiner has connected the fact that so many musicians lived and composed in Vienna with the character of the Wiener Becken, which is a veritable geological storehouse.[1]

The hills above Mödling belong to the "Wiener Wald", which stretches away to the west of the Hungarian plain, forming a northern spur of the Alps. These would be the mountains Dr. Steiner was referring to, the Hohe Wand, Schneeberg, Rax and

[1] See the footnote to a lecture given by Prof. Thomastik in Dornach, Dec. 20th, 1920 (*Dornacher Nachrichtenblatt*, 1954; Vol. XXII, No. 30).

Wechsel, that could be seen from Felix's home suffused in the evening light.

To the east, the flat Wiener Becken is bounded by the Rosalie and Leitha Mountains, which form the foothills of the range that eventually, north of the Danube, turns into the Carpathians. The Hungarian plain between the Wiener Wald and the Leitha Mountains is formed by an ancient subsidence. A deep and extensive cleft must have come into existence there in Atlantean—or maybe even in Lemurian—times. This will have been submerged, so that a kind of sea-water flooded the whole triangular area between the limestone complex of the Alps and the Carpathians and extended far into Hungary. South of where Vienna now stands, the waters dried up, giving the area its characteristic geology. Even to-day the district seems possessed of an imperishable secret that fills one with a sense of wonder.

It was misty when I stood on the hills above Mödling. The outlines of the hills and mountains in the east could be sensed rather than actually seen; yet the special character of the countryside made itself felt.

I was already on my way home when, in Traiskirchen, near Baden, I came across a signpost saying: "Trumau 5 Km." The idea of making this little digression attracted me, as I had never been in Trumau. That was the end of the resolution I had half made not to follow up any further the history of Felix the herb-gatherer.

A quite unpretentious village, lying among flat green fields in this vast plain, Trumau had a strange fascination for me. I felt that never before had I experienced the hidden secret of the Hungarian plain so distinctly.

On entering the village, I was at once directed to an old farmer, named Hörbinger, who was said to be an authority on local history. When he emerged from his low-built steading, covered from head to foot in dirt, he at once agreed that he knew a house in the village with the inscription over the door: *In Gottes Segen ist alles gelegen.*

He thought the house had needed buttressing and was therefore completely altered. However, he let himself be bundled into the car without any cleaning up in order to show us the house. There was in fact nothing left of the inscription; and it turned out afterwards that Felix had not lived there. Then the farmer had an idea: "Old Steinhauser lives just round the corner. He is 93 and must have known the fellow you are looking for. He is practically stone deaf and a bit weak in the head, but there is no harm in paying him a visit."

The old man, pitifully shrivelled and bent, was sitting over his midday meal with his family. The room was very small. I sat down next to him and shouted one or two questions into his ear. He kept asking again and again, cupping his ear right up against my mouth: "Hey? Hey?" It was obvious that he could under-

stand nothing. Then suddenly a strange thing happened: the old man let his head fall right forward and, long drawn-out, as though echoing from a deep well, these words emerged: "Aye, old Kogutzki, his name was Felix."

Now we suddenly had a name to go on. Our friend Hörbinger exclaimed in astonishment: "Yes, old man Kogutzki's grave is in the churchyard." It was getting quite exciting. Back we went to the car and off to the churchyard. We could not find the grave at once, but then another farmer was able to help us — by now the whole village was involved — and immediately by the gate on the right, a little hidden in the corner, we found the words: "Here lies *Felix Kogutzki*, died 1909 in his 76th year." Now we knew that Felix was born in 1833. We had certainly got on to the tracks of the herb-gatherer.

A few minutes later we were sitting round the table in the inn with quite a crowd of old men. The air buzzed with jokes and anecdotes, mostly concerned, however, not with Felix but with his sons, with whom these old farmers had grown up. At the office of the parish council we were able (although it was not a working day) to ascertain from documents that Felix Kogutzki had five sons, of whom one of the survivors was actually in Vienna.

One thing emerged fairly soon from the old men's gossip round the table. Although it was known for a fact that Felix's principal occupation had for long been that of herbalist (*Dürrkräutler*), it transpired that in the course of time he had to try to earn a living in many different ways, especially as his boys grew older. He wore out the soles of his shoes travelling as agent for various businesses; and both he and his wife took work in the factories. At weddings he accompanied the dancing on his accordion and sometimes acted as organist in the church.

One of the old men called Felix a "scholar". He did not mean that Felix had had any higher education or had been to a university, but only that he was a great reader. Another recounted how they used to say, when Felix appeared: "Here comes the chap who can see ghosts." Evidently this was their way of expressing what Jacob's sons used to say of their brother Joseph: "Behold this dreamer cometh!" In spite of the peculiar regard felt for him and the esteem in which he was held by the people of Trumau, by and large they had no feeling that there was anything very special about Felix.

Strangely enough, everybody maintained that Felix and his family did not live in a mean little cottage, but in a large well-built house that belonged to the "castle". It turned out later that Felix did in fact move in the year 1883, after the birth of four of his children, into the bigger house. On the first floor of this house we were shown the room, admittedly not very spacious, which served for a long time as living-room and bedroom for the family of seven. In spite of these poor living conditions, Felix succeeded in starting

his sons off in steady middle-class professions. Of the two oldest, Felix Anton became a forester and Anton Felix a bookseller. Immanuel, the youngest, also became a forester, while the middle one, Gottfried, became an official in the Vienna criminal courts.

By now it had gone 2 o'clock, as it was nearly midday when we got to Trumau. I had to be in Vienna at a quarter to four, so that we had to leave these good people, with whom a very friendly understanding had grown up. As we started on our hurried journey home, there was a happy conclusion to our exciting morning's discoveries. The sun broke through the mist and all of a sudden we could see far away to the south, in very faint outline, the Schneeberg, with its characteristic rounded summit, as well as the long line of the Hohe Wand. This proved to us that Dr. Steiner's description of the southern mountains, which he could see from Felix's house in the evening light, did in fact apply to Trumau, despite all appearances to the contrary. The fleeting fairylike glimpse of the distant mountains convinced me that we were here dealing with a matter of special significance in Dr. Steiner's life.

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In Vienna, on the following day, the problem was to find Richard Kogutzki, Felix's second youngest son. We finally discovered him in Floridsdorf, an out-of-the-way industrial suburb, to which he had moved just under a year previously. The people of Trumau had always referred to him jokingly as the "doctor of the left" (*der Linken*), because he had tried unsuccessfully as a young man to study law—i.e., to become a "doctor of the right" or "of law" (*der Rechte*).

We found a pathetic little man of 76, emaciated and bent with worry, but with bright eyes. At first I had to support him with my arm, as he had difficulty in moving about. But it was quite an experience to see how he livened up in the course of conversation, and finally, when I had shown him the passage about his father in Dr. Steiner's *Story of My Life*, he pranced about the room like a small child.

His wife had died only a few weeks before and his connection with her had been, and in fact still was, a very close one. She copied pictures, and the charming manner in which she did this, and the deep feeling she brought to the task, as well as to her original landscapes, made one profoundly conscious of her presence. The walls of the room in which he lived were covered with her pictures.

To begin with I simply let old Richard Kogutzki tell his own story. At first he had difficulty in finding words to express what he meant. One could see that, although his life had derived a sense of security from his father's remarkable qualities, he had never really been fully conscious of them. Probably he had never given much thought to his father's astonishing personality, or to its

significance. But a revelation seemed to come to him as we spoke; and it was very moving to see how the light gradually dawned.

He began with: "Well, my father was a profound philosopher of nature." In the end he gained confidence and seemed surprised at his own words: "He knew things that nobody else knew. He knew them . . ."—at this he took several breaths, while searching for the right word—"he knew them . . . *intuitively*." Then something else followed: "He knew it as though from . . ." Words failed him, so that I had to try and finish the sentence for him. "As though he knew it from a previous life", I suggested; and he called out in excitement: "Yes, that's it, in a previous life he might have been a Brahmin!" I hardly think that prior to this Richard had entertained the idea of repeated earthly lives, let alone spoken of it. Now to his own surprise he spoke of it as though of something that he had known for a long time.

He recalled many things—for instance, that his father used to read much of Paracelsus and similar writers. After recounting one or two amusing incidents, another idea came to his mind—that there was a good deal of "the occult" about his father. This idea brought him to tears, because it immediately led him to think of his wife, who had just died. When his sobs had died down, he told us how even now his wife often stood by his bed at night. Not long ago she kept pointing to a drawer in the cupboard that stood there; and when he looked next morning, he found wrapped up in the drawer a present intended for a small relation. She had got it ready but had not managed to send it off. He told me how he had then posted the parcel himself. This made it clear what the word "occult" conveyed to him.

Finally, I read to him what Dr. Steiner had written and said about the herb-gatherer. This led to the transformation I have already mentioned. There was no holding him. He kept jumping up and repeating: "Isn't what you have just read exactly the same as I was telling you? Only it is all expressed much better. That is the kind of father we had. If only we had seen it as clearly when he was still alive! We loved our father—and how we enjoyed being with him! But it is only now, after all this long time, that at last I understand everything!"

Now the dear old man was well away. He started making great plans. He wanted to go with us next day to see his relations, who he thought would still have some documents, books, pictures and other relics of his father. His only thought was how he could help me in my search. It was not until afterwards that I realised what a sacrifice it was for him to interrupt the work which completely absorbed him, that of making model houses. He pottered around with a box of aluminium bricks, out of which it was possible to make 45 different kinds of week-end bungalows and other small houses. Anyone planning a house for himself was to have the fun of making a model of it down to the minutest desired detail. His

idea was that this would one day bring him in a lot of money.

He spent a sleepless night thinking over the journeys he had planned, and by the next morning had reduced these to manageable proportions. He had given up the idea of travelling south to near Aspang, where his youngest brother was still alive, but seriously ill and incapable of making conversation. But we had a long journey together through the beautiful Austrian countryside by way of St. Pölten to Kirchberg on the river Pielach, which flows from the mountains northwards to the Danube. It was there that Richard's nephew Anton, son of the second oldest brother, was headmaster. His wife looked after us while we waited for him, as we had arrived to find him teaching until midday.

In the grandson we were dealing with a man of the present day—a younger man who will never have been preoccupied with the kind of world and the problems that concerned his grandfather. But he began gradually to show interest in our enquiries. What is more, he was soon at the cupboard door, getting out a packet of things which had come down to him through his father, who must have been old Felix's favourite son.

First of all, there were two well-thumbed little black books, a sample of the herb-gatherer's library of occult literature. Both had the same inscription, written in a shaky hand: *Dem Toni gewittmet* (sic). *Trumau Samstag den 1. April 1905 K.F.s.* So these books were given by old Felix (Felix Kogutzki the elder), four years before his death, to his son Anton. The title of one was:

Albertus Magnus
Natural and sympathetic
household remedies and medicines
for man and beast
The
best pharmacopoeia
with
more than 100 proved remedies
against all imaginable ills.

The other was smaller:

The new and improved
Albertus Magnus
tried and authenticated
sympathetic and natural
Egyptian secrets
for
man and beast
or
counsellor in homoeopathy
magnetism and the most important
secret remedies for ills of all kinds.

Obviously these were not writings of the great Dominican monk himself. The citing of his name in these instances only indicates that the use of ancient popular remedies in this form for the purpose

of healing is reckoned to belong to the same tradition as that which Albertus Magnus followed.

Inside the books were scraps of paper with proverbs scrawled on them, evidently used by Felix in his "consultations" when attending sick animals and maybe also human patients. It seems that from time to time he undertook work of this kind. People would turn to him when their animals were sick. When his advice was asked on health matters, he tried to help with herbs and ointments.

The most precious find was a tattered old notebook, in which the herb-gatherer had kept his diary from March, 1876, until February, 1884. The entries were written in a clumsy peasant hand. It was touching to read with what circumstantial detail life's little happenings were recorded. There is no expression of thoughts and inner experiences of the soul: everything is simple and straightforward fact. Each entry is signed, as though it were an important document, by Felix together with his full titles: "Felix Kogutzki, certificated herbalist, agent, etc." At the end of the book every entry is indexed under its appropriate heading. The diary begins with a prayer:

> Praised and blessed be the most holy sacrament of the altar, for ever and ever. Amen!
>
> Monday 20th March A.D. 1876, I made enquiries at the university of the city of Vienna about the names of the professors of botany.
>
> Tuesday 21st d.M.u.J. (i.e. same month and year) I bought a Black Forest clock.
>
> Monday 27th d.M.u.J. I introduced myself to Herr Frenzl, curator of the Vienna botanical museum. A day or two ago I bought a botanical magnifying glass.
>
> Tuesday 4th. I bought an ordinary saw.

After this Felix refers to the professor of botany, who has set him an examination. We then read:

> Friday 23rd June. I was awarded my *Concession ad Negotiam in plantis medicinis.*

In the index entry No. 9 above is entitled: "Herbalist's licence" (*Dürrkräutler Concession*).

The diary begins, then, at the time that Felix is trying to make a regular profession of herb-gathering. He starts getting himself established in Trumau, buys furniture and even puts a business name-plate over the door of his house. A few months later he marries. His wife, Johanna Neumeier, was eighteen years younger than himself and came from the Bohemian Forest. She died in 1920. One by one the events are recorded which constitute the life of this humble family. 1877, 1879, 1881, 1883 and 1886 are the years in which the sons were born. In 1883 the family moved into the house by the castle. It soon became necessary to take on

other work besides herb-gathering in order to make ends meet.

When I held this precious diary with its yellowing pages in my hands, I was quick to turn up the most important entry of all:

> No. 41. Herr Steiner jun., Studiosus, of Inzersdorf, visited me Sunday 21st. August A.D. 1881: unfortunately I was out.
>
> No. 42. H. St. paid me a second visit Friday 26th. d.M.u.J.

This, then, was the visit of which Rudolf Steiner spoke. At that time they must have known each other for nearly two years—their friendship being constantly renewed in the course of their journeys together to Vienna.

The Kirchberg headmaster also let me have two pictures of Felix as an old man. They show him with his wife, his children and grandchildren. In the evening, when we got back from our journey, the widow of the middle son, Gottfried Kogutzki, who lived in Vienna, showed us a large picture of the family. The five sons, then grown up, were standing behind the parents. The date was 1906—three years before Felix's death. It is difficult to describe Felix's face. In spite of its simplicity, it has noble features. One could take him for a parson—for one who has devoted a long life to the service of his fellow men. There is a look about his face as though of transfiguration.

On the way home from Kirchberg old Richard kept remembering further incidents in his father's life. As we were able to make the detour through Trumau, we had a useful chance to complete the picture we had already formed there. After we had put flowers on Felix's grave, Richard showed us the place where the cottage used to stand. It was where his father first lived and where he himself was born. After that we sat down in the inn again with the old men, who had meanwhile remembered a number of other things from the old times.

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Felix Kogutzki was born in Vienna on August 1st, 1833. His mother, Barbara, was unmarried. She was the daughter of a Polish cavalry captain, Michael Kogutzki, who was with the troops that fought in 1831 to free Poland from the Russians, but were defeated. They were forced into Austrian territory, where they were disarmed. Vienna was at that time full of impoverished Polish officers and soldiers. Captain Kogutzki's daughter was therefore compelled to go into domestic service with a family in Trattnerhof, near St. Stephen's Cathedral. This was the house in which many famous composers and writers subsequently lived. The very day he was born, little Felix was christened in St. Stephen's and was then brought up in the foundling hospital. Those who told me of this could not find words to describe the inhuman severity meted out to the child there. His head was often battered against the wall.

Later, when the boy expressed the wish to be educated in the

Schottenkloster[1] and perhaps to study for the priesthood, such a career was regarded as impossible for an illegitimate child. "You can study the muckheap," he was told roughly. Felix was then apprenticed to a baker. Once, when Croatian soldiers were passing through, he was given an enormous basket of rolls and told to offer them to the soldiers for sale. He soon got rid of the rolls but brought no money back, for which he was soundly thrashed by his master. Many such tales were told, which showed increasingly clearly what a harsh upbringing Felix must have had, until he succeeded in establishing himself in Trumau and earning a modest living.

One entry in Felix's diary reveals how strictly he used to discipline himself:

> Use and arrangement of time with respect to getting up in the morning, if required by duty or pressure of work. During May, June and July 3 a.m., August and September 3.45, October 4 a.m., November 4.45, December and January 5 a.m., February 4.30, March 4 a.m., and finally April 3.45. Besides arranging my times in this way, my time for getting up is subject to another condition. When there is no great urgency, I shall still get up as soon as I hear the Ave Maria, in whatever place or country I may be. Trumau, Friday 30th June A.D. 1882, F.K.

When we read this, we should bear in mind what tremendous distances Felix had to cover on foot. Whether he went east to the Leitha Mountains or west to the foothills of the Vienna Woods to collect herbs, he had a good three hours' walking. Several times every day distances like that from Trumau to Münchendorf, which takes an hour, had to be covered.

Many anecdotes reveal the demands made on the herb-gatherer by neighbours in all spheres of life and activity. With the beginning of the Socialist movement, which had Felix's sympathy, he was once fetched to address a popular meeting in place of the intended speaker, who had failed to turn up. His speech was enthusiastically received. But there was some embarrassment afterwards, when he closed the meeting with three cheers for the Emperor Franz Joseph.

The following incident reveals how he was regarded by the other inhabitants of Trumau. Once, when Felix was hard up, he had to borrow a considerable sum from a well-to-do neighbour, the village innkeeper and baker. As security, he handed over his gold watch. By the time carnival came round, not much had been paid back, but the publican sent word to Felix that one of the boys should come round to fetch their pancakes. One of the pancakes in the basket was much bigger and heavier than the rest and was found, on being opened, to contain the watch.

On the journey home from Kirchberg, Richard had much to tell of the family atmosphere in which he had grown up. The father was very devout: grace was said before meals and prayers before going to bed. At Christmas, the initials of the Three Kings were

[1] An ancient grammar school run by Benedictine monks.

hung over the door—K M B. There was much music-making at home: and when Felix sang, his voice would resound through the village.

This is a suitable place to insert a quotation from a letter written to me by Richard Kogutzki: "You have already been told at Trumau that at weddings he would play the accordion, accompanied on the violin by his third son Gottfried, once he had reached his fourteenth year. To this music Father would sing songs gay and grave. His fine baritone voice had exceptional power. All five boys were very talented musically and had good voices, so that music and song were a feature of our family life. Between us we played with success the violin, the guitar, zither, French horn, bugle and piano. A scene comes to mind of a warm spring evening, when we were singing a solemn chorale by the open window of our first-floor flat next to the castle. Father was accompanying us on his tuneful three-manual accordion. Passers-by stood and looked on approvingly, clapping loudly at the end of the song."

The children's upbringing was strict, but always with positive intention. The cane was used, but really only as a symbol. "Our parents brought us up in a spirit of freedom, always anxious to make us self-reliant—and after all we have not grown up a bad lot." Once, for a short time, Felix looked after a girl who was sickly and suffered from depression, because she had been constantly scolded and beaten by her parents. Felix had, as his son points out, a good way of building up conscious self-reliance in children; and after a few weeks the girl was able to go back home, well and happy. "Yes, the most that scolding teaches children is how to scold." One can well imagine that wherever Felix peddled his wares from house to house, perhaps sometimes even in Baden or as far afield as Vienna, he took with him at the same time a warm and friendly human feeling.

The herb-gatherer lived on until 1909. All outward contact between him and Rudolf Steiner seems to have ended long before then. But it is surely no coincidence that soon after Felix had left the physical plane, Rudolf Steiner started work on his first Mystery Play, *The Portal of Initiation*, in which Fedix appeared, first as the "Man with the Lamp" and then as Felix Balde. The play was performed for the first time in 1910, in Munich. The character who had played such an important part in Rudolf Steiner's life was then seen for the first time on the stage. In this way the herb-gatherer came to life again. The mythical aura surrounding Felix Balde was no mere trimming: it indicated that part of the man from Trumau which lay outside his own consciousness, for he was a greater man than he himself knew.

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There is an important sense in which Felix's essential nature is parallelled by the countryside around Trumau. The district in

which he lived was as unpretentious as the man himself, but, like his plain exterior features, it concealed inner forces and a rich soul life. We are here touching on the puzzling question of how Rudolf Steiner came to describe Trumau as a "solitary mountain village". There is no suggestion of mountainous country about the village itself. Wide treeless plains extend in all directions. But the word *Gebirge* has, in addition to its usual meaning, a rather special sense in that district, especially on the western fringe of the Hungarian plain. So, for instance, the name of the place to which Rudolf Steiner's parents moved with him and the rest of the family, after three years in Inzersdorf, was *Brunn am Gebirge* ("mountain spring"). This place is north of Mödling and barely touches the foothills of the Vienna Woods. The use of the word *Gebirge* in this instance is clearly a reference to a mountain atmosphere rather than to the actual presence of hills and valleys.

In some sense this seems to apply also to the triangle of land formed by the western end of the Hungarian plain that lies south of the Danube. In prehistoric times there was a landslide, but the mountains which were there before that event have left behind something of their inner character, so that the word *Gebirge* is to be found in the plain itself, as well as in the hills fringing it to east and west. The wide plain, in which much of Vienna is spread out, is *Gebirge* because within itself mountains lie submerged. The present-day language still reveals this sense of a mountainous district.

In this connection let us go back to the deep impression made on Rudolf Steiner as a young man, when he saw the distant mountains tinged gold by the setting sun, as he looked away to the south from Felix's cottage. This view of the Schneeberg and the other mountains of northern Styria is not normally seen from Trumau, but only on particular occasions. They then appear as though a curtain had been drawn aside somewhat to reveal the hidden secret of this whole countryside. This had quite a special significance for Rudolf Steiner. The view he had that evening in Trumau of the mountains seemed to sum up his entire previous relationship with the country. These mountains were home to him, as nothing else was.

When Rudolf Steiner reached the age at which a child becomes fully conscious of the outside world, his father was stationmaster at Pottschach, which lies immediately at the foot of this range of mountains. The shapes of the Schneeberg, Rax and Wechsel, where they go down to the Semmering, were deeply imprinted on his soul as a child. It was as though the guardian spirits of his home watched over his young life from the peaks of these mountains. He describes this himself in the *Story of My Life*:

> My childhood was spent in the most glorious country surroundings. One could see the mountains which join Lower Austria to Styria — the Schneeberg, Wechsel, Rax and Semmering. The bare rocky summit of the Schneeberg would catch the rays of the morning sun. This was our first greeting from a fine summer's day. In striking contrast was the severe grey ridge of the Wechsel. The mountains seemed to rise up, as though growing out of the friendly countryside, which is everywhere a smiling green. Close at hand were the intimate beauties of nature, while the splendour of the mountain tops dominated the distant horizon.

Later on, Rudolf Steiner's father was shifted to Neudörfl. This lies considerably further north, on the eastern fringe of the "Wiener Becken", where the Leitha Mountains form the frontier between Austria and Hungary. It was then that the young lad started at the Realschule in Wiener Neustadt, making the journey from Neudörfl every day. There is a splendid distant prospect of these same mountains to be seen from Wiener Neustadt, and also from Neudörfl. This time the view covers the entire range. As a schoolboy, therefore, Rudolf Steiner had the experience of constantly seeing the most magnificent aspect of his childhood surroundings afresh:

> The Alps, which could be seen close at hand in Pottschach, were now only visible in the distance. But they were a constant reminder of the past, standing in the background, as one looked at the lower ranges which could be reached in a short time from our new home.

Inzersdorf, where Rudolf Steiner was living when he began his studies in Vienna, lies so far north that from there he could no longer see the mountains that spoke to him of home. But in August, 1881, when at the age of 20 he visited the herb-gatherer Felix in Trumau, he was perhaps in the most northerly spot from which, given the right conditions, it is possible to catch momentary glimpses of these mountains. Seeing the mountain-tops he loved, as he was saying good-bye, was like a reunion with the very heart of his home. It allayed the homesickness that persisted in his soul. The mountains spoke the same language, sang to him as it were in the same key, as Felix. His heart responded to the soul of the earth, which had now released him for work in the big city. In making this transition, he had had Felix as his guide.

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The world of modern civilisation, into which Rudolf Steiner was thrust when he left the country, was also to be the scene of a profound awakening. In this process of development, he was to be the pioneer of a new spiritual era for mankind. It is significant that here, too, Felix was to play the part of an intermediary and guide!

> In a sense my friend Felix was simply the forerunner of another personality, who had the task of stimulating something in the soul of this youth, standing as he was in the midst of the spiritual world. He drew attention to the need for regular systematic exercises, which are essential in the spiritual world. . . . As far as his everyday work went, this distinguished man was as insignificant as Felix himself. (4th February, 1913).

Edouard Schuré wrote as follows about this personality, on the strength of information given him by Rudolf Steiner in conversation:

> The teacher (*Meister*) whom Rudolf Steiner found was one of those mighty personalities who fulfil their mission, unknown to the world and in the guise of some quite conventional work which they take on . . ." (from the Preface to the French edition of *Christianity as Mystical Fact*).

This teacher led the young Steiner by way of Fichte's writings to that vigorous development of the power of thought which culminates in a decisive awakening of the soul. In contrast to Felix, he must have been an exceptionally forceful and active character. In the modern equivalent of the "fight with the dragon", it was he who was Rudolf Steiner's teacher (*Lehrmeister*):

> How was he to tame the dragon of modern science and harness him to the vehicle of Spiritual Science? . . . How was he to overcome the monster (*Stier*) of public opinion?

To this question the unknown Master answers:

> You will not conquer the dragon until you get inside his skin. As for the monster, you must take him by the horns. I have shown you who you are. Now go and be yourself.

In Goethe's fairy-tale, the decisive moment occurs when the snake whispers the missing fourth secret to the Old Man with the Lamp. At this the old man becomes the herald of a new age: "The time has come!" he calls in a resounding voice. This must have been the way in which Rudolf Steiner experienced his meeting with Felix. It was through him that he heard the call, "The time has come!" After that he was equipped and ready for all that might follow.

The call appears in the following words spoken by Felix Balde in the second Mystery Play:

> Obediently I followed the spirit's leading,
> Its voice in my heart,
> When it enjoined me to be silent.
> And now, when it calls on me to speak,
> I will again obey.
>
> The being of man changes
> In the course of the earth's becoming.
> We are at a turning-point in time.
> A portion of spiritual knowledge
> Must be disclosed to all men
> Whose minds are open to receive it.

Translated by John Naumann.

In Memoriam: Emil Bock

Alfred Heidenreich

EMIL BOCK, for 21 years the supreme head of the Christian Community and an Anthroposophist of world stature, was an unusual personality. He came from German working-class stock. His sheer physical vitality and his immense personal authority marked him out as a leader of men. He reminded me at times of Ernest Bevin.

When he was arrested by the Gestapo and imprisoned for nine months in a concentration camp, he succeeded by sheer force of personality in prevailing upon his jailors to keep him in the comparatively lenient camp at Welzhausen and not to transfer him to Dachau or Buchenwald. He also managed, by virtue of his wonderful vitality and will-power, to use some of the nights in camp to write his memoirs, which have now become available after his death. They tell us a great deal about his childhood and youth which we did not know before. They are at the moment being serialised in the German magazine of the Christian Community, *Die Christengemeinschaft*, and also in a partly abridged form in "The Christian Community".

The chapters which have appeared so far give us a picture of the stark poverty of his home. Already as a boy of four, he was forced to help with his father's trade, learning how to sew carpets together. A generous employer who recognised the exceptional gifts of the boy paid for his higher education, but this came to an abrupt end with the outbreak of war in July, 1914.

With the barest minimum of military training, Emil Bock and other fellow students were sent to the Western Front in October, 1914. In the last days of that month, destiny intervened. Bock was dangerously wounded. A shell splinter hit him in the back, pierced one kidney and came to rest in the intestines. Afterwards he could not fully recollect the date or the length of time during which he was left as dead on the battlefield. But when he came to, days later in a field hospital, he found the senior surgeon standing by his bed, shaking his head. "My dear fellow," he said, "you have had a d . . . piece of luck. If you hadn't been starved before that attack, if your insides hadn't been so b . . . empty, you wouldn't be alive."

Bock describes in his memoirs how from that moment he felt himself a different personality. Up to that time, together with great intellectual gifts, he had been a dreamy boy. Now he woke up, and took possession of his body and his physical senses. He was then nineteen years of age.

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As a result of a series of peculiar circumstances and because of his severe wounds, Bock was posted after his recovery to an office job in the newly created department of censorship in Berlin. Among the mail which came one day for inspection to his department were parcels from the "Philosophical-Anthroposophical Publishing Co." in Berlin. Bock's interest in these publications began quickly to transcend the boundaries of military censorship. He broke the rules and took some of these books home overnight in order to study them seriously. Thus began Bock's life-long contact with Rudolf Steiner and his works—although for the time being other interests still took precedence.

His official duties left him sufficient time and energy to enrol as a student at Berlin University. He read history and languages, but after a while he changed to Theology, in response to some inner promptings which he failed to reason out to himself at the time. He soon became senior student of his faculty, and in 1917, when the fifth centenary of the Reformation was celebrated, Bock, although technically still in the Army, marched in the procession in full-dress students' uniform at the side of the banner of his Students' Union. A faded photograph of this historic moment has recently come to light; it shows as the actual standard bearer Dr. Eberhard Kurras, Emil Bock's closest life-long friend and a co-founder of the Christian Community.

During 1917 Bock also visited a number of churches in Berlin, "sermon-tasting". One Sunday he found himself in the crowded church of Dr. Rittelmeyer, who had been appointed to Berlin a short time before. Bock did not fail to recognise the difference. After the Service he called at the vestry, together with his friend Kurras. When Rittelmeyer welcomed both with open arms, the angels of destiny who planned a new Age of Christianity must have looked down with intense interest. Rittelmeyer introduced both friends to Rudolf Steiner, who admitted them at once to all his meetings and lectures. Before long Bock became the centre of a group of students in Berlin who recognised in Anthroposophy the new wisdom of the age.

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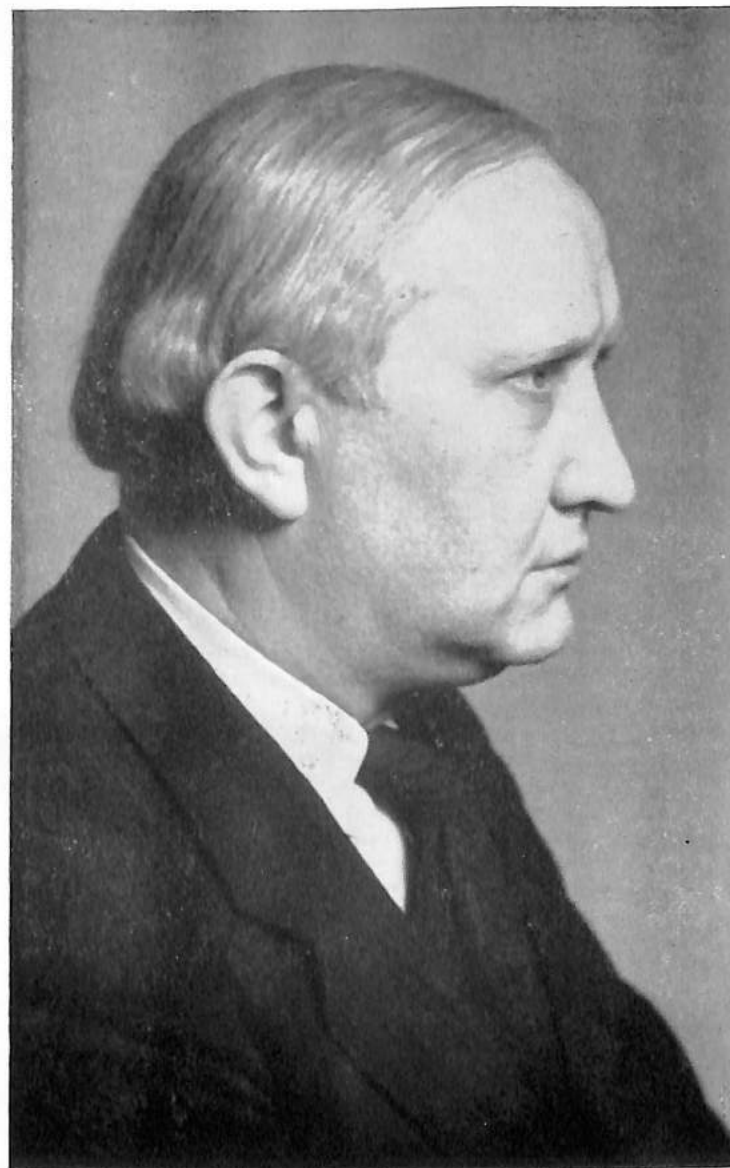
I met Bock first in September, 1921, when, during an Anthroposophical Congress in Stuttgart, the would-be founders of the Christian Community held several meetings among themselves. Although Bock had at first not been among those young Anthroposophists who asked Rudolf Steiner whether they should carry Anthroposophy into the renewal of Christian life and practice, he soon dominated the group. I confess that his manner nearly put me off for good at the time, and it needed many a fierce battle before we could work peacefully together. But when we all moved to Dornach after the Stuttgart Congress, Bock became the recognised speaker who formulated questions and discussed the day-to-



EMIL BOCK (*1895 – 1959*)

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day business with Rudolf Steiner during the training course which Rudolf Steiner then held for the founders of the Christian Community.

A year later, in September, 1922, the Christian Community was actually founded in Dornach. On the advice of Rudolf Steiner a body of seven office-holders was appointed, with Bock as one of the leading figures. Two years later he was designated, at the express suggestion of Rudolf Steiner, as Dr. Friedrich Rittelmeyer's successor in the supreme leadership.

After Rittelmeyer's death in March, 1938, Bock took over. One of his early acts as *Erz-Oberlenker* was to conduct an Ordination Service in London in the spring of 1939. The twenty-one years during which Bock held the office of *Erz-Oberlenker* in the Christian Community were stormy and difficult. The Nazi poison crept into the souls of even decent men and women, and the Hitler Government increasingly restricted the activities of the Christian Community on the Continent until, in June, 1941, it suppressed them completely. During this time, in August, 1939, Emil Bock lost also his beloved wife, mother of the son and three daughters who survive him.

When the Hitler regime at long last collapsed, Bock threw himself with furious energy into the rebuilding of the Movement in Germany. He commandeered single-handed a large club-house in Stuttgart, and with his imperious manner made the French and American occupation authorities recognise the house officially as a place of worship. He managed to persuade a couple of lorry drivers to help him in getting back his library, which the Nazis had looted and the greater part of which they had incorporated into the "Aryan Institute" of the University of Tübingen.

As soon as circumstances permitted, Bock renewed also his contacts with the Steiner world outside Germany. In the summer of 1947 he came to England, and in addition to his work for the Christian Community, he visited a number of anthroposophical institutions, Michael Hall and Wynstones schools, Camphill and Clent, and addressed anthroposophical audiences.

In those difficult years, Bock was an ideal leader. His fighting spirit and great moral courage won him much recognition also beyond the borders of the Christian Community and the Anthroposophical Society. It was under his leadership that the public authorities in Germany accorded to the Christian Community the status of *Körperschaft Offentlichen Rechts* — so placing it on a footing of legal equality with the Lutheran and Roman Catholic Churches. Bock was also on terms of personal acquaintanceship with President Heuss and members of the Federal German Government. He was an accomplished letter-writer and kept up a large correspondence with celebrities of science, music, literature and the stage, in Germany and abroad.

It must be admitted, however, that in a measure Bock had also

some of the defects of his virtues. It was almost second nature to him to have the last word in discussion and to have his way with whatever he proposed. Working in committee, with anything approaching normal democratic procedure, was nearly unbearable to him. He became very quickly restless and almost physically breathless. In this respect he had not a little of the Bismarckian German left in him, ideal in times of distress and danger, but perhaps not equally ideal in times of quiet growth and peaceful evolution.

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Apart from his war-time leadership, I believe Bock will be most remembered for his theological works, and for his intimate historic research into the life and background of Rudolf Steiner. In these activities he was engaged with his heart. The eight volumes of his *Beiträge zur Geistesgeschichte der Menschheit* are a detailed application of Rudolf Steiner's method to the study of the Old and New Testament and their vast historic background; in scope, comprehensiveness and brilliant detail they will not easily be matched. Two of these volumes, "The Three Years" and "Apocalypse" have appeared in English. Two more volumes, "Cæsars and Apostles" and "Childhood and Youth of Jesus", are in preparation by the Christian Community Press. These last two, together with "The Three Years", form Bock's "Life of Jesus". Other major works include a series of biographies of German forerunners of anthroposophical thought, of witnesses in German literature to the fact of reincarnation, and a comprehensive volume on Romanesque ("Norman") buildings in Württemberg.

Into these writings the fruits of his wide reading, extending to rare and obscure books, are incorporated, and his uncanny instinct for historic reality led him to many original re-interpretations of traditional views. To travel with him, as I did on occasion, and to visit, for instance, an historic town, was an amazing experience. With an unfailing sixth sense, he would be off on the trail, and before long we would have seen not only the usual sights but a wealth of interesting architectural and cultural curiosities which no guide-book had listed.

Most impressive must have been his familiarity with the Holy Land. Friends who travelled with him to Palestine felt that he moved about Jerusalem as if he could recall the old city of Christ's time from first-hand memory. I believe he really solved several archæological riddles, connected for example with the palace of Pilate or with the "Upper Room", but like H. V. Morton, for whom he had a high regard, Bock was too much of an independent free-lance scholar to be given attention by the narrow and jealous circle of professional archæologists. But he did impress some of the official guides and "couriers" in Jerusalem. Among the tributes sent at his death was a moving letter from one of these guides, who

wrote that he never fails to tell his parties that "the German scholar Bock" had known and taught facts about the Essenes and their settlements years before his findings were confirmed by the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

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The same uncanny instinct for unearthing historical material and for discovering new facts and new angles of vision was applied by Emil Bock also to his biographical researches into the life and work of Rudolf Steiner. It is no exaggeration to say that the most important and most treasured acquisitions which have been added since Dr. Steiner's death to the Rudolf Steiner Archives in Dornach were discovered by Emil Bock. The way in which he traced the correspondence of Rudolf Steiner with his first publisher is a true adventure story (which cannot be told at the moment). Earlier on, Bock found and acquired Rudolf Steiner's correspondence with the German philosopher Eduard von Hartmann, about whom Rudolf Steiner writes at some length in his autobiography. A little later, some of the correspondence with members of the circle around Nietzsche was brought to light.

Bock pursued the smallest indication with unflagging perseverance. Persistently, for years, he entered into contact with every personality, or their descendants, mentioned by Steiner in his autobiography or otherwise known to have been connected with Steiner. Much of the information collected in this manner has been embodied in the comprehensive biography of Rudolf Steiner which was the last work in which Emil Bock was engaged and which he had nearly finished when death overtook him. Its publication is to be expected some time in 1961 and will be a fitting contribution to the Rudolf Steiner Centenary.

Bock's last discovery in this field was concerned with the personality and circumstances of the "herb-gatherer", Felix, who made such an important impression on the young Steiner. In the forthcoming book the chapter dealing with the "herb-gatherer" will be based on Bock's last lecture to the Anthroposophical Society in Stuttgart (of which an English translation appears in the present issue of the *Golden Blade*).

When Bock came home from such a voyage of discovery and brought out his new treasures for the inspection of one or two intimate friends, he was humanly at his most charming. On such occasions he could be the most delightful host. There was a scarcely controlled glint in his eyes when he recounted—quite casually as it were—his latest amazing finds. The great and charming boy, who survived in him to the end, hidden behind the weighty personality, looked out of him at such moments. At such moments, too, the basic humility became visible which was an abiding and genuine part of his being, below and behind his often lordly ways.

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At the end of November, 1955, Emil Bock and I were at Dornach for one of the periodical visits of the *Oberlenkerschaft* of the Christian Community to the *Vorstand* of the Goetheanum. We went for a stroll in the evening under the full moon, which later that night was to undergo a total eclipse. The atmosphere was close and foreboding. The next morning Bock had a temperature. But having been used all his life to ride rough-shod over any physical ailment, he ignored the danger-sign. During the following night a complete breakdown of all the functions occurred. At 3.30 a.m. the doctor had to be called; he immediately ordered an ambulance to transfer the patient to the Anthroposophical Clinic at Arlesheim.

Bock recovered from this breakdown, but he was physically no longer the same. True to his temperament, he tried to disregard the limitations of health, only to provoke another serious breakdown. Now also some after-effects of his war-time injuries showed themselves. Some nerves had been damaged and his feet were frozen at the time; and now the feet became swollen and painfully inflamed at the slightest overstrain. It was very distressing to see this giant dragging himself to the pulpit or rostrum in specially fitted slippers. But his spiritual and mental faculties remained unimpaired and rose triumphantly above the increasing limitations of the breaking physical frame.

The end came on December 6, 1959, the second Sunday in Advent, at 10 a.m., when close by in the big church of the Christian Community at Stuttgart the celebration of the Act of Consecration of Man was beginning. Under the hands of Dr. Rudolf Frieling, his appointed successor, who administered the Last Anointing, Emil Bock passed through the Gate of Death.

Emil Bock was born—during Ascension-tide—on May 19, 1895. This was a prophetic date for him who was to be one of the leading heralds of the ascended cosmic Christ in this century. It was equally significant that he should have died on an Advent Sunday, when the Gospel appointed (by Rudolf Steiner) to be read proclaimed the coming of the Etheric Christ Whom he hoped to meet.

Equity Between Man and Man

Owen Barfield

This article first appeared in the Midsummer 1932 issue of the quarterly, *Anthroposophy*, now long out of print. It must be read in the light of the period of its origin—the great economic slump of the "thirties"—but it is still relevant in many respects to the present time. We are reprinting it in the belief that to many readers of the *Golden Blade* it is probably unknown. The text has been slightly revised by the author, who has also added a postscript on the economic climate of to-day.—*The Editors.*

STUDENTS of Rudolf Steiner's *World Economy* are not likely to forget the difficult lecture in which he attributes many of the morbid symptoms displayed by the economic life of the world to-day to the tendency of capital to accumulate in the form of land-values. He speaks of the way in which the economic process of the production and consumption of commodities subsists between two poles: Nature and Spirit. In the first place human labour operates upon Nature (that is, essentially, on land); in the second place the creating and organising spirit works upon human labour, "saving" it and making it more and more productive; and in this way the thing which we call *capital* is built up.

Steiner goes on to point out how it is not merely morally but also economically necessary that—as a third stage—the capital so accumulated should be placed at the service of the *spirit* and thus allowed *indirectly* (that is *via* its disbursement on educative and other spiritual activities) to flow back into the land and into further production. Instead of this the spirit is omitted, and as a result huge masses of capital, vainly attempting to complete the circuit and return to the land, but without dissipating themselves, pile up in mortgages and land-values and produce a terrible congestion.

The whole course makes us more sensible of the true nature of capital. Most people to-day suffer from the incorrigible illusion that capital is "wealth"—an illusion easily explained by the fact that the individual who is placed in control of some capital may, in a civilised state of society, very conveniently change it into wealth at any moment. This does not, however, make it wealth, any more than the fact that a salesman earns his family's bread and butter by his labours makes salesmanship a productive activity.

Capital is rather (to use an electrical metaphor) a "difference of potential." It is a state of disequilibrium, of unequal pressure, and, as such, is the pre-requisite of all economic *activity.* If the economic process were complete, these pressures, after doing their work, would discharge to earth again, that is to the land. But the conductor is wanting. Instead, therefore, they pile up *above* the earth, *over* it. This creates a static charge of steadily increasing intensity;

and a static charge is, for the people living in it, the atmosphere before a thunderstorm.

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If we ask, what is the *practical* arrangement which makes possible the accumulation of capital, which makes possible its conversion into personal wealth and, above all, its congestion in the form of land-values and upon the security of land, the answer is short and simple. It is the fact that there is a law of property. It is the fact that men have certain rights as against each other, rights which the law guarantees and will if necessary enforce. The history of the law of property is the history of these rights. And one of the first things which the study of this history teaches us is the fact that these rights tend to vary widely with the different kinds of property concerned.

What are these different kinds of property? The basic distinction is, of course, the distinction between land on the one side and all other kinds of property on the other. English law calls these two classes Real Property and Personal Property, and there is possibly no better illustration of the typical differences, and of the typical relation, between the varying rights to which they may give rise, than the English law of property. At any rate, an historical view of this part of the law illuminates this relation in a peculiarly interesting way.

To understand the law of real property, it is necessary to be able to think with a certain amount of sympathy of the feudal system. In a feudal society, we have, to begin with, a social organism in which the land is everything and the human being (except possibly for a few exalted nobles) is attached to it almost after the fashion of a vegetable. If he is a serf, he is *adscriptus glebæ*—"annexed to the soil"—and is not allowed to leave the place of his birth. The notion that the word 'law' involves a separate, abstract system of personal rights, rights independent of topography and attaching equally to all men simply because they are men, is as yet hardly existent. The very rights themselves spring, as it were, from the soil. Thus, just as to-day land may be sold with certain rights (of drainage, light, etc.) over adjacent land attaching to it, so in the time of the feudal tenures rights of quite a different kind would pass with a given piece of land—rights which *we* cannot think of as concerning the land, as such, at all, rights and obligations of a personal kind; some of them of a very personal kind indeed.

It was only gradually that there first emerged from this older conception of "real" property, and afterwards grew up side by side with it, steadily increasing in relative importance, that very different conception of "personal" property, which covers the sort of property that is easily transferable by simple delivery and in which (as far as the law is concerned) any man may acquire a good right, irrespective of his status or the place of his birth, by paying

the price which its owner demands for it. The distinction between real property and personal property is, however, not quite as simple as it is apt to appear on the face of it. One is tempted by the terms themselves to think of land as having been called "real," because it is nice and solid and immovable, while "personal" property would be the kind of property (cash and so forth) which can be carried on the person. But this is not really the meaning of the terms. They arise, as has been pointed out, from the fact that the *right* involved in the ownership of real property was of a different kind from the right involved in the ownership of other kinds of property.

It is necessary to explain this difference. What is a right? How is its nature defined and determined? The lawyer answers this question by asking another. If my client's right is infringed, what sort of action can I bring, and against whom? It is in the answer to this question that the origin of the difference between real and personal property is to be found. The owner's right to his land was a right which he could enforce against the whole world. It was a right *in rem*—to the thing itself—so that if he were dispossessed, he could bring an action for the recovery of the thing itself. But the law at first recognised no such right in the case of personal property. He who was deprived of this could not, at law, enforce its return. His sole remedy was an action *for damages* against the particular person who had wronged him. Such an action was called a 'personal' action.

For similar reasons a distinction arose between two different *kinds* of personal property. Just as there is real property and personal property, so personal property itself may consist either of "things-in-possession" or "things-in-action." The difference is again a question of rights. If I see my watch lying on your table, I am entitled to pick it up and carry it away without your permission. But the fact that you owe me ten pounds does not entitle me to remove from your table ten pound notes or a bearer cheque for £10. In order to recover "my" £10 against your will, I must bring an action.

These rights to acquire property by bringing an action, as distinct from property itself, are called things—or (not to shirk the Norman French)—'choses-in-action.' My watch, on the other hand (quite apart from the question whether it is actually at the moment in its true owner's possession or not) is classified as a chose-in-possession. Thus, choses-in-possession are concrete, ascertained chattels; choses-in-action are, in essence, rights enabling me to obtain something if I choose. These rights may be contingent only, for there may be nothing to be got. The copyright of this article is a chose-in-action and, as such, forms part of the writer's personal property. So are the shares in a limited company. Thus, though choses-in-action are only 'rights' to property, they are also a form of property itself. They may be bought and sold, and a

large part of the buying and selling that goes on in the world to-day is concerned with them.

We can now amplify a little the original distinction between real property and personal property. We have instead three categories:

1. Real property (land)
2. Choses-in-possession }
3. Choses-in-action } (personal property)

It is obvious that choses-in-action lie at the opposite pole to realty. On the one hand, the actual possession and enjoyment of something ascertained is guaranteed and maintained by the law; on the other hand, it is only a *right* to possess something unascertained which is supported.

The gradual recognition of this often not very clearly defined *right* to possess is, in this country, closely bound up with the history of Equity. What is Equity? How has it come about that this academic name for a universal principle of justice or equality is now used in such peculiarly technical ways, so that, for instance, a man who has signed a contract to purchase a house is said to "have the equity" in it, and the ordinary shares of the most bogus and disreputable limited company that can possibly be imagined are properly called "equity shares"?

In the same course of lectures by Dr. Steiner (*World Economy*) there is at one point a very curious sentence. The lecturer is speaking of loans. He begins to illustrate his thesis. "A lends B money," he says (or words to that effect) and then he adds: "There you have a relation between two persons." The remark seems so unnecessary that for that very reason it pulls up the reader. In any other writer one would not think twice about it, but the more experienced one becomes in the study of Anthroposophy, the more one is inclined to adopt towards Steiner's words the attitude which scientists adopt towards nature. That is to say, one assumes an underlying principle of uniformity in the light of which nothing is meaningless, if one could only learn to understand it. The history of Equity (I mean in English jurisprudence, where the development has been quite peculiar) is precisely the history of the recognition of this relation between two persons by the Courts. Equity begins as soon as the "relation between two persons begins to be recognised as a *thing*, as an object no less 'real', in fact though not in name, than a piece of land.

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It is too commonly assumed that the subjection of the processes of litigation to a hide-bound formalism is a disease of civilisation from which primitive societies were immune. This is far from the truth; at any rate, it is far from the truth in the case of those peoples among whose customs we must look for the origin of the English common law. One has only to read one of the Icelandic

Sagas to realise two things: first, that a Viking was obliged to give a far greater portion of his time and attention to the business of conducting lawsuits than, let us say, a member of the stock-exchange; secondly, that the operation of law, even at its most primitive stage, when nearly every dispute ended in personal combat, was bound hand and foot by the necessity for correctness of form. Everything depended on using the correct words in your summons. A right was enforceable only if there happened to be some established form of action (and there were none too many) which would fit the particular infringement of which you had to complain. If not, no matter how unjustly you had been treated, the courts could do nothing for you. "Where there is a remedy," ran the old maxim, "there is a right." Whereas it is quite instinctive with us to reverse the order and say: "Where there is a right, there must be remedy."

This cramping limitation of the right of action lasted in England well into the thirteenth century, and the remedy, when it came, took a rather curious form. People who had a genuine grievance for which, owing to formal reasons, no relief was available at law, turned to the King as the ultimate fountain of justice; and the person who had to deal with their petitions was the King's highest official, the Chancellor. Down to the Reformation this official was invariably an ecclesiastic, and he was known among other titles, as the "Keeper of the King's Conscience." The way in which the Christian Church had taken into itself and metamorphosed certain conceptions developed by the Roman lawyers is beyond the scope of this article. Here we have only to notice that the story of equity is the story of how the relief which the Chancellor gave to oppressed and remediless suitors became more and more systematic, until it eventually resulted in a whole set of courts existing parallel to and yet quite distinct from those of the common law, and known as the Courts of Equity or "courts of conscience." It is from these extraordinary courts, whose jurisdiction was both concurrent with, and superior to, that of the courts of common law, that the present Chancery Division of the High Court has descended.

The term "courts of conscience" was in many ways a singularly correct description of the courts of equity, and indeed it conceals in itself the very essence of equity. For, while on the one hand it is still necessary to-day for a lawyer to have some understanding of the meaning of this phrase, "courts of conscience," even for the ordinary practical purposes of his business, at the other end of the scale it carries us deep into the roots of human consciousness. What does it mean?

Equity is of course a branch of civil law, and the court would move only at the instance of a plaintiff with some grievance. But in spite of this, the principle which underlay the relief granted was *not*, as at common law, the satisfaction of the aggrieved plaintiff. On the contrary, the court was concerned *to clear the conscience of*

the defendant. His conscience could be cleared only by repentance, and in order that he might repent, it was necessary that he should first of all make restitution to the person whom he had wronged. One cannot, as the King in *Hamlet* knew, "be pardoned and retain the offence."

Now the common law took no account of such personal rights and obligations as these. A man might be a notorious rogue, but nevertheless he could succeed in evicting from a piece of land (if he could show that it was technically "his") another man whose *personal* right to the land was universally admitted to be far better than his own. This was where equity stepped in. When such a situation arose, the sufferer could apply to the Chancellor, and, if satisfied of the rights of the case, the Chancellor would say, in effect, to the oppressor: "It is perfectly true that you have this legal right to the land, and if you choose to go to law to enforce it, the common law will assist you. I cannot stop that. But there is something else that I both can and shall do. The moment you begin any such action, in order to prevent you going on with it, I shall imprison your person for contempt of *my* court." Thus the would-be oppressor was helpless. He had a legal 'right,' but equity prevented him from enforcing it for 'personal' reasons. The maxim was: "Equity acts *in personam.*"

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There was another sense in which the courts of equity were 'courts of conscience.' The person who applied for relief must be able to show that *his own* conscience was clear. Otherwise the court would not help him. "He who seeks equity must do equity." In enforcing this principle the Chancellor would particularly take into account the degree of *knowledge* of certain significant facts which the parties could be shown to have possessed at the time when they acted. (This is the important equitable doctrine of "notice.") Thus the courts of equity were indeed concerned with a *relation* between two persons; the relation itself was felt as a reality, as something which changed its nature according as the state of mind—as the state of *knowledge*—of either party in relation to the other altered.

Now criminal law also takes account of the state of mind of the wrongdoer. An accident is not a crime. Yet the criminal courts could never be called 'courts of conscience.' With them it is simply a question of establishing that the accused did in fact *intend* the consequences of his action. A crime is essentially an offence against the *group* of which the criminal is a member. It is breach of the King's peace. Whereas the infringement of an equitable right is the wronging of *another individual human being.* It depends on a relation between two persons.

To understand this, it is necessary to go rather deeply into the meaning of the word 'conscience.' Like 'consciousness,' of which

it is philologically merely a variant form, the word conscience originally means 'knowing with.' It implies a state of knowledge either shared with, or at any rate considered in relation to, *another* being. That this 'knowing with' another (which, reduced to its lowest terms, is the bare admission that there *is* another being) is, first, an act of will, and, secondly, that it is the basis of self-consciousness—these are sublime truths which may be demonstrated philosophically, as they were by Hegel and by Samuel Taylor Coleridge. But they are also truths which may be won from purely moral experience by persons of the most limited intelligence. By watching ourselves, by watching the harm that we keep doing in some of the most intimate experiences of life, we may come to grasp this truth.

Let us suppose, for instance, that in the midst of some argument we pull ourselves up, finding that we are becoming excessively dogmatic, excessively self-assertive. We discover that we no longer wish the other person to arrive at the truth by his own voluntary act. We are now trying to force our own thought outward at his expense, to remove him from the path, to put him to sleep. We do not want to admit his right to a separate existence. We should like his mind to be a sort of mechanical attachment to our own, registering assent at intervals, simply in order to keep us sufficiently conscious to be able to enjoy the act of thinking and the accompanying sense of power. But this is not a true increase of self-consciousness. Such an increase will come only if we are willing to accept the pain of his otherness, to acknowledge his full and equal right to be other than ourselves. It is only this pain and contrast which can shock us into a real awareness of ourselves.

This is only an example. The point is that out of quite ordinary everyday experiences (between two persons) one may come to perceive the profound truth that is contained, for instance, in Coleridge's *Essay on Faith,* where he shows the necessary relation between consciousness and conscience. Self-consciousness is made possible only by the voluntary recognition of *another* self-consciousness. It becomes possible when, by an act of free will, we resist the impulse to regard other human beings as mere phenomena, as mere points on the circumference of a circle; and it is developed in us at any moment only to the extent that we are able to acknowledge with our whole heart that these others too are centres, centres of equal status with ourselves. In Coleridge's words, we must "negative their sameness in order to establish their equality." Self-consciousness has its rise in the recognition by one being of the *equality* of another being. It is a gift which men can receive only at the hands of one another.

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It may be objected that too much importance is attached to aware of what we are? The answer is, of course, that only by

self-consciousness. Why is it so desirable that we should become doing so can we become aware of the Spirit *in* which we are. It has been common ground for the great religions of the world that self-consciousness, when deeply realised in self-knowledge, involves God-consciousness. But it is just here that an important distinction may be made. Religion has always possessed as its heart the truth that God is to be sought for in the Ego of man, and Moses so far made this doctrine exoteric to the ancient Hebrews when he preached the I AM. But here the Ego is always emphatically the Ego of the seeker. Only one religion has ever taught that God is to be sought in the Ego of *another* man, and that religion is Christianity.

The central discovery wrought in a man by the ancient mystery religions was the discovery "I am divine." The crucial discovery wrought in a man by Christianity is the experience "thou art divine." It is only reflected in another that we can see the eternal Self which we are, but not yet. Christ can only make his home in a "relation between two persons." For a relation between more than two implies the relation between each two—where two or three are gathered together.

If the incarnation of Christ be indeed at the centre of the evolution of the Earth, then, as only 2,000 years have elapsed since it occurred, we can hardly in our time have touched the threshold of the age of Christianity. For contrast this paltry 2,000 years with the æons that preceded it and the æons that are still to follow! Such is in fact the view of Spiritual Science. We also realise, when we begin to get that firmer grasp of the evolution of consciousness which it assures, that the fourth Post-Atlantean Age (beginning with the year of the foundation of Rome and ending in 1413 A.D.), while it was in some few respects the best, was in many others the worst adapted of all for *understanding* the great Event which it brought to Earth. It was, for example, an age in which the institution of slavery was widespread and acknowledged. The word "equity" (Latin *æquus*) is closely bound up with the notion of equality. If we recollect all these things and if we also carry in our minds a sense of the great spiritual significance of this recognition of an *equality* of status as between two persons (a feeble attempt has just been made to this put before the reader), then it becomes a simpler matter to comprehend the really very strange and distinctive quality of this equity—this 'roguish thing' as one of the old common lawyers called it—which springs rather suddenly into prominence in England at the dawn of the fifth Post-Atlantean Age. Then too (and there is much more that could be said, were there space) in spite of all the nonsense which no doubt has been talked, in spite of all the base uses which the growth of technical equity has served, and of which something is shortly to be said, it is impossible not to abandon prejudice and admit that

the true body of equity has a certain breath of fragrance about it and that that fragrance is the fragrance of Christianity itself.

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One of the most memorable things in Rudolf Steiner's book, *The Threefold Commonwealth*, is the way in which he identifies with the three members or systems of the modern State the triple ideal of the French Revolution—Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. He points out that the ideal of the equality of all men is indeed capable of realisation, but that it will be realised only if it is understood to what sphere of the whole social organism, and thus to what aspect of the individual human being, it applies. To be an expression of the equality of all men is characteristic of the politico-legal structure of the State, of that life of reciprocal rights which corresponds in man himself to the life of feeling, out of which his private social relations with other men are built up. In other respects men are not equal.

Now the phenomenon of equity and the way in which, originating in the sphere of rights, it has gradually spread outward and incorporated itself in a metamorphosed form into the economic life, throws much light on this conception. It is characteristic of the three members or systems of the modern State to interpenetrate in this way, just as it is characteristic of the threefold man. The important thing is that they should be able to be separated in our thinking about them. And the history of Equity assists us to do this. We trace its progress from the rights sphere, through a changing conception of property, into the economic sphere. But its nature is such that in doing so we do not easily lose sight of its essentially juristic origin. Thus, equity enables us to feel how equality, not the abstract uniformity of the bureaucratic foot-rule, not 'standardisation' but equality in a most inward and truly human sense, is at the very heart of the life of rights.

So far it is only the first stage of this progress from the rights sphere into the economic sphere at which we have looked. We have seen how the emergence of social and economic life from feudalism has been very closely connected in this country with the solvent influence exerted by the doctrines of equity on the conception of property. A man's land might at law be tied up in all sorts of complicated ways connected with his family status, so that, for example, he could not sell it, even though he might wish to go and live somewhere else, nor could he dispose of it as he desired in his will. Or again he might wish to sell without going through the elaborate public ceremony which the law required in the case of real property. In such circumstances he could escape many of his difficulties by providing that A should "own" the land, but that A should hold it *for the benefit* of B (who might possibly be himself).

The result was that, as far as the ordinary courts of law were

concerned, A (the 'trustee' as we should now call him) was the owner. Theoretically he could, if he chose to ignore the trust reposed in him, confine the whole enjoyment to himself. The common law courts would not recognise B's right at all. But the courts of equity would prevent A from doing anything of the sort. By putting his trust in A, B had created a certain relation between two persons, a relation which bound A's conscience; and equity would see (such was the theory) that A's conscience was preserved from the damage which it must suffer by ignoring that obligation. B's personal right to enjoy the land was thus something so secure, so concrete, that he could sell it, and the purchaser would obtain something which for practical purposes was as good as the land itself.

Thus the ancient feudal attachment of man to the land was allowed to fade away into the background. It did not wholly disappear, but there came into existence, hovering as it were above it, a quite separate system of ownership, in which the theory was that, not the land itself was owned, but the personal *right* to enjoy it. Under the feudal system it had been in some respects almost as true to say that the land owned the man as that the man owned the land. But now these personal rights had come to be felt as *things* no less actual and concrete than the land itself. They could be left in a will, bought and sold, dealt in. The conception of property had thus become a much freer one. It no longer involved a kind of physical oneness with the object owned. It was a personal right.

The characteristic of this kind of property was the ease with which it could be transferred from one person to another. Thus in a sense the equitable doctrines of ownership underlay the whole phenomenon of the growth of commerce and the rise of the free cities. In commerce, the relations of human beings to one another are based not on the land but on cash. This is not necessarily an evil. It is rendered evil by the egoism of human beings, but that makes other things evil also. A commercial 'bargain' is not essentially a transaction by means of which one human being 'does' another and gains something at his expense. Essentially it is a transaction from which both are the gainers, and as such is a material reflection of the spiritual significance of men's coexistence on the Earth: How great that spiritual significance may be, we have just seen. It was precisely in connection with the commercial loan of money that Steiner pointed to a "relation between two persons."

But the development of that conception of property which equity fosters did not stop here. We have traced it, in the case of land, from the old feudal conception to that of a mere right, albeit a right which could be bought and sold for cash. There remains the question of the nature of property in cash itself.

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In the same course of lectures on *World Economy*, Dr. Steiner, speaking of the history of the *loan*, points out that the loan in its pristine form was a gift for which the consideration was not a defined contract to repay the exact amount with or without interest, but rather a tacit understanding that the present borrower would be willing to become a lender in his turn, should occasion arise. Again one sees that he thought it characteristic of the loan that it creates a peculiarly personal relation. Now it is just this whole sphere of personal relations, relations which are based on some kind of confidence, some 'trust' or 'credit' that is so peculiarly the sphere of equity. Trust is the soul of equity. So strong is its sense of the concreteness of the situation which is created as soon as one man places confidence in another and acts accordingly, that it will, up to the limits of possibility, presume that the confidence is justified. Equity, it has been said (and the doctrine is of practical importance —for instance, in the construction of Wills), "imputes to a man the intention to fulfil his obligations." It does much more. As a judge on the Queen's Bench asserted in 1885, "Equity looks upon that as done which ought to be done."

This does not, of course, mean that in the ordinary course of litigation a man who has made a promise will be excused from fulfilling it. But there is one case in which it almost amounts to this. The influence which such conceptions have had on the development of *money*, and of those numerous substitutes, such as cheques, which are its virtual equivalent in many of the transactions of modern social life, can hardly be exaggerated. It is one thing for a freemasonry of merchants and bankers to have acquired the habit of exchanging one another's promises to pay in settlement of their debts. It is another when such customs become incorporated into the law of the land, so that some of the sharpest and most subtle brains are occupied in defining the situations which result and endeavouring to make them of universal application.

The economic process deals with physical things. When rights begin to be bought and sold and used for the payment of debts, we see them trying to turn into physical things. They become abstracted from the personal relation which is their essence, and the result is confusion. For instance, it is apparent enough to common sense that there must be some difference between "paying" and "promising to pay." But to-day, if the Bank of England has promised to pay me £5, it will fulfil that promise by handing me either one or five or ten pieces of paper having printed on them the words, "Bank of England promise to pay the Bearer on demand the sum of £5" (or £1 or 10/- as the case may be). Must a "promise to pay" be a promise to pay something, or may it be a promise to pay nothing? Are these promises "money"? What is money? Does it exist before it is issued, and, if so, to whom does it belong?

These are some of the questions upon which an absolutely

hopeless confusion reigns to-day, not only in the minds of persons in the humbler walks of life but also among those whom destiny has called to the task of governing the central banks of the great nations of the world. It is only necessary to look at the evidence given before the recent Macmillan Committee on Finance and Industry (1931) to see how total is the darkness out of which decisions are fetched which determine the material welfare of the world.

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We have glanced at the emergence, in the past, of a system of ownership based on cash from a system of ownership based on land and the family. To-day we appear to be in the midst of another process—the emergence of a system based on credit from a system based on cash. The principles of equity are influential in both cases, but there is this difference. In the former process the personal element which underlies equity was never quite lost sight of. Personal relations and the rights based on them were indeed felt to be realities, *things*—they were freely bought and sold—but they were never actually confused with *physical* things. The physical thing with which they might have been confused—the land—was there in the background of men's consciousness, in pointed contrast to them, and the equities hovered above it, as it were, in a different sphere. Such is the essential nature of the Trust Settlement.

This transition from cash-finance to credit-finance is inevitable and beneficial; what is disastrous is the application to the latter of forms of thought proper only to the former—through lack of the ability to create fresh forms of thought. The obligation which is produced by a "promise to pay," and the corresponding right called "credit"—these things have become actually confused in men's minds with physical objects. They are indistinguishable from "money," and money is still thought of by most people as an aggregation of physical objects.

Money in its earliest form was in fact a commodity among other commodities, and it has always been so treated by the common law. It is not regarded as evidence of a right to demand goods; it is itself goods. It is not a chose-in-action, but a chose-in-possession. Yet bank-notes, when they are also currency notes or when they are legal tender and inconvertible, are indistinguishable from money. On the other hand, bank-notes are merely "promises to pay!"[1]

[1] In the last century, when all English bank-notes were as a matter of course freely convertible into gold, it was settled that they are negotiable instruments and thus choses-in-action. I do not know if the modern bank-note has yet been classified. But, since this article was written, the courts have decided that not only banknotes and bank deposits, but such typical choses-in-action as stocks and shares, are now "money", at all events for the purpose of determining the meaning of the expression "all my money" used in a Will.

No better evidence could be required of the heights which doubt and confusion on the subject of currency have now reached than the decision come to in April of this year (1932) by the Appeal Committee of the House of Lords in the case of *Banco de Portugal v. Waterlows.* This is the highest tribunal in the kingdom and from it there is no further appeal. It had to decide (inter alia) the question whether a bank (with a right of note issue similar to that of the Bank of England), when it issues its own inconvertible notes in exchange for forged ones, is the poorer by the face value of the notes or whether it has lost merely the cost of printing them. It had to decide whether the Bank of Portugal was correct in claiming that the replacement of the forged notes "cost" it half a million sterling, or whether Messrs. Waterlow were correct in claiming that it had cost only a few thousands. This would appear to be a pretty fundamental question. *The House of Lords does not know the answer to it!* Of the five Lords Justices of Appeal, three decided for the half million and two for the few thousands. It is perhaps worthy of remark that the first three are men who have gained their experience in common law advocacy, while the two dissentients come from the Chancery, or, as it is often called, the Equity Bar.

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Such confusion on such a subject is unfortunately of more than theoretical importance. For what effect does it have when the essentially inter-personal nature of promises and "credit" is forgotten, when rights are metamorphosed in men's minds into the semblances of physical things, so that the attempt is made to compel them to obey physical laws? The result is that the world is caught within a network of unreal ghosts of personal obligations. A situation arises in which the whole world is in theory (but the theory is acted on) head over ears in debt to—itself. Huge sums of money are owed to nobody and are withdrawn from circulation to liquidate that spectral debt. But without money the world cannot get at the goods which it produces, and, as a result, it soon ceases even to produce. We therefore have a world starving to death in the midst of material plenty. The latest (1932) unemployment figure from America alone is 8,000,000.

The failure of the whole system of financial credit built up by the Western world, with which we are now threatened, will not be due to a lack of personal confidence between human beings. This has probably never been greater than it is now, as is proved by the very abuses to which it is exposed. Confidence could not be abused on the scale practised by the late Ivar Kreuger, if there were not plenty of it there to abuse. No. The failure will be due to ignorance of the nature of credit and the position it has come to occupy in the economic life of the world. It will be due, and so far as it has already happened, it is due, to inability to realise that confidence is an immaterial substance, and not a material one. The failure of

credit reacts on the land itself. The substitute for genuine credit, for personal trust, is collateral "security," and people quickly come to feel that the safest of all securities is land. For it alone is indestructible. Thus the land becomes pledged deeper and deeper, as attempts grow more and more desperate to postpone the meeting of the enormous debts, the ghostly obligations, the obligations to nobody, which in fact will never be met because it is mathematically impossible that they should be. Laws are passed which make it easier to alienate land, easier to chop it up into small separately-owned pieces, easier to pledge it. Such was the tendency of the 1925 legislation, which is associated with the name of the late Lord Birkenhead.

The picture is indeed nearly as dark as it could be. Pestilence and famine have come upon men before, but they have come as the result of the natural forces of the earth. Or—over smaller areas—they have been brought about by certain easily identifiable personal crimes. Never before have they been caused, as they are being caused to-day, by something between the two, by the natural or at at any rate impersonal, forces of a sort of second earth, an earth which is not the physical earth at all, but is compacted of the personal relations of men with one another and of the uneasy ghosts and decaying relics of such relations.

Perhaps it is for this very reason that more and more people seem to be drawn to the study of money-problems. In the last decade it has been by no means uncommon for souls impelled rather by a vague spiritual unrest than by any instinctive interest in economics to apply themselves to the study of such things as credit and currency. Is this because behind the thick darkness in which money, the "root of all evil,"[1] is shrouded, a darkness which has now extended itself from the moral over the intellectual sphere, they divine the mysterious presence of the root of all good? Really to understand a perverted and morbid growth involves understanding the healthy body of which it is the perversion. Really to understand money involves understanding that above the decaying, increasingly mechanised physical body of the earth, whose future even science predicts to be increasing cold and darkness, there is coming into being another earth, an earth which is literally composed of the relations of human beings with one another, an earth whose destiny it is to become increasingly one of light.

This at any rate was the teaching of Rudolf Steiner, and it is this picture of the two earths, the "real" and the personal, of which the old-fashioned " trust" of settled land appears to me to be a sort of clumsy but honest caricature. Or rather it is more than this. For what is contained in this most characteristic of all the creations of the old courts of equity? Apart from all other considerations, there is contained in it a certain striking and impressive *form of thought*; and anyone who has ever attempted to inculcate an idea with even modest pretensions to being *new*, will understand

what an important part of the task is this establishment of a suitable form of thought.

At the end of his *Republic*, Plato makes Socrates reply to someone who objects that the city which he has been describing exists nowhere on earth. "But perhaps there is a pattern laid up in heaven for him who wishes to see it and seeing to dwell therein himself. Nor does it matter at all whether the city is or ever will be in any particular place." This has often been interpreted in the sense that philosophers ought to go on dreaming and not to trouble whether or no their dreams come true. The city is called the "ideal" city, and ideal to-day means non-existent. This is not what Plato meant at all. He intended to say that his city *is already there* as a spiritual reality, and as one whose very nature it is to seek material expression on earth.

Those who become aware of such spiritual realities, allowing their minds to be filled with such (in this sense) ideal pictures are really in a position to say from one point of view that it "does not matter" whether or no the spiritual reality is "realised" in the earthly sense at some particular time and place. But this does not mean that they will be indifferent and inactive—like a lazy politician for whom the ideal is the conveniently unattainable. On the contrary, those whose grasp of the eternal is strongest, and for whom therefore at a certain level no earthly event matters, will be precisely the ones to act most as if the destiny of the earth mattered to them. For they will have the strength which such action demands.

[1] I fear this is misleading. The allusion is to a remark by Dr. Johnson; but what he actually said was: "The *love of* money is the root of all evil." —O. B., 1960.

POSTSCRIPT

In 1932, when this article was written, the economic and social climate in this country, and in the West generally, was very different from to-day. In the late twenties great misery had been created here by extensive and lasting unemployment, while in America the storm of the 1931 economic crisis had only recently burst. Raw materials, labour and the necessary skills appeared to be available in plenty, but they could not be brought together and set working because of a shortage of "money". The paradox of "poverty in the midst of plenty" was the all-pervasive and startling phenomenon which had led to monetary theories such as that of Professor Soddy, and to the small but growing Social Credit movement inaugurated by Major C. H. Douglas.

The production of goods cannot be financed unless there is a

reasonable prospect of selling them later on and so recovering the cost. They will not be able to be sold unless a sufficiency of purchasing-power is, *at the time when they come on the market*, being distributed to the consuming public in the form of wages. These are the (largely false) assumptions of orthodox finance. In a highly organised industrial society, however, a large and ever-increasing proportion of the wages so distributed is paid out in respect of current production (of tools, machinery, etc.) which will only bring further *consumable* goods on to the market in a relatively remote future—long after the wages so distributed have been spent. Meanwhile, in order to absorb the money *now* being distributed, the prices of the goods now on the market tend to rise. The circle, or spiral, thus being created, is arrested whenever production ceases to *expand*, or whenever it is feared that production will cease to expand; and there comes about what is called a "slump". This is the disease which results from the false assumptions.

I must be content with this very lame epitome of the arguments of the credit-reformers of the twenties and thirties. Now on one interpretation of the Portuguese Bank Case (and it is the one I accept, though it did not find favour with the majority of the Law Lords) in such a highly organised society, when the gold standard has ceased to operate, "money" is the same thing as "credit" and "credit" is daily created by banks in the form of loans, even when they have not, as in the case of the Bank of Portugal, any right to issue their own notes. Whether I own the particular "chose-in-action" called a banknote, or enjoy the other kind called a bank loan (resulting in a credit-balance on which I can draw cheques), makes no difference.

Thus, the fact that "banks create credit" and only banks create it (and, by calling in their loans, destroy it) was another plank in the platform of the credit-reformers and was adduced as one of the prime causes of poverty in the midst of plenty. Nor were they by any means alone in this view of credit-creation. During the years 1920 to 1927 the Chairman of the Midland Bank, The Right Hon. Reginald McKenna, had been regularly utilising his annual speech to its shareholders to educate the public in the same view. "I am afraid," he said in January, 1925, "the ordinary citizen will not like to be told that the banks or the Bank of England can create or destroy money." (In some of his own speeches to his own shareholders, the Chairman of the Westminster Bank made it clear that he did not like it either.)

Briefly, in the thirties a large number of people were becoming convinced that there was an artificial shortage of purchasing-power, and of these a not inconsiderable number held that the uncontrolled power of creating and withdrawing credit, which lay in the hands of the banking system, was at least one of its causes. For the people who run the system *did not even understand it themselves*, the ideas in their heads being applicable only to a state of affairs

which had ceased to exist. Everyone knew that reckless inflation of the currency, of the kind that had occurred in Germany soon after the last World War, was disastrous and must be avoided at all costs, but the real bugbear of the thirties was *deflation*—the wholesale restriction of credit by the calling in of existing bank-loans and the refusal to issue fresh ones except on onerous terms. For it was this that produced unemployment.

To-day the climate is very different. We rarely if ever hear the cry of "poverty in the midst of plenty". There is virtually no unemployment problem, and on the whole it is inflation rather than deflation that we fear. Nobody seems to bother very much whether banks create credit or not, or at all events the number of those who do would appear to be decreasing rather than increasing.

A number of causes have contributed to bringing this about. In the first place, Douglas himself had always said that the alternative remedy to his own was a large-scale war. During war, production is undertaken and maintained on an enormous scale (with the resultant liberal distribution of purchasing-power) and there can be no slump, because no one dares stop to consider whether the loans which provide the expanded purchasing-power will ever be repaid. Moreover, this production is of the kind that does not bring further consumable goods on to the market. You do not produce a torpedo or a rocket in order to sell it. Not only has there in fact been such a war, but ever since it ended a high level of expenditure on the development and maintenance of war-potential has continued. Under war and post-war conditions the shortage of actual goods is more apparent in most parts of the world than a shortage of money to buy them with.

Secondly, the world's ideas on the subject of loan-finance have undergone a considerable loosening, largely under the influence of Keynes and his disciples, here and abroad. Those who heard President Roosevelt's broadcast inaugural speech on assuming office will remember his beginning the assault. If financial rectitude, according to banking ideas, meant the starvation of millions, financial rectitude could wait. The mental picture of large-scale, and particularly international, "loans" as temporary advances to be repaid in due course, as when one man borrows half-a-crown from another, has ceded somewhat to the mental picture of them as a mere machinery for financing production and distribution. Moreover, since the war, under the name of "Economic Aid", the highly unorthodox principle that some of the product of industry must be *given away*, if the wheels of industry are to be kept turning, has by force of circumstances been widely, if reluctantly, accepted in the United States.

Again, the notion that plenty was to be had for the asking, once the economics of distribution could be solved, was based on views of man and nature which are less widely accepted than they were. Non-economic motives have been proved to play a much larger

part in the behaviour of the masses than was assumed by the credit-reformers, many of whom proclaimed, during the early stages of Hitler's rise to power, that he was a mere tool of controlling financial interests, and would be discarded when he had served their purpose!

Again, soil-erosion and other disasters and warnings have brought home to many that nature herself is not an inexhaustible mine of plenty available for crass scientific exploitation, and populations are increasing rapidly. Finally, there is the spectre of nuclear warfare. All things considered, the shadow under which we live to-day is not predominantly a financial one.

It was otherwise in the early thirties, and I think this needs to be remembered in reading the foregoing article, if some of its emphases are to be understood. On the other hand, I doubt if there is any less confusion of *thought* on the issues which it raises towards its conclusion than there was then. I doubt also whether the moneylending fraternity is much less powerful than it was then, though it has learnt willy-nilly how to fiddle the worst effects of the system under which it operates.

The whole structure of investment, loan-finance and credit-creation cries aloud for the application of those clear concepts of "loan-money" and "gift-money" which Rudolf Steiner developed in his *World Economy*. But where is the will towards this to be found? It is, one fears, symptomatic of the absence of any such will in responsible quarters that the question raised in the Portuguese Bank case should have been buried by common consent, instead of being squarely faced. It may have done no harm therefore to recall it to memory now.

Questions and Answers

When we invited questions about Anthroposophy, we had no idea what to expect. The response has been small, and not all the questions seemed suitable for fairly brief treatment in our columns. We sent the others to experienced friends, asking not so much for cut-and-dried answers as for helpful comments, indicating how the question could be approached and thought about. We are most grateful to the friends who have generously given their co-operation.—*The Editors.*

People to-day like to know who it is they are praying to, and feel a vague dissatisfaction about the lack of guidance or indication whether to speak to 'Christ' or 'God', or at least whether it is Christ or God (or imagination!) that answers. . . . We seem to *need* a personal, *definite* relationship. . . . I, for one, am largely prevented from being a Christian by this question—could you discuss it?

THE most fundamental guidance about prayer is to be found in the Gospels, and particularly in the Lord's Prayer itself. This is given by Christ Himself to be spoken by human beings to the Father, the Ground of all existence. There is no need to doubt that He hears; in His consciousness are carried the life and needs of all that is, from the smallest insect to the galaxies. In the Lord's Prayer are contained all the needs of mankind.

Answers from the Father come to us through Christ, who is the Father's voice, the Logos. Just as we need to train ourselves continuously, in order really to understand what other human beings on earth say to us, so we need to train ourselves to distinguish between the voice of our own wishes and that of Christ. What comes from Him is positive, building up and strengthening human relationships, and nourishing patience. Rudolf Steiner spoke of the great possibilities in our time of developing a continued personal relationship to Christ, and wished his own anthroposophical teaching to be regarded as a contribution towards this—helping us to speak the right inner language. But the Gospels make evident that there is a distinction between simply *receiving* the help of Christ—as those do, for example, who are healed of diseases by Him—and maintaining a continued personal relationship, as the Disciples do. There must be many steps on this ladder; and the further anyone goes, the greater the sacrifices involved.

Although the Lord's Prayer speaks always in terms of "we", and of universal needs, this does not mean that it is wrong to bring into prayer *particular, individual* needs. But we can learn much from the Lord's Prayer about the mood in which they should be brought.

Each human being is guarded by an Angel, who is particularly concerned that our emotions should not prevent us from achieving

the fundamental purposes of our lives. Rudolf Steiner gave meditations which ask the angels of other human beings to carry to them our love and prayer. The conclusion has sometimes been drawn—to put it crudely—that *only* the angels can be troubled with personal matters. But the angels do their work as messengers of the Father, in His sight. And every personal matter has its place in the evolution of the world.

Dangers come where personal desires and ambitions are confused with the voices of the good heavenly Powers. The history of Christianity is full of these dangers. Self-knowledge and world-knowledge are the cures—taken to heart.

A. B.

*

Seeing that we have details of future civilisations and epochs, and even of Jupiter, Venus and Vulcan, does this mean that humanity is assured of a future, no matter what happens about the latest bombs and rockets? If humanity is totally destroyed, will a fresh start be made? Can we be sure that the Higher Powers will prevent such a catastrophe?

Questions about the future of the earth and of humanity are bound to arise in the minds of many who are aware of the trends of modern scientific research, leading to ever-greater penetration into the realms of the forces of destruction. But these questions cannot find an answer if the starting-point of the search is not placed in the being of man himself. For the silent assumption of science that there is an absolute gulf between the earth and its kingdoms of nature, on the one hand, and the moral creative being of man, on the other, is in dire need of revision.

Among modern philosophers (Heidegger and others) we can already see various attempts at tracing the subtle interplay between man and his environment. But the fundamental facts pertaining to the problem of interaction between the inner being of man and the cosmos we owe to the spiritual investigations of Rudolf Steiner, which he carefully couches in terms entirely open to our active thought. A few indications, drawn from a lecture given in November, 1919, may illustrate this point.[1]

Speaking of the will-forces of man, connected with his metabolic processes, which have the power to disintegrate all substances and forces, Dr. Steiner identifies them with the forces of destruction and dissolution of our planet. The counterpart of these destructive powers is contained in the thoughts of men which are released during sleep. Obviously, however, the character and quality of thoughts released during sleep depends on the nature of thoughts arisen and held by day.

"The destiny of our physical earth-planet in another two thousand years will not depend upon the present constitution of our mineral world, but upon what we do and allow to be done. With world-consciousness, human responsibility widens into world-responsibility. With such consciousness we feel, as we look up to the starry heavens, that we are responsible to the cosmic expanse, permeated and pervaded as it is by spirit—that we are responsible to this world for how we conduct the earth. We grow together with the cosmos in concrete reality when behind the reality we seek the truth."

And further: "Yes, as man I am a unity, and moral impulses are alive within me. They live in what I am as a physical being. But as a physical human being I am fundamentally the cause—together with all mankind—of every physical happening. The moral conduct and achievements of human beings on the earth are the real causes of what comes to pass in the course of earth-existence."

Here we are confronted with a fact of incisive significance: namely, that humanity is now entering on a new phase of moral responsibility, previously unknown to it, which is *cosmic* responsibility. A glance into the past shows us that for long periods a sense of responsibility towards others was limited mainly to the family or small local community into which people were born. To-day, in many countries, the growth of welfare legislation is one sign that the general social conscience has widened; there is an ever-increasing awareness of the need to direct our thought and care to those who are physically or mentally handicapped. And the development since the last war of aid to poorer countries, through the United Nations agencies and other channels, is an indication (even though political motives often enter into these projects) that the modern social conscience is beginning to be awake to world needs. Thus we are advancing slowly in the direction, at least, of that *cosmic* responsibility of which Rudolf Steiner speaks: though it may be a long time yet before the significance of his words is at all widely appreciated.

Those able to respond to his teaching in this connection will find abundant guidance in the Spiritual Science that leads man to a Self-knowledge which is at the same time true World-knowledge. Rudolf Steiner's *Calendar of the Soul* takes the seeker of the spirit in continuous progression through the weeks of the year to an ever-increasing realisation of this cosmic responsibility. This may serve as an example only of the path we may choose in order to grasp the new task which the course of human evolution has placed before us. In reality, the entire body of anthroposophical knowledge into which we may grow can kindle ever-new sparks of cosmic morality—if the vigilance does not forsake us.

So it appears that it is not at all a question whether we can be sure that Higher Powers will prevent the (possible) catastrophe of the destruction of humanity—the question in truth is: Will men awaken to the realisation that the Higher Beings desire (nay—long!)

[1] Published as Lecture 5 in the volume entitled *Lucifer and Ahriman.*

to be understood by men—and joined by men, consciously, in maintaining *with them* the course of evolution?

To return, in conclusion, to the present nuclear research which, it seems, has by no means a uniform character but is showing considerable diversity, is it too much to hope that a time may come when scientists will pierce through to a reality outlined by Rudolf Steiner in the following words:[1]

"Atoms of which our earth is supposed to be composed can only be the corpse of the earth; something which is continually dissolving and will one day vanish when the earth itself is no more. For the earth *is* in dissolution! The truth will escape us until we see in every atom a part of the Christ-Spirit which has been there since that time. Of what then does the earth consist since it was permeated by the Christ-Spirit? To the last atom the earth consists of life since Christ permeated it, and an atom is devoid of value, nor can it be recognised in its true nature, unless we see in it a sheath that encloses a spiritual part; this spiritual element is a part of Christ."

Thoughts of this nature may help to guide men's thoughts and actions to new aims.

V. E. P.

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Is illness a punishment, a help, a sign of progress, an opportunity to improve, or . . .? Ought we to try to avoid it? If so, by antisepsis? by "healthy" living? by "moral" or "ethical" means? by spiritual progress? If we are ill, should we try medical or surgical cures?

To understand what illness means in human life requires a long view of time, in which the past and the future are of equal importance with the present. Rudolf Steiner has contributed many ideas on the problem from this point of view. One can be described here; others are to be found in his books and lectures.[2]

In all his discussion of the subject, he sets great value on good health. In *Knowledge of the Higher Worlds,* where he discusses the conditions necessary for progress in the individual spiritual life, he stresses good health as the first requirement. Clear discernment and emotional calm are important for the spiritual life and are difficult to attain when the affairs of the body are not in good order. Spiritually-minded people have a duty to strive for good health.

Illness, however, he does not regard as the opposite of health, but as itself a process of healing. There is no suggestion that illness ought not to exist or should be stamped out. It should become an

[1] From Lecture 14 in the Cassel cycle, *St. John's Gospel in Relation to the other Gospels.*

[2] See for example the lecture-cycle, *Manifestations of Karma.*

opportunity for attaining health—that is, overcoming the cause of the sickness and creating better health for the future. In terms of repeated earth-lives, the future may be as distant as another lifetime beyond the present one, but the consequences are none the less real and true for appearing so much later.

Broadly speaking, there are two types of illness. One arises mainly from the constitution itself; the other mainly from interference from outside by unhealthy influences or conditions. The distinction is not clear-cut; a constitutional factor may determine whether an outside circumstance or infection leads to actual illness, or whether its adverse influence is warded off. Where an outside circumstance predominates, the illness may be a hindrance, and it is wise to seek all reasonable protection from epidemics and wrong circumstances. Nevertheless, should anyone fall ill in this way, he may still gain new forces in the course of recovery.

The opportunity provided by the constitutional type of illness lies in the process of change through which recovery is brought about. Rudolf Steiner has described the Ten Commandments as a means of therapy for human beings at the stage in history when the force of the individuality was beginning to take hold of the soul-life (Berlin, November 16, 1908). He has gone on to show how later on, in Christian times and at the present day, a therapeutic process is at work in which the human individuality itself uses illness to modify the organs of the body for its own purposes (Berlin, January 26, 1909).[1] The individuality takes hold more strongly than usual of the organs from which the illness arises and begins to reshape them. In this way the body is changed so as to become a more useful instrument for the spirit, less liable to hinder the spirit in its tasks, than it usually is in the normal constitution of people to-day. Everybody is in need of reshaping in a spiritual sense at the present time. A sick person is at work on his own rehabilitation for the benefit of his spiritual part.

In these Berlin lectures Rudolf Steiner looks back to the far-distant past when illness was not yet part of human existence—before souls were incarnated into material bodies. At that time human souls were entirely identified with the universe around them. They lived then humanly as the plants exist now within Nature. Plants do not become sick from inside; they can be blighted only from outside by pests or wrong conditions. As long as human beings were protected by the Divine Order, they never fell sick. They were created healthy and only later became capable of disease. This took place when they were released from the Divine Order and, by the power of the body, placed in the physical, material world, where souls must make their own relation to that which is around. Becoming independent, they could develop selfhood, but

[1] These two lectures are at present available only in German.

they likewise became liable to error. This led in turn to misuse of the bodily organs by the soul. When souls can err, bodies can sicken.

Sickness is thus a result of Man's fall into the temptations of Evil. It is likewise the process by which the effects of error are overcome and a new future state of redemption is prepared. Every condition of good health which has been won through healing is a portion of Man's redemption. The spirit within is the healing agent, who can make use of the assistance offered by medicines, good conditions and therapeutic activities. There is, however, a distinction to be made between medicaments which suppress the symptoms of an illness and those which foster the process of healing.

Sickness has a purpose for the future. In the present it brings misfortune and suffering, to meet which, not only medicine, but much human skill and kindness are required. But it is not a waste of time and strength. It is hard work at the process of redemption, which in the future will bring not only well-being to the sick person himself, but to all mankind of which he is a part.

E. F. D.

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If someone is anxious to spread the knowledge of Anthroposophy, or to live so as to further the purposes of the spiritual powers, how can he know how best to do this ?

To study the spiritual knowledge imparted by Rudolf Steiner without doing anything about it can be felt as deeply unsatisfactory. And yet the moment we try to carry it out in action, we encounter difficulties. If we expect to be able to convince other people directly of what seems to us manifestly true and illuminating, we meet the harshest disappointments. And these may even lead to the conviction that it is useless to try "to spread the knowledge of Anthroposophy".

Three qualities above all are needed if we are to find a right balance in this matter: self-knowledge, confidence in destiny, and the power to listen. Looking back without emotion on our successes and failures in the past, we can observe what has in fact helped or hindered us in the attempt to share spiritual knowledge. All tendencies towards argumentativeness or dogmatism, for example, stand out as hindrances. Through self-knowledge, a temperamental inclination to rush in too soon, or to hold back too long, or to alternate between the two, can be recognised and admitted.

Real confidence in destiny teaches us that each human being continually encounters opportunities to further the purposes of the spiritual powers, if he is sufficiently alert. No encounter with another human being is really an accident. Never is anyone laid

aside by the spiritual powers as useless—though there are periods in most lives which seem to bring hardly anything but frustration. Such periods may really do more to prepare a man to meet his opportunities rightly later on, than any others.

Only a thoroughgoing willingness to listen can train us to bring what spiritual knowledge we may have in a form suitable for the one who is seeking it. It is pointless to bring spiritual knowledge unless it is really sought; though the seeker may have very little idea of what he is trying to find, or even that he is seeking at all. Words can carry much more than is consciously known by the speaker.

Those who try to serve the purposes of Anthroposophy do not need only to be able to listen to others—but to themselves as well. It can be audible in the sound of one's own voice whether an attempt to convey spiritual knowledge is effective and helpful or not. We need time to assimilate any particular fact of spiritual knowledge before passing it on; Rudolf Steiner spoke in this connection of the period of a year. Yet a fact may remain on the surface of our consciousness, and never really be made our own. Only when an idea sinks deeply into our feelings and is warmed by the light of meditation, does it really begin to be assimilated.

In his book, *Knowledge of the Higher Worlds*, Rudolf Steiner describes the conditions that have to be observed if spiritual organs of vision are to be developed in a right way. This book can be of immense value, even if we feel very far from developing such organs. For the qualities and characteristics described there as those which the student should try to acquire are those needed for *every* service of the spiritual world. Certainly no one should wait, before attempting any positive action, until he has achieved all these qualities. But the more he can make them a natural and enduring part of his life, the readier will he be to recognise and fulfil the opportunities given by the spiritual world.

A. B.

BOOK REVIEWS

From Atom to Omega

The Phenomenon of Man. By Pierre Teilhard de Chardin. (Collins, 25/-.)

IT is just over a hundred years since Darwin made a breach between the scientific and the Christian views of man. Although some scientists and theologians have energetically tried to paste over the gap, it is still felt by many people to be conspicuously real. Indeed, it forms part of the larger fissure between science and religion in general.

Much of the stir which has been caused by Pierre Teilhard de Chardin's book, *The Phenomenon of Man*, is due to the fact that the author appears to straddle this gap both in his book and in his own person. He was a Jesuit priest, and a palæontologist of distinction. Of his book, one reviewer, quoted on the dust-jacket, wrote: "He has created a synthesis of evolutionary science and religious doctrine that has the lucidity and sweep of Aquinas' *Summa Theologia*."

This is a very large claim—too large, I think, in several respects. To begin with, "lucid" is scarcely the first adjective I would choose to characterise Chardin's work. His thought is often extremely difficult to follow. More important is the fact that neither orthodox Darwinists nor orthodox Roman Catholic theologians could accept all Chardin's views. Rome refused him permission to publish any of his major works—including *The Phenomenon of Man*—and barred him from teaching at the Catholic Institute in Paris. The main reason was his unorthodox view of original sin and its relation to evolution. Friends arranged for the publication of his work after his death in 1955.

Scientists would have no great objection to much of his account of evolution. But even Sir Julian Huxley, a personal friend of Chardin's for ten years, and with great sympathy for what he was trying to do, writes in his introduction to the book that "many scientists may, as I do, find it impossible to follow him all the way in his gallant attempts to reconcile the supernatural elements in Christianity with the facts and implications of evolution. . . ."

Nevertheless, there are many people to-day who are impatient both with orthodox science and with orthodox theology, and are looking for new ideas to unite the two. It is to such people that *The Phenomenon of Man* is making an appeal.

I must now try to convey some idea of the argument of the book—but first, perhaps, I should suggest why it may be of special interest to students of Rudolf Steiner's work. Steiner, too, of course, had much to say about "the phenomenon of man"—about his material and spiritual evolution. Apart from this, one encounters

in Chardin's book a number of concepts reminiscent of some of those found in Steiner's work—in particular, Chardin's emphasis on an evolution of consciousness accompanying material evolution. And finally, any writer who attempts to unify a scientific and a spiritual view of the universe must be of great interest to pupils of Steiner.

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Looking back into the past, Chardin follows natural science in imagining a time when no life existed, but only unorganised matter. But he attributes to all matter what he calls a "within" and a "without". The "without", or external, aspect of matter comprises all those properties studied and measured by science. The "within", or inward, aspect of matter is for Chardin a world of *consciousness*. Thus the primeval atoms of matter were at the same time primeval atoms of consciousness. Chardin says (and this, incidentally, is one of his crisper passages):

> Looked at from *within*, as well as observed from *without*, the stuff of the universe thus tends likewise to be resolved backwardly into a dust of particles that are (i) perfectly alike among themselves (at least if they are observed from a great distance); (ii) each co-extensive with the whole of the cosmic realm; (iii) mysteriously connected among themselves, finally, by a comprehensive energy. In these depths the two aspects, external and internal, correspond point by point. So much is this so that one may pass from the one to the other on the sole condition that "mechanical interaction" in the definition of the partial centres of the universe given above is replaced by "consciousness". . . . *Atomicity is a common property of the within and the without of things* (author's italics).

The central process of evolution Chardin characterises as "complexification". Atoms gradually become associated as molecules, molecules as cells, cells as organisms, etc. But, seen from "within", the process represents simultaneously a steady elaboration of consciousness. At each new level of material complexity, a new level of consciousness emerges.

The earth itself was formed, Chardin says, by a kind of inrolling of a cloud of dust or gas upon itself. At the same time, "a certain mass of elementary consciousness was originally imprisoned in the matter of the earth". As complexification proceeded, there must have arisen, Chardin suggests, a thin skin of living matter surrounding the earth—a "pre-biosphere"—and in this film, the "within", or psychic aspect, of the earth, was concentrated.

Chardin then pursues the theme of complexification and "inrolling" up the scale of life. He was first and foremost a palæontologist, and when he begins to speak of the fossil record, one feels he is suddenly more at home. He notes that groups of creatures in the fossil record behave in time rather as a plant behaves in space. There emerges first a "bud", a primitive ancestral type. This begins to unfold and branch out into various specialised types

(a process the biologists call "adaptive radiation"). Each of these branches grows through the fossil record for a certain time, and then dies out. Each group of animals thus forms a kind of tree or bush in the fossil record; there is manifested, as Chardin puts it, "a phylum in full bloom".

Chardin assumes that each new "bud", the starting-point of a new tree of fossils, derives from the tip of one of the branches or "verticils" of a previous tree. These verticils are like "a forest of exploring antennæ". When one of them "chances upon the fissure . . . giving access to a new compartment of life", it breaks through and soon begins "to divide in its turn into verticils. . . ."

This is an imaginative picture of the accepted process of Darwinian evolution, a groping process depending partly on chance, proceeding only when some specialised creature suddenly finds an opportunity to expand into a new environment.

Chardin realises, nevertheless, that the original "buds" of the main animal groups are *not physically represented in the fossil record*. If we accept Steiner's account of evolution, the origins of these groups must be looked for in a supersensible world. It is typical of Chardin, though, that he accepts the basic assumption of science that each group must have a direct physical connection with its predecessor. The fact that no such connection can be established in the fossil record is only what we should expect, he says, since it is extremely unlikely that we should chance upon the fossil remains of the tenuous transition from one phylum to the next.

In animal evolution, Chardin detects the same process of complexification which led from atoms to molecules, and molecules to cells. But at the animal level, the process expresses itself characteristically in what biologists call "cerebralisation". The most primitive creatures have virtually no brain. The nervous system is dispersed through the body, with a number of primitive "brains" or ganglia dotted around. There are no special sense organs. The higher animals display a steady concentration of nervous tissue at the head end, coupled with an increasing elaboration of special sense-organs, eyes, ears, etc. In animals, in other words, the evolutionary process is directed particularly to developing head, nerves and senses. Accompanying physical cerebralisation, of course, Chardin assumes a steady development of the "within", of animal consciousness.

In man, cerebralisation reaches a climax, and consciousness breaks through into conscious thought. Chardin here joins biologists such as Sir Julian Huxley in attaching special evolutionary importance to the appearance of reflective thinking—to the ability of a thinking being *to realise that it is thinking*. Just as a new epoch of evolution began when molecules began to complexify into organisms, so, Chardin says, a new epoch begins when the first sparks of thinking consciousness appear. They mark the beginning of the "psychozoic era".

Chardin says that "the access to thought represents a threshold which had to be crossed at a single stride". Why it "had" to be, I do not entirely follow. But it is clear that Chardin equates the birth of Man with the lighting up of a spark of thought in a higher anthropoid creature. In this event, he says, the theologian may postulate a Divine intervention. In any case, Chardin seems to say that the event must have occurred uniquely "between two individuals". At one moment, he implies, there were only apes; in the next moment, there stood Adam and Eve.

The sparks of conscious thought then began to undergo on a higher level the same complexification which had governed organic evolution. The process consists in the gradual exchange of thoughts, the accumulation of culture and tradition, the development of what Chardin calls the "noösphere"—the totality of organised human consciousness.

The birth of thought, Chardin says, opened the way to a gradual unification of humanity on a higher level. This is in contrast to the adaptive radiation processes which affect the main groups of animals. Chardin attached great importance to this "human planetisation", and sees in it the future direction of evolution:

> The idea is that the earth not only becomes covered by myriad grains of thought, but becomes enclosed in a single thinking envelope, to form, functionally, no more than a single vast grain of thought on the sidereal scale, the plurality of individual reflections grouping themselves together and reinforcing one another in the act of a single unanimous reflection.

This process will culminate in a kind of united higher consciousness, an ultimate state which Chardin calls the "Omega" or "Omega point". Individual human egos will not lose their identities, but will become enhanced and fulfilled through participating in this higher identity, the "Omega".

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This is a sketchy summary of a long and complex argument. But without some conception of the whole of Chardin's remarkable vision, it is difficult to discuss it critically.

One of the most striking things about the book, bearing in mind that Chardin was a Jesuit priest, is that there seems little necessity or place in his scheme of things for anything corresponding to a Fall of Man—nor for any active principles of Evil. There is a rather unsatisfactory appendix to the book which treats this question, where Chardin says that "in all loyalty, I do not feel I am in a position to take a stand". It was this issue, more than anything else, which got him into trouble with his superiors and led to his being debarred from teaching.

Without a clear conception of a Fall, it is natural that Chardin should see evolution as essentially a steady process of *ascent*—from

simple to ever more complex manifestations both of matter and of consciousness. It is this deep basic assumption that evolution "must" have proceeded from simple to complex in this way that haunts Chardin's work—and, indeed, haunts science as a whole.

For it is closely related to the scientific habit of looking for explanations of complicated material events in terms of simpler ones. Science attempts to resolve all spatial phenomena into "elementary particles", and all evolutionary processes are automatically seen in the same light.

But a science which was truly concerned with "phenomena"—as Chardin claimed to be—would see that in the living world, in particular, the reverse principle of explanation is absolutely demanded. The cell makes no sense on its own or as an assemblage of atoms—it is the servant of a higher principle, the organism. The true "explanation" of the cell is the description of its function in the organism. And I think it is true to say that all biological phenomena reveal living substance which is *in the service of higher principles.* Goethe recognised that all plants are, so to speak, servants of the *Ur-plant.*

When we come to study Steiner's account of the evolution of man and the earth, we find that exactly the same principle applies. The physical bodies of the animal groups and of man himself are to be understood as instruments of higher spiritual principles descending to earth. The whole of evolution up to the beginning of the Christian era is to be understood as a process of *incarnation*—a descent of spirit into matter.

Even matter itself has undergone such a descent, Steiner says. The mineral substances of to-day should not be regarded as the starting-point of evolution in the past, but rather as the end-product of an evolutionary process which began in a purely spiritual condition. From this standpoint, living substance must be regarded as having *preceded* mineral substance in the evolution of the earth.

It is not surprising that this process should have left no obvious traces in the physical substance of the earth. But in the evolution of animals, this "incarnation" process is clearly reflected in the fossil record. Chardin himself emphasises how animal groups emerge into the fossil record like unfolding plants, while the "bud" from which they spring is invisible. *A truly "phenomenological" contemplation of these fossil series leads naturally to the concept of spiritual archetypes gradually incarnating from a spiritual condition into the material world.* But Chardin, in common with science, is enmeshed in the concept of a continuous ascending evolutionary thread, from simple to ever more complex forms.

This assumption paralyses his thought especially when he comes to speak of human consciousness. His idea that reflective thought emerged suddenly to distinguish man from animal is based on no evidence at all. It is a pure theoretical construction—but he speaks

of it as though it was a simple continuation of his phenomenological study of man.

He thus falls into the commonest of all pitfalls in modern science, which is to elevate a theory to the status of a fact. Actually, the evidence of the development of human consciousness points in the opposite direction. The study of the changing use of language, and of primitive tribes, suggest that the relation of early man to his environment was in many ways more complex than it is to-day. In particular, he saw instinctively the complex spiritual forces working behind the world of "appearances", whereas to-day we postulate a few elementary forces and particles as the ultimate causes of all phenomena.

Steiner spoke of the evolution of human consciousness as a kind of contraction of awareness. Originally, man possessed a direct clairvoyant perception of the spiritual worlds, and felt as though his consciousness were spread out among spiritual beings. Gradually, his awareness has contracted into the fortress of his skull, from which he now looks out through his senses at a material world devoid, so far as his immediate sense perceptions go, of spirit.

Steiner says that this process of contraction has now reversed; man is evolving towards a new kind of awareness of the spiritual worlds. And he describes the Incarnation of Christ as the turning-point of the whole evolutionary process.

But although Chardin may seem to have something in common with Steiner in that he speaks of a gradual Christianising of consciousness, through the power of love, leading man towards a spiritual participation in what he calls the "Omega"—yet I think the essence of his thought is very different from Steiner's.

It is characteristic that Chardin sees a "spark of thought" as differentiating man from animal, but he sees no special significance in *man's upright posture.* But it is just this posture which speaks of a spiritual principle living in man but not present in the animals. It is this principle — the Ego, as Steiner calls it — which has to undergo a Fall and a Redemption. And the whole purpose of this evolutionary process is to bring something new into the cosmos—the principle of *freedom.*

For Chardin, evolution means complexification at increasingly higher levels. But from such a process, all that can be expected is an elaboration of what was already there. Indeed, Chardin emphasises that the force of love, which is to direct mankind towards the Omega, was already present at lower levels of evolution, more as a kind of force of nature.

Thus, while Chardin's book is ostensibly centred on the "Phenomenon of Man", I think it by-passes the heart of the phenomenon. There is no feeling for the human Ego nor for the spiritual freedom which will give meaning to its evolution. And Chardin is blind to this, I believe, because he looks for the sources of evolution so to speak, within a kind of primal substance of

matter-cum-consciousness, and not in the true creative Word of the Bible.

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About the time I finished reading the book, I encountered two passages in a lecture of Steiner's which I think are relevant here. He says: "The assertion that matter brings forth spirit, human spirit, is identical with the assertion—even if not actually expressed—that Lucifer is God." And then: "The assertion that forces, energies, are anchored in matter which can work on further in man—this assertion is purely Ahrimanic, and he who makes it declares Ahriman to be his God" (Dornach, 4–13 October, 1918, *Die Entwickelungsgang der Menscheit in seinen drei Kräftesströmungen*, Lecture 1).[1]

After reading this, I remembered the carving of the "Representative of Humanity" at Dornach, where Steiner made visible the true phenomenon of man, as it needs to be understood by men to-day. Chardin's book conveys at times a strange impression as though some of the truths expressed in Steiner's carving were struggling to break through. But the great central Christ figure, the heart of the matter, so to speak, in all Steiner's work, remains curiously dimmed and obscured in Chardin's book by the veils of the Luciferic and Ahrimanic beings which surround it.

This is not to condemn the book, but to characterise it as I felt it. Chardin was obviously a man of profound intuitions—but there is a certain tragedy in the shape they have taken as he has expressed them in his writings. Nevertheless, there is in his work something of a true "threshold" experience, such as increasing numbers of people will encounter, according to Steiner, as the century proceeds. Nothing, in fact, emerges more clearly from "The Phenomenon of Man" than the urgent need for the concepts of spiritual science in modern life.

To turn from Chardin's book to Steiner's lectures is like moving from a confused misty world, with sudden gleams of light penetrating the coiling, wraith-like clouds, into a bright clear day with a brisk, stimulating breeze blowing. The modern age badly needs such a change in its spiritual weather. But in Chardin, there is no more than a hint that the mists are beginning to shift.

John Waterman.

[1] A typescript translation, entitled "Three Streams in Man's Evolution", is available.

Hopes for English Drama

Speech and Drama. By Rudolf Steiner. Lectures given in the Section for the Arts of Speech and Music in the School of Spiritual Science, Goetheanum, Dornach, Switzerland, September, 1924. English Translation by Mary Adams (Anthroposophical Publishing Company, 45/–).

UPON a flat, open space called "the stage," speaking through the several voices of "the actors," many of the greatest minds known to history have chosen to say what they had to say to their fellow mortals. If the necessary arrangements are made; if the actors do faithfully what the dramatist requires of them; if the auditors are in the actual physical presence of the actors; then these messages from the Cosmic Spirit can reach a world desperately in need of them. It is inexaggerably important that we should hear and heed what Shakespeare had to say to us in Hamlet and Lear; what Goethe had to say in Faust; that we should listen to Aeschylos and Sophocles and Euripides; to Milton in his Comus and his Samson Agonistes; to Schiller and Lessing; and to many others. We are in the direst need of the ideas and impulses these great ones have wished to convey to us; but we can receive them only if we give them possibilities of reaching us.

Such possibilities hardly exist to-day in any part of the world. Nor, despite the fact that we possess the greatest of all dramatists, do they exist in England.

Admittedly, here and there, at this time and that, an effort is made by some odd group of people to stage something worth staging. But the number of such efforts throughout the whole of this country from January to December could almost be counted on one's fingers and toes. How many theatres are there that make their business that which ought to be the supreme concern of a theatre—the presentation of great plays?

Instead of "great plays, well done," we have everywhere tenth-rate plays, badly done. "Commercial" theatre and "repertory" theatre are much the same sort of thing; both offer us transient excitement and amusement; neither makes the effort to elevate and educate us. There are thousands upon thousands of amateur dramatic societies; what in general characterises them is desire for social jollification; most of the people in them think that some absurdity by Shaw is great drama.

For the most part, any acquaintance which serious-minded people get with great plays, they get by wireless and television. It is not possible here to argue out the question whether "out of a tin" (as they say) Aeschylos and Shakespeare and Goethe can satisfactorily speak to us. I must be content to state my own vehement belief that nothing of the sort is thinkable. I am convinced that if we are to get that which dramatic art is meant to give us, we can get it only if we see and hear the actors in flesh and blood before us.

I accept to the full the verdict of Bruno Walter: "In our day of the telephone, the film and the radio, I still insist that the mighty Goddess of Presence will not be dethroned, and that in the playing of music, in dramatic presentations, in conversation—as also in love—only personal presence can produce the soul-warmth in which man is spurred on to his highest potentialities in giving and in receiving."

In his great writings on Dramatic Art, Stanislavsky makes many such statements as the following:—

> Nothwithstanding the mountains of articles, books, lectures and theses, notwithstanding the researches of the innovators, nothing has been written—with the exception of a few lines from Shtchepkin—that might be of practical use to the actor in the moment of the realisation of his creativeness or that might be of help to the teacher at the moment he meets his pupil. All that has been said about the theatre is only philosophising; very interesting, very deep, and speaking beautifully of the results it is desirable to reach or criticising the success or failure of results already reached. These works are valuable and necessary, but for the actual practical work in the theatre they are useless. They are silent on how to reach results; on what it is necessary to do first, secondly, thirdly, with a beginner; or on what is to be done with an experienced but spoiled actor.
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> What exercises resembling solfeggi are needed by the actor? What scales, what arpeggios, for the development of creative feeling and experience are required? Those studying dramatic art must be given numbers—comparable to the problems in a mathematical textbook—for systematic exercise in school and at home. All books and works of the theatre are silent on such things. There is no practical textbook. There are only attempts, but as far as they are concerned, it is either too early or altogether unnecessary to speak of them.
>
> The basic spiritual laws, informations, researches, practical exercises, problems, solfeggi, arpeggios, scales, counter-point, composition, perspective, are lacking in relation to the art of the actor, and make of that art an accidental impromptu, often inspired, but oftener mere hack-work and routine.

In the background of Stanislavsky's confession there lie in wait questions such as these: How did speech arise? What at their origins are "vowels"? Why such a thing as "A" and "E" and "I", etc.? What are the "consonants"?—the "soundings-with"? Why do we associate with that big white thing over our heads the sound-combination: "cloud"? Why do we call this distress inside us "pain"? Why do we say "head" in English, "tête" in French, and "Kopf" in German? Why in everyday conversation do we make little half-hearted movements with our arms and hands? When he magnifies and dignifies these movements upon the stage, what does the actor achieve? If we push back beyond speaking into man's past, why do we come upon recitative and further back upon song? What in the ultimate is "Poetry"? What is "Prose"? Why are we so nobly agitated by Dramatic Art? What does seeing a play effect in us?

Drama-criticism of the highest sort can be found in the running commentary on Hamlet in Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister"; in the articles written by Yeats when he was working at the Abbey Theatre; in many other places. But nowhere, even in the best of all

such elucidations, could Stanislavsky find answers to his questions.

The answers can in fact never be found in a science which confines itself to the physical aspects of existence. But they arise of themselves out of what Rudolf Steiner has to tell us in his books and lectures about the higher or inner or spiritual aspects of our being and about the relation of these to the physical. Here I can only give a hint of what Steiner has to say.

Goethe has it that the eye was formed by the Light for the Light. Steiner correspondingly asserts that the Divine Word or Logos formed man as a whole—and his larynx, etc., in especial—that he might utter speech. "*The human body,*" he says, "*is a musical instrument.*"

If we accept the view that the Cosmic Word formed man to sound celestial music, it is not difficult to grasp that there is a mysterious underlying identity between the realities around and within us. There is a fundamental correspondence between the actual "cloud" and the actual "pain" and the sounds we use to indicate these entities. What is mystically the "NAME" of any entity (its very soul) is resolved into the "name" that entity goes by in common parlance. As Socrates puts it: "And if anyone reproduces the essence of a thing in letters and syllables, does he not express the nature of the thing?"

Speech is the revelation of reality. In bodily gesture the reality of a thing or process is magically disclosed to our eyes. In spoken words it is given audibility to our ears. In origin and essence, gesture and speech are one and the same. That we speak of "feet" in verse is a reminder that primitive man not only made sounds with his vocal organs, but at the same time visibly expressed himself with his limbs. Nowadays we use gesture sparingly and ineffectually. We rely on the auditory side of the speech-mechanism. It is part of the actor's trade to give greater prominence to gesture.

What we call "consonants" were at their original emergence a reproduction or imitation of the things and processes of the external world. What we call "vowels" were man's inner reactions to those outer things or processes. Words at the point of their origin in evolution are not anything arbitrary or conventional; they are a direct immediate effect of outer and inner realities. The differing aspects of man's environment resulted in his speech in this or that consonant. His changing feelings vented themselves in the various vowels. (In the "interjections" we have a relic of man's primal mode of expressing his being) . . . .

Somewhere far back in the history of every word of this "fossil poetry" of ours is to be found the immediate direct utterance of human experience.

What Steiner would have us realise is that there has taken place in language a fearful decline, bringing with it for mankind all manner of disastrous consequences. To speak mythologically, man in "the Garden of Eden" sang the notes of a heaven-given

music. He "fell". And his speaking "fell", too. Poetry is the language of Heaven; prose, of this earth. Man gradually lost his poetic affiliations and became more and more (as his ego increasingly asserted itself in earth-life after earth-life) a creature of prose. Every vowel and every consonant had at the first elemental force; the sounds of words in and of themselves made prior decisive claims upon the attention; they were felt as grounded in reality; they arose spontaneously out of man's inner being and the world about him.

The human being was once a noble musical instrument upon which the Divine Beings could play harmonies. He has become degraded; he no longer takes delight in his musical utterance; he uses it for merely personal and utilitarian ends. Feeling for the sound-side of language has in these days almost disappeared. In another and far worse sense than that of M. Jourdain, we too unconsciously "speak prose all our lives". We are no longer able to listen *to* the *sound and soul* in a word; we ignore the sound and listen *through* it to the *idea or content* that the word expresses. Words are no longer alive. We are living in a word-cemetery.

Yeats cries out: "I have to find once again singers, minstrels and players who love words more than any other thing under Heaven". If we would join in this great search, it will have to be with Steiner as our leader:

> The word now is made to serve for mutual understanding in social life and for imparting what has to be intellectually known. On both sides it loses its value. It is forced to fit the sense which it is required to express. The fact is forgotten that in the tone, in the sound, in the formation of the sound, there lies a reality. Beauty—the shining of the vowels, the shape of the consonants—is lost for speaking. The vowels become soul-less, the consonants void of spirit. And so speech entirely leaves the sphere of its origin—the sphere of the spiritual. It becomes the servant of intellectual knowledge and social life. It falls from the spiritual. It is wrested completely from the sphere of art... Divine Spiritual Beings could once speak to the human soul by means of the Word. But now the word serves only to make oneself understood in the physical world. . . . Things which were self-evident in the Ancient Mysteries, when human beings were still conscious that Divine Beings spoke into them—these experiences must once again be fetched up out of the depths of man's inner being. We must find the possibility of knowing inward speech.

Lewes in his fine "Life of Goethe" berates Goethe and Schiller because "they could not bring themselves to believe that the Drama, which they held to be so grand a form of art, had ceased to be a lay-pulpit and had become a mere amusement." The Encyclopaedia Britannica (Fourteenth Edition) declares:—"Modern Drama . . . . is confessedly an entertainment." If we regard such views as disreputable and disastrous; if we nobly take our stand with Goethe and Aristotle; if we wish the theatre to be a temple and drama an art; what is it we have to do?

Steiner in his "Drama Course" and elsewhere has much to say about every aspect of Dramatic Art. But his essential concern is

with speech. How shall the actor rediscover the lost art of speech? Only when the answer to this question has been found—urges Steiner—will the Theatre be able to take again its rightful place in cultural life. How can we—as good, evolving human beings—move forward out of a Theatre of Prose into a Theatre of Poetry?

Man was formed by Divine Spiritual Beings to speak cosmic music. He underwent an evolutionary fall. His speech took into itself corruption and mortality. It has become egotistical, earth-bound, materialised, utilitarian, abstract, lifeless, unmusical. It lies in front of us to re-introduce into speech, by our own conscious and willed effort, the divine quality it has lost. If the actor understands his vocation, it is in this sense that he will take himself.

Stanislavsky postulates that if the actor is to succeed as an artist, he must have—not only in his head but in his blood—complete comprehension of the principles underlying speech. It is this that Steiner offers. From a hundred various stand-points; in general ways and in concrete particularity; in what he said and in what he wrote and in what he did; Steiner both elucidated the laws of speech and indicated all manner of "practical exercises, problems, solfeggi, arpeggios, scales", by means of which the actor can work those laws into his very being. The aspirant who turns to Steiner discovers to his delight that he is finding—not theories of Steiner's—but his own deeper impulses and his own artistic freedom.

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Steiner's language in his own four "Mystery Plays" is to a large extent "mantric". He strives to re-assert the direct original force and beauty of the sounds used in speech. "Most of the scenes in my plays", he says, "were written directly from *hearing*. I did not seek for words to express sense and meaning. I wrote from *hearing*." And again he says that in these plays "A new element is seeking poetic expression—an inner formulation of sound—of which to-day there is scarcely as yet a trace." And again that "an etheric-poetic inward experience of sound will take the place of the outer-physical experience which is given in the end-rhyme and beginning-rhyme." In reference to one particular speech he says: "One must see here a mystery of words. Actual world-forces lie in the sound. In the sounds of these words there is truly given an opening of the gates of the spiritual world. . . ." The best illustration of what Steiner has to say in these lectures on Dramatic Art is to be found in his own plays. The lectures in this wonderful course may well be thought of as a commentary on his own practice as a play-wright.

This translation of the "Drama Course" by Mary Adams is exceedingly well done. It is real English. Mary Adams knows German; but she knows English, too. She has taken the pains all along to discover for herself just what Dr. Steiner aimed at saying

in German, and then she has done her utmost to say the equivalent thing for English readers. One is deeply impressed by the efficiency of the whole volume. They say no book ever published was free from author's and printer's errors. There may be such errors in this translation, but I could not find them. . . These pages set a model for anthroposophical translating.

And at the same time they remove the last shreds of whatever excuse we Anthroposophists in England may have thought we had for not getting on with the establishment of an anthroposophical theatre. . . . It is fruitless merely to criticise the deplorable state of the English stage. The only profitable thing is the sort of thing Dr. Steiner himself consistently attempted—i.e. to try to exemplify in our own efforts what is the right thing to be done.

What is primarily needed—as Dr. Steiner himself repeatedly insists—is a "school". There must be a centre—preferably perhaps some large house in its own grounds somewhere near London —where the essential thing is done. The essential thing is the most utterly genuine and thorough-going study of and work upon this Drama Course by those who intend to offer plays to the public. It ought not to be expected of the producer of any particular play that he should coach actors in acting as such; they ought to come to him with all that Dr. Steiner says about speech and gesture already instinctive within them.

There could be a "shop-window" to this School—set up no doubt for the most part in London, but taken also on tour to Oxford and Cambridge and other parts of the British Isles and the British Commonwealth and to the United States of America. This "Anthroposophical Theatre" would resist every temptation to disseminate Anthroposophy! If it was equal to the task, it might very well present Dr. Steiner's Mystery Plays, but it would not feel called upon to push into undeserved prominence "plays by Anthroposophists". Its concern would be exclusively the presentation to the public of GREAT PLAYS—plays in themselves worth doing—plays that are great literature—plays that educate and elevate—Dr. Steiner's most certainly among them.

Such a theatre—although it would do nothing in the way of propaganda to spread Anthroposophy—would perhaps be the most effectual of all means of making serious-minded English people think seriously about what Dr. Steiner has to say to mankind.

The Drama Course exists. This English translation exists. In a thousand persons there is good will for the attempt. What has to be done can be clearly seen . . . What is now wanted is *initiative*—not make-believe initiative but the real thing: the resolve of some capable young person, or of two or three persons, to overcome every obstacle in their way until this Anthroposophical Theatre of ours has become a fact.

Arnold Freeman.

The Celtic Light

The Sun Dances. Prayers and Blessings from the Gaelic. Arranged by Adam Bittleston. (Christian Community Press, 12/6.)

ALL who love Celtic lore will be grateful to Adam Bittleston for this book of Gaelic poems. It contains a selection from the five volumes of *Carmina Gadelica*, collected and translated by the late Alexander Carmichael towards the end of the last century. Two of the volumes are now out of print and the others difficult of access, so that this selection is likely to be of great value to those interested in Gaelic life and customs. It is designed, however, to appeal to a wider audience and should win a deeper understanding for the unusual beauty and content of these little-known poems.

The book is attractively arranged and each section is introduced with a suitable Celtic design from Mrs. Carmichael's copies of decorations from ancient manuscripts. A brief foreword gives a sketch of Carmichael's work in collecting these devotional verses and prepares the reader for their unexpected quality. There are nine groups of poems, with a concluding verse like a final benediction, and with a number of notes about sources.

Alexander Carmichael was born on the island of Lismore in 1832, less than three months after the death of Walter Scott, who had already done so much to rouse interest and sympathy for the Highlanders. His work as a civil servant took him "through the Islands and Highlands of Scotland, from Arran to Caithness, from Perth to St. Kilda's." He learned to love the language and way of life of the Gaels and gradually collected a wealth of ancient poems and charms which had been handed down for centuries by word of mouth. Adam Bittleston gives a vivid impression of this vigorous character, enduring danger and hardship in his literary quest, yet approaching the Highlanders with so much sympathy and understanding that they willingly confided to him their sacred traditions.

The foreword prepares us for the strange quality of the prayers and blessings. They are the heritage of small isolated groups of an ancient race, untouched by the main flood of Roman civilisation. From their life on the barren hills and rocks, amidst the ebb and flow of the tide and the vast sweep of the winds, the Gaels from prehistoric times had made their relationship with overwhelming elemental powers.

Fiona Macleod has written of a Gaelic wisdom older than Christianity. In "The Book of the Opal" he tells of an islander who had become a Roman Catholic priest, but felt he could no longer be true to his calling, for he had found a wisdom older than the one he professed and gods more ancient than his own. "That old forgotten wisdom of his people came nearer to his spirit than many sacred words."

Elsewhere Macleod has described certain sacramental customs of the islanders, by which they ensured a living sympathy with the

forces of nature. In some remote places, as soon as possible after a child had been born, the mother would take it, and at noon, facing the sun, would touch its brow to the earth—the Ancient Mother of all.

Another ceremony was the handing of the child to its father through the smoke of the fire. Some islanders baptised the infant in spray from the running wave, or held it up to the south wind to make it strong and fair and to hold back death and sorrow.

The Church tried without success to prevent these survivals of nature-magic. We should not regard them, however, as mere superstitions. They had their source in an intimacy with nature found among many primitive peoples, a delicacy of awareness that the over-civilised have lost.

Through his researches into the Hibernian Mysteries, Rudolf Steiner has enabled us to gain a deeper understanding of the Celtic background. While the pre-Christian religious centres of Greece and of the North guided man on his descent into earthly life and prepared in him independent capacities so that he could become free; the Hibernian Mysteries preserved an ancient spiritual wisdom as a protection against the materialism into which Western Europe was doomed to pass. Hence the leaders of the Celtic people never entirely lost their memory of a paradisal state. They retained a longing for that primal sympathy when man and nature were at one. They were well aware of the descent into the darkness, but they experienced this as the mist veiling the sun or the shadow thrown by the mountain. There is rarely found in Celtic poetry, as there is in Norse, a vivid sense of the terrible activity of evil.

Legends tell of the Celts' imaginative participation in the Christ event. Through their religious cults they were aware of His birth. But the human aspect of Christ was not so vitally experienced; for them He was the Sun Being, descending through the spheres, bringing harmony into the elemental world and illuminating the darkness. His birth is described in the "Christmas Carol":

> This night is the eve of the great Nativity,
> Born is the Son of Mary the Virgin,
> The soles of His feet have reached the earth,
> The Son of glory down from on high,
> Heaven and earth glowed to Him,
> All hail! let there be joy!
> The mountains glowed to Him, the plains glowed to Him,
> The voice of the waves with the song of the strand,
> Announcing to us that Christ is born.

In many poems, Christ is described as "The King of the Elements".

We can thus understand that there was no contradiction between the old nature-wisdom and the acceptance of Christ. In this selection of poems it is often difficult to tell whether a particular verse was an ancient rune into which later the Christian figures found entrance, or whether it was composed by Celtic monks. In the "Hatching Blessing", for instance, Christ and Columba are invoked in what is obviously a magical rite.

Christ was above all felt to be present in the rhythms of nature, in the interweaving of morning and evening, of summer and winter, of life and death. Through Him sorrow was transformed into joy, darkness into light, death into life. And as in a primitive society every deed is directed towards the maintaining of life, so the sowing of the seed, the weaving of the wool, the milking of the cow, were activities which could be brought into harmony with the movements of the seasons, and could be Christ-enfilled:

> Even as I clothe my body with wool,
> Cover thou my soul with the shadow of Thy wing.

Adam Bittleston's arrangement of the prayers and blessings illustrates very clearly this awareness of the different spiritual experiences in the rhythms of day and night and the festivals of the seasons. Some of his titles are: "Morning and Evening", "Ages of Life", "Work", "Wonders of the World" and "Feasts of the Year".

*

Although the poems may seem strange, they are in no way vague or unclear. We immediately become aware that they do not voice any accepted creed but are born from living experience. For instance, there is the beautiful description of Barbara Macphie's vision of the sunrise on Easter Sunday. The Spirit is manifest in all aspects of nature. "The God who makes the small blade of grass to grow is the same God who makes the large, massive sun to move". The "God of the Mysteries" is present in the thunder:

> Thy joy the joy,
> Thy light the light,
> Thy war the war,
> Thy peace the peace.

There is not only an intimacy with the movements of nature but also with spiritual Beings. The Archangels and the Saints are well-known companions.

Nevertheless, every theme is expressed in a clear and concrete form, so that many of the shorter prayers are suitable for children; for instance the "Mother's Consecration":

> Be the great God between thy two shoulders
> To protect thee in thy going and in thy coming,
> Be the Son of Mary Virgin near thine heart,
> And be the perfect Spirit upon thee pouring—
> Oh! the perfect Spirit upon thee pouring.

Another characteristic which is of value for children is the frequent, often threefold, rhythmic repetition.

There is a wealth of telling images which not only bring the chosen theme into the realm of our experience but also evoke feelings of devotion or tenderness. The prayer for blessing on the kindling of the fire leads to an entreaty for love to be kindled in the heart. The Guardian Angel is addressed:

Be thou a bright flame before me,
Be thou a guiding star above me,
Be thou a smooth path below me,
And be a kindly shepherd behind me,
Today, tonight and for ever.
I am tired and I a stranger,
Lead thou me to the land of angels;
For me it is time to go home
To the court of Christ, to the peace of Heaven.

Those who have heard Gaelic spoken or sung will recognise that no translation can reproduce the music of the language. But we owe a great debt to Alexander Carmichael for his sympathetic renderings. Even in translation the content and the quality of the feeling are still able to resound.

The notes at the end, which give the sources of various poems, are illuminating. Particularly poignant is the lament sung by a mother over her child on the snow-covered mountains after the Massacre of Glencoe. A soldier, searching for stray fugitives, was so moved to pity that he did what he could to save them and they survived:

Cold, cold, cold is my child,
Cold, cold is the mother who watches thee;
Sad, sad, sad is my plaint,
As the tinge of death creeps over me.
O Cross of the heavens, sign my soul,
O Mother of breastlings, shield my child,
O Son of tears whom a mother nurtured,
Show Thy tenderness in death to the needy.

*

It is natural that these prayers should be different in mood from those springing from the more orthodox teachings of Christianity. We rarely find any plea for courage, endurance or accomplishment. To those who were so intimately aware of spiritual presences, courage, as we understand it would probably have seemed a form of egoism or personal aggressiveness. For the Celts, life on earth was an exile and the material world a shadow realm; hence, although their descriptions of nature are often joyous and radiant, a note of wistful longing can be heard as an undertone.

In the experience of endless alternation between light and dark and ebb and flow, the Celtic soul longed above all for peace: "The peace of Christ above all peace." And, although the concluding poem does not use the word, it is in this mood that the collection is brought to a close:

As it was,
As it is,
As it shall be
Evermore,
O Thou Triune
Of grace!
With the ebb
With the flow,
O Thou Triune
Of grace!
With the ebb
With the flow.

It is understandable that the Roman Church, which strove to form a disciplined order, should have silenced the teaching of the Celtic Christians. But through the mysterious workings of fate, these records of an older wisdom have been preserved and rediscovered. There is no longer any need to regard them as suspect. We can now receive these echoes of an ancient time with reverence and acknowledge their beauty.

Eileen Hutchins.

Bothmer Gymnastics

IN the article entitled "Gravity and Levity in Human Movement," which Miss Olive Whicher contributed to the last issue of the *Golden Blade*, she outlined the special character and purpose of the gymnastic exercises introduced by the late Count Fritz von Bothmer at the first Waldorf School in Stuttgart, and mentioned that Count Bothmer's own book on the subject was soon to be published in German and in English. This is now available under the title of *Gymnastische Erziehung*, edited by Dr. Gisbert Husemann for the Pedagogic Section at the Goetheanum and published by the Philosophisch-Anthroposophischer Verlag, Dornach. It consists of three spacious volumes—the German text in a stiff cover, with the English translation and a volume of illustrations each bound in stout carton. The German text costs 63/-; the English translation and the volume of illustrations can be bought separately for 35/- the two.

Count Bothmer, formerly a cavalry officer in the German Army, was one of the teachers called together by Rudolf Steiner in the early days of the Waldorf School with the aim of developing new forms of education in tune with a modern spiritual conception of the nature of man. Bothmer was given the task of creating new methods in gymnastics. He died in 1941, leaving a manuscript in which he described his approach to this work and the sequence of exercises, covering the 12 school years. This manuscript has been translated by Olive Whicher, who adds a chapter on "Human Movement in Physical and Ethereal Space".

Readers may remember that in her *Golden Blade* article Miss Whicher described, from her own experience of learning and teaching the Bothmer exercises, how they can lead to an awareness of the spiritual and creative forces of space. Here she expands this theme, relating the exercises to the new treatment of projective geometry by George Adams, Louis Locher-Ernst and others, and quoting Bothmer's own words: "If in practising bodily movement we take our start from research into the laws of space and listen to its clear rhythms, we shall find deep sense and purpose in the

resulting movements. We can discover that in our movements space reveals itself as a spiritual process, and that the body, through which we experience space, is itself a part of this process."

The generous supply of illustrations includes early photographs of Bothmer himself demonstrating the exercises; drawings and diagrams based on his sketches; and a series of photographs annotated by one of the leading pupils, Elizabeth Dessecker, who has also added the school curriculum.

This admirably thorough and careful publication will be essential wherever Bothmer gymnastics are taught; it can be recommended also to students of Anthroposophy who wish to understand this aspect of Dr. Steiner's educational work, little known hitherto in this country except to specialists.

C. W.

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