

The Golden Blade

CONSCIENCE AND ASTONISHMENT	<i>Rudolf Steiner</i>
EPHESUS AND THE CASTLE OF THE GRAIL	<i>Emil Bock</i>
POETRY AND KNOWLEDGE IN AN AGE OF SCIENCE	<i>Charles Davy</i>
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BOOK REVIEWS

The Nature of Substance

Relative Deprivation and Social Justice

*Occult Science and Occult Development; Christ at the Time of the
Mystery of Golgotha and Christ in the Twentieth Century, two
lectures given by Rudolf Steiner*

Spiritual Knowledge: The Reality and its Shadow

Edited by Gerald Rowe and Adam Bittleston

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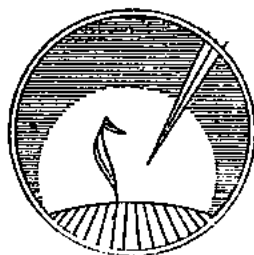
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Steiner Bookshop, 35 Park Road, London, N.W.1
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ANTHROPOSOPHY springs from the work and teaching of Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925); he spoke of it as 'a path of knowledge, to guide the spiritual in the human being to the spiritual in the universe'. The aim of this Annual is to publish writings in which an anthroposophical outlook is expressed, dealing with a wide variety of subjects; and some other writings too which touch upon the deepest spiritual impulses of mankind.

The title of this Annual is derived 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 Mazda 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.'

From 1949 to 1966 *The Golden Blade* was edited by Arnold Freeman and Charles Waterman. It is now edited by Gerald Rowe and Adam Bittleston. The opinions expressed are those of the contributors.

EDITORIAL NOTES

EMIL BOCK (1895-1959) was for the last twenty-one years of his life Head of the Christian Community, the religious movement helped into being in 1922 by Rudolf Steiner. A memoir appeared in the 1961 *Golden Blade*, with an early chapter from Bock's massive collection of studies in the life work of Rudolf Steiner, which has not yet been published in English. 'Ephesus and the Castle of the Grail' is the last chapter, and assumes some knowledge of the comprehensive and detailed picture of world history given by Rudolf Steiner.

Karl König (1902-66) was the founder of the Camphill Movement, which is engaged in seven countries (and with starting points in others) in the care, education, and inclusion in therapeutic communities of handicapped children and adults. It comprises a substantial sector of the institutions in which Rudolf Steiner's indications for the treatment of children in need of special care are being developed in many countries. In this issue no attempt is made to describe Dr König's work as a whole; a small collection of personal memories is given here, taken from his mother's own unpublished life story (written in her late eighties, since her son's death), from an account written by his widow for *The Golden Blade*, and from an article in *The Cresset*, the journal of the Camphill Movement, by one active in it from the beginning.

NOTE

MOST of Rudolf Steiner's lectures were not addressed to the general public, but to groups of people already familiar with his basic writings. He was concerned with the particular needs and interests of those to whom he was speaking; and he was hardly ever able to revise the notes taken at the time. The lecture of which a translation is printed in this issue is of this kind: but, read subject to this caution, it will be found widely comprehensible.

CONSCIENCE AND ASTONISHMENT

AS INDICATIONS OF SPIRITUAL VISION IN PAST AND FUTURE

A lecture given by RUDOLF STEINER in Breslau, 3rd February 1912¹

SINCE we can meet so seldom, it will perhaps be good to Stouch upon some questions today, through which anthroposophy is directly concerned with life. Anthroposophists will often be asked: what does anthroposophy mean for someone not yet able to see into the spiritual worlds by means of clairvoyant consciousness? For the content of spiritual science is in the main received, derived and imparted through research undertaken through clairvoyant consciousness. It must be emphasised again and again that everything, all the facts and relationships, investigated and imparted from clairvoyant consciousness, must be comprehended by healthy human understanding. Once the things found by clairvoyant consciousness are there, they can be grasped and understood by the logic inherent in every ordinary human being, if only his judgment is unprejudiced enough.

Further, it can be asked: are there not facts experienced in normal human life which give direct support to the assertion by spiritual research, that our physical world and all its phenomena have underlying them a spiritual world? There are indeed many facts in ordinary life of which we could say that man would never comprehend them, although he has to accept their existence, without the recognition of a spiritual world.

We can look to begin with at two facts in ordinary human consciousness which cannot be explained without taking the presence of a spiritual world into consideration. Man knows these indeed as everyday facts, but does not usually regard them in the right light; if he did, there would be no necessity for a materialistic conception of the world. The first of these facts can be regarded in connection with very familiar events in ordinary life.

¹ From notes unrevised by the lecturer. Published by kind permission of the Rudolf Steiner *Nachlassverwaltung*, Dornach, Switzerland, and in agreement with the Rudolf Steiner Publishing Company.

When a man faces a fact which he cannot explain with the conceptions that he has acquired up to that moment, he is astonished. Someone for example who saw for the first time a car or a train in movement (though such things will soon not be unusual even in the interior of Africa) would be very astonished, because he would think something like this: According to my experience up to now it seems impossible to me that a thing can move along quickly, without having something harnessed to it in front, that can pull it. But I can see that this is moving along quickly without being pulled! That is astonishing. What a man does not yet know causes him astonishment; something he has already seen, no longer astonishes him. Only the things which cannot be connected with previous experiences cause astonishment; let us keep this fact of ordinary life clearly before us. And we can bring it now into connection with another fact, which is very remarkable. Human beings are faced in ordinary life with many things that they have never seen before and which they nevertheless accept without astonishment. There are many such events. What are they?

It would be very astonishing, for example, if someone was to find in the ordinary way that after sitting quietly on his chair he suddenly began to fly up through the chimney into the air. It would indeed be astonishing; but when this happens in a dream he would do it all without being in any way amazed. We experience in dreams much more fantastic things than this, but are not astonished although we cannot relate them to daily events. In waking life we are even astonished if somebody leaps high into the air; but in a dream we can fly without being surprised at all. So we are faced with the fact that while in waking life we are astonished about things we had not experienced previously, in dreams we are not at all amazed.

As a second fact from which we shall begin, we have the question of conscience. When a man does something, and with a sensitive nature even when he thinks, something stirs in him that we call conscience. This conscience is entirely independent of the external significance of events. We could for example have done something very advantageous to us, and yet this act might be condemned by our conscience. Everyone feels that when conscience goes into action something influences

the judgment of an act that has nothing to do with its utility. It is like a voice that says within us: Truly, you should have done this, or you should not have done this – this is the fact of conscience, and we know how strong its warning power can be, and how it can pursue us through life. We know that the presence of conscience cannot be denied.

Now we can consider again the life of dreams. Here we may do the strangest things which would cause us the most terrible pangs of conscience if we did them in waking life. Anyone can confirm this from his own experience, that he does things in dreams without his conscience stirring at all; while if he were to do them awake the voice of conscience would speak.

Thus these two facts, amazement and conscience, are excluded in a remarkable way from the life of dreams. Ordinarily man does not notice such things; nevertheless they throw their light upon the depths of our existence.

There is something else that throws light on this, concerned less with conscience than with astonishment. In ancient Greece the saying appears that all philosophy begins with astonishment, with wonder. The feeling expressed in this saying – the feeling of the Greeks themselves – cannot be found in the earlier periods of Greek history; only from a certain point in the development of philosophy is it to be found. Earlier periods did not have this feeling. Why was it that from a certain point onwards in ancient Greece this observation about astonishment was made? We have seen that we are astonished about something that does not fit in with our previous life; but if we have only this kind of astonishment this is nothing specially remarkable. Someone who is astonished about a car or train is simply unaccustomed to see such things. It is much more remarkable that a man can begin to be astonished about accustomed things. For example there is the fact that the sun rises every morning. Those people who are accustomed to this fact with their ordinary consciousness are not surprised about it. But when there is astonishment about the everyday things, which one is accustomed to see, philosophy and knowledge arise. Those men are the richer in knowledge, who are able to be astonished about things which the ordinary man simply accepts. Only then does a man strive for knowledge. For this reason, it was said in ancient Greece: All philosophy begins in wonder.

How is it with the conscience? Once more it is interesting, that the word 'conscience' – and therefore the concept too, for only when we have a conception of something does the word appear – is also only to be found in ancient Greece from a certain time onwards. It is impossible to find in earlier Greek literature, about up to the time of Aeschylus, a word that should be translated 'conscience'. But we find one in the later Greek writers, for example Euripides. Thus it can be pointed out precisely that conscience is something, just as is amazement about familiar things, known to man only from a certain period of ancient Greece onwards. What sprang up at this time as the activity of conscience was something quite different among the earlier Greeks. It did not then happen that the pangs of conscience appeared when a man had done something wrong. Men had then an original, elemental clairvoyance; going back only a short time before the Christian era we would find that all human beings still had this original clairvoyance. If a man then did something wrong, it was not followed by the stirring of conscience, but a demonic form appeared before the old clairvoyance, and a man was tormented by it. Such forms were called Erinyes or Furies. Only when men had lost the capacity to see these demonic forms did they become able to feel, when they had done something wrong, the power of conscience as an inner experience.

What do such facts show? What really happens in the everyday fact of astonishment – when for example a tribesman from the depths of Africa, suddenly transported to Europe, sees here the trains and cars for the first time? He is astonished because his astonishment presupposes that something new is entering his life, something that he before saw differently.

If now a developed man has a particular need to find explanations for many things, including everyday things, because he is able to be astonished about everyday things – this too presupposes that he had seen the thing differently before. No-one would be able to reach another explanation of the sunrise, distinct from the mere appearance of its rising, if he had not seen it differently before. But it might be objected that we see the sunrise happening in just the same way from our earliest youth; would it not be nonsensical to be astonished about it? There is no other explanation of this than that if we

are amazed about it after all, we must have experienced it earlier in another condition, in a way different from our present experience in this life. For if spiritual science says that man exists between birth and a previous life in another condition, we have in the fact of astonishment about something so everyday as a sunrise an indication of this earlier condition, in which man also perceived the sunrise, but in another way, without bodily organs. He perceived all this then with spiritual eyes and spiritual ears. In the moment where dim feelings lead him to say: 'You face the rising sun, the roaring sea, the growing plant, and are filled with wonder!' – there is in this wonder the knowledge, that all this has once been perceived in another way, not with bodily eyes. He has looked at all these with his spiritual eyes before he entered the physical world. He feels dimly: 'Yet this is all different, from the form in which you saw it earlier.' This was, and could only be, before birth. These facts compel us to recognise that knowledge would not be possible at all if man did not enter this life from a preceding supersensible existence. Otherwise there would be no explanation for amazement and the knowledge that follows from it. Naturally man does not remember in clear pictures what he experienced in a different way before birth; but though it is not in the form of clear thought, it is present in feeling. It can only be brought as a clear memory through initiation.

Now we can go deeper into the fact that we are not amazed in dreams. First the question must be answered, what a dream really is. Dreams are an ancient heritage from earlier incarnations. Men passed in earlier incarnations through other conditions of consciousness which were similar to clairvoyance. In the further course of evolution man lost the capacity to look clairvoyantly into the world of soul and spirit. It was a shadowy clairvoyance; evolution proceeded gradually; from the earlier, shadowy clairvoyance into our present clear, waking consciousness, which could develop in the physical world – in order, when it is fully developed, to ascend again into the worlds of soul and spirit with the capacities which man has acquired with his 'I' in waking consciousness. But what did men acquire then in the old clairvoyance? Something has remained; the life of dreams. But the life of dreams is dis-

tinguished from the old clairvoyance by the fact that it is an experience of present-day man, and present-day man has developed a consciousness which contains the impulse to acquire knowledge. Dreams, as a remnant of an earlier consciousness, do not contain the impulse to acquire knowledge and for this reason man feels the distinction between waking consciousness and the consciousness of dreams.

Astonishment, which did not exist in the ancient shadowy clairvoyance, cannot enter even today the consciousness of dreams. Astonishment and wonder cannot enter the life of dreams. We have them in the waking consciousness, which is directed to the external world. In his dreams, man is not in the external world; he is placed into the spiritual world, and does not experience physical things. But it was in facing the physical world that man learned amazement. In dreams he accepts everything as it comes, as he did in the old clairvoyance. He could do this then because the spiritual powers came and showed him the good and evil that he had done; man did not then need wonder. Dreams thus show us by their own character that they are inherited from ancient times, when there was not yet any astonishment about everyday things, and not yet a conscience.

Why was it necessary that man, having once been clairvoyant, could not remain so? Why has he descended? Did the gods perhaps drive him down unnecessarily? It is really so, that man could never have acquired what lies in his capacity of wonder and what lies in his conscience, if he had not descended. Man descended in order to acquire knowledge and conscience; he could only do so through being separated for a time from these spiritual worlds. And he has achieved knowledge and conscience here, in order to ascend once more with them.

Spiritual science shows us that man spends each time a period between death and a new birth in a purely spiritual world. We experience to begin with after death the time of Kamaloca, the condition in the soul world where desires are purified, where man is only half in the spiritual world, so to speak, because he still looks back upon his impulses and attachments and is thus still drawn by what bound him to the physical world. Only when this Kamaloca period has been wiped out

does he experience purely spiritual life in its fulness, in the realm of spirit.

When a man enters this purely spiritual world, what is his experience? How is it experienced by every human being? – Consideration even by the quite ordinary understanding leads to the conclusion that our environment between death and a new birth must appear entirely different from what we have in physical life. Here we see colours because we have eyes; here we hear sounds because we have ears. But when in spiritual existence after death we have no eyes and no ears, we cannot perceive these colours, and sounds. Even here we see and hear badly or not at all, if we have not got good eyes and ears. It is self-evident that we have to conceive the spiritual world as entirely different from the world in which we here live between birth and death. We can form a picture of the way in which this world must alter when we pass through the gate of death with the help of a comparison. A man sees a lamb and a wolf. By means of the organs of perception available to him in physical life man perceives the lamb and the wolf; he sees them as material lamb, as material wolf. Other lambs and wolves too he recognises, and calls them lamb and wolf. He has a conceptual picture of a lamb, and another of a wolf. It could now be said, and is in fact said: the conceptual picture of the animal is not visible, it lives within the animal; one does not really see materially the essential being of lamb and wolf. One forms mental pictures of the essential being of the animal, but this essential being is in itself invisible.

There are theorists who hold that the concepts of wolf and lamb which we form for ourselves live only within us, and that they have nothing to do with the wolf and the lamb themselves. A man who holds this view should be asked to feed a wolf with lambs until all material parts of the wolf body have been renewed, according to scientific research – then the wolf would be built entirely of matter from lambs. And then this man should see whether the wolf has turned into a lamb! But if the result is nevertheless that the wolf has not become a lamb, it has been proved that 'wolf', as a fact, is something distinct from the material wolf and that the wolf's objective existence is something more than a material thing.

This invisible reality, which in ordinary life one only forms

as a concept, one actually sees after death. One does not see there the lamb's white colour, or hear the sounds which it makes but one beholds the invisible power which works in the lamb. For the one who lives in the spiritual world this is just as real, this is actually there. Where a lamb is standing, there stands too a spiritual reality, which becomes visible for man after death. And it is the same with all phenomena of the physical environment. One sees the sun differently, the moon differently, everything differently; and one brings something of this with one, while entering through birth into a new existence. And if through this there arises the feeling that one has once seen something quite differently, then there descends with one's astonishment and wonder the power of knowledge.

It is something different, if one observes a human action. Then the element of conscience is added. If we wish to know what this is we must turn our attention to a fact of life which can be confirmed without the development of clairvoyance. The moment of falling asleep must be carefully observed. One can learn to do this without any clairvoyance; this experience is open to anyone. Just before one falls asleep, things first lose their sharp outlines, colours grow faint, sounds not only grow weaker, but it is as if they go away from us into the distance; they reach us only from far away, they grow weaker just as if they were going into the distance. The way in which the whole visible world grows less distinct is a transformation like the oncoming of mist. And the limbs grow heavier. One feels in them something which one has not felt before in waking life; it is as if they acquired their own weight, their own heaviness. In waking life if one were to consider it one should really feel that a leg, when one is walking, or a hand, which one raises, have for us no weight. We raise our hand, carrying a hundredweight – why is the hundredweight heavy? We raise our hand and it carries itself – why do we feel no weight? The hand belongs to me, and so its heaviness is not felt; the hundredweight is outside me, and since it does not belong to me, it is heavy. Let us imagine a being from Mars descending to the earth, knowing nothing about earthly things; and the first thing he sees is a man holding a weight in each hand. To begin with he would have to suppose that both these weights belong to the

man as if they were part of his hands, part of his whole being. If he then later had to accept the idea that the man feels a difference between the hundredweight and his hand, he would find it astonishing. We really only feel something as a weight if it is outside us. So that if man feels his limbs beginning to become heavy as he falls asleep, this is a sign that man goes out of his body, out of his physical being.

Much now depends upon a delicate observation, which can be made at the moment when the limbs grow heavy. A remarkable feeling appears. It tells us: 'You have done this – you have left this undone!' Like a living conscience the deeds of the previous day stand out. And if something is there that we cannot approve of we toss on our bed and cannot fall asleep. If we can be content with our action there comes a happy moment as we fall asleep, when a man says to himself: 'Could it always be so!' Then there comes a jolt – that is when man leaves his physical and ethereal body, and then a man is in the spiritual world.

Let us observe the moment of this phenomenon, which is like a living conscience, more exactly. A man has not really any power to do something reasonable, and tosses about on his bed. This is an unhealthy condition which prevents him from getting to sleep. It happens at the moment when we are about to leave the physical plane through falling asleep, in order to ascend into another world; but this is not willing to accept what we call our 'bad conscience'. A man cannot fall asleep because he is cast back by the world into which he should enter in sleep. Thus if we say that we will listen to our conscience about some action, this means that we have a presentiment of what the human being will need to be in future in order to enter the spiritual world.

Thus we have in astonishment an expression of what we have seen at an earlier time, and conscience is an expression of a future vision in the spiritual world. Conscience reveals whether we shall be horrified or happy, when we are able to behold our actions in the realm of spirit. Conscience is a presentiment that reveals prophetically how we shall experience our deeds after death.

Astonishment and the impulse towards knowledge on the one hand, and the conscience on the other—these are living

signs of the spiritual world. These phenomena cannot be explained without bringing in the spiritual worlds. A man will be more inclined to become an anthroposophist if he feels reverence and wonder before the facts of the world. The most developed souls are those which are able to feel wonder more and more. The less one can feel wonder, the less advanced is the soul. Human beings bring to the everyday things of life far less wonder than they bring for example to the starry sky in its majesty. But the real higher development of the soul only begins when one can feel as much wonder about the smallest flower and petal, about the most inconspicuous beetle or worm, as about the greatest cosmic events. These things are very remarkable; a man will generally be moved very easily to ask for the explanation of something which strikes him as sensational. People who live near a volcano for example will ask for the explanation of volcanic eruptions, because people in such regions have to be alert about such things and give them more attention than everyday affairs. Even people who live far away from volcanoes ask for an explanation of them, because these events are startling and sensational for them too. But when a man enters life with such a soul, that he is astonished about everything, because he feels something of the spiritual through all his surroundings, then he is not very much more astonished about a volcano than about the little bubbles and craters which he notices in a cup of milk or coffee on his breakfast table. He is just as interested in small things as in great things.

To be able to bring wonder everywhere – that is a memory of the vision before birth. To bring conscience everywhere into our deeds is to have a living presentiment that every deed which we fulfil will appear to us in the future in another form. Human beings who feel this are more predestined than others to find their way to spiritual science.

We live in a time in which certain things are being revealed which can only be explained through spiritual science. Some things defy every other explanation. People behave very differently towards such things. We have certainly in our time many human characters to observe, and yet within the great variety of shades of character we encounter two main qualities.

We can describe one group as meditative natures, inclined

towards contemplation, able everywhere to feel astonishment, feeling everywhere their conscience stirred. Many sorrows, many heavy melancholic moods can pile up in the soul if the longing for explanations remains unsatisfied. A delicate conscience can make life very difficult. Another kind of human being is present today. They have no wish for such an explanation of the world. All the things that are brought forward as explanations derived from spiritual research appear to them terribly dull, and they prefer to live actively and unheedingly, rather than asking for explanations. If you even begin to speak about explanations, they yawn at once. And certainly with people of this kind, conscience is less active than with the others. What is the source of such polarities in character? Spiritual science is ready to examine the reasons for the one quality of character, remarkable for its tendency towards meditation, its thirst for knowledge – while the other is prepared to enjoy life simply without seeking any explanation.

If the compass of the human soul is examined by means of spiritual research – one can only indicate these things, many hours would be needed to give a more thorough description – it can be found that many of those whose lives have a meditative quality, who need to seek explanations for what is around them, can be followed back to previous lives in which they had an immediate knowledge in their souls about the fact of reincarnation. Even today there are many human beings on earth who know it, for whom repeated earthly lives are an absolute fact. We need only think of those in Asia. Thus those men who in the present time lead a meditative life, are in the present connected with a previous incarnation in which they knew something about repeated earthly lives.

But the other, more insensitive natures come over from previous lives in which nothing was known about reincarnation. They have no impulse to burden themselves much with what conscience says about the deeds of their lives, or to be concerned much with seeking explanations. Very many people with us in the Occident have this quality; it is indeed the mark of occidental civilisation, that men have forgotten, so to speak, their earlier lives on earth. Indeed, they have forgotten them; but civilisation is standing at a turning point where a memory for former lives on earth will revive. Men who are living today

are going to meet a future which will have as its characteristic the renewal of connection with the spiritual world.

This is still the case only with very few human beings; but certainly in the course of the twentieth century it will become widespread. It will take this form; let us assume that a man has done something, and is troubled afterwards by a bad conscience. It is like this at the present time. But later, when the connection with the spiritual world has been restored, a man will feel impelled, after he has done this or that, to draw back from his action as if with blindfolded eyes. And then something like a dream picture, but one that is entirely living for him will arise; a future event, which will happen because of his deed. And men experiencing such a picture will say something like this to themselves: 'Yes, it is I who am experiencing this, but what I am seeing is no part of my past!'

For all those who have heard nothing of spiritual science this will be a terrible thing. But those who have prepared for what all will experience will say to themselves: 'This is indeed no part of my past, but I will experience it in the future as the karmic result of what I have just done.'

Today we are in the anteroom of that time, when the karmic compensation will appear to men in a prophetic dream-picture. And when you think of this experience in the course of time developing further and further, you can conceive the man of the future who will behold the karmic judgment upon his deeds.

How does something like this happen – that human beings become capable of seeing this karmic compensation? This is connected with the fact that human beings once had no conscience but were tormented after evil deeds by the Furies. This was an ancient clairvoyance which has passed away. Then came the middle period when they no longer saw the Furies, but what was brought about by the Furies previously now arose inwardly as conscience. A time is now gradually approaching in which we shall again see something – and this is the karmic compensation. That man has now developed conscience begins to enable him to behold the spiritual world consciously.

Just as some human beings in the present have become meditative natures because they acquired powers in earlier incarnations which reveal themselves – like a memory of these

lives – in the power of wonder, – in the same way the men of today will bring over powers into their next incarnation if they now acquire knowledge of the spiritual worlds. But it will go badly in the future world for those who today reject any explanation of the law of reincarnation. This will be a terrible fact for these souls. We are still living in a time in which men can manage their lives without any explanation of them which relates them to the spiritual worlds. But this period, in which this has been permitted by the cosmic powers, is coming to an end. Those men who have no connection with the spiritual world will awaken in the next life in such a way that the world into which they are born once more is incomprehensible to them. And when they leave once more the physical existence which has been incomprehensible to them, they will have no understanding either after death for the spiritual world into which they are growing. Of course they enter the spiritual world; but they will not grasp it. They will find themselves in an environment which they do not comprehend, which appears not to belong to them, and torments them as a bad conscience does. Returning once more into a new incarnation, it is just as bad; they will have all kinds of impulses and passions and will live in these, because they are not able to develop any wonder, as in illusions and hallucinations. The materialists of the present time are those who are going towards a future in which they will be terribly tormented by hallucinations and illusions; for what a man thinks in the present life, he experiences then as illusion and hallucination.

This can be conceived as an absolute reality. We can picture for example two men walking in a street together at the present time. One is a materialist, the other a non-materialist. The latter says something about the spiritual world; and the other says, or thinks: 'What nonsense! That is all illusion!' Indeed, for him, this is illusion, but for the other, who made the remark about the spiritual world, it is no illusion. The consequences for the materialist will begin to appear already after death, and then very definitely in the next earthly life. He will then feel the spiritual worlds as something that torments him like a living rebuke. In the period of Kamaloka between death and a new birth he will not feel the distinction between Kamaloka and the spiritual realm. And when he is born again, and the spiritual

world approaches him in the way that has been described, then it appears to him as something unreal, as an illusion, as a hallucination.

Spiritual science is not something intended simply to satisfy our inquisitiveness. We are not sitting here simply because we are more inquisitive than other people about the spiritual world, but because we have some feeling for the fact that human beings in the future will not be able to live without spiritual science. All efforts which do not take this fact into account will become decadent. But life is arranged in such a way that those who resist spiritual knowledge at the present time will have the opportunity to approach it in later incarnations. But there must be outposts. Human beings who through their karma have a longing for spiritual knowledge already in the present can become outposts through this. You have this opportunity because there must be outposts, and you can be among them. Other human beings who cannot yet come to spiritual knowledge according to their karma, even though they do not reject it, will find later the longing for spiritual knowledge arising within them, more from the general karma of mankind.

EPHESUS AND THE CASTLE OF THE GRAIL¹

EMIL BOCK

THE greatness of Rudolf Steiner's historic mission, in our age which stands under the inspiration of Michael, lay in his task to raise the power of intelligence, which had been given over to man, once more into spiritual heights. Anthroposophy is thus, as he himself often pointed out, a new and decisive stage in the spiritual development which leads on from Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas. Human intelligence had once to be brought out from the hidden realm of the Mysteries into the free daylight of everyday life. This happened when Aristotle gave his stamp to human thought, setting Europe upon its specific occidental path. What has to happen now is for Aristotelianism to be resurrected in the sense that now the realm of the Mystery can be entered once more with fully awakened intelligence. Through Thomas Aquinas a new stage was achieved, not once more for Europe as such, but for Christian Europe and the human intelligence connected with Christianity. The task of anthroposophy is now a further development and enhancement of Thomism through raising the spiritualised intelligence to a new knowledge of the supersensory world and in particular of the Mysteries of Christ.

It was of great significance for the pioneer achievements of Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas that they were not drawn from the practices and traditions of initiation in the Mysteries, which still existed behind the scenes of history. They were achieved through the conscious 'I', the free personality, in the clear daylight of public life. And this applies even more to the achievements of Rudolf Steiner. Nevertheless all that has matured in secret, cultivated by the Mysteries, and in quiet esoteric circles, is not without its share in these steps in human development, which are marked by Aristotelianism, Thomism and Anthroposophy. An indirect help and guardianship could come about in a Karmic way, as the great creative individuality which incarnated in Aristotle and Thomas, passed each time previ-

¹ Translated, by permission, from *Rudolf Steiner, Studien zu seinem Lebensgang und Lebenswerk*. (Verlag Freies Geistesleben, Stuttgart.)

ously through a short intervening incarnation which gave an opportunity for participation in the direct Mystery stream. Both these lives, conducted in the quiet background of history, had their particular poetry. The one which helped to prepare for the life of Aristotle had for its scene the Artemis Mystery at Ephesus; the one which preceded the incarnation as Thomas Aquinas fell in the ninth century, a time related with the present in a Karmic way to be considered here. At the same time in which Christendom was in conflict about the Holy Spirit, and the Eighth Ecumenical Council 'abolished' the spirit of man, the quiet groups of people concerned with the Round Table of Arthur and of the Grail offered to that individuality with which we are concerned, insight into the esoteric Christianity which was secure in its knowledge of the Holy Spirit.

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It will be understandable that the events in the ninth century concerned with the Grail, which provide the Karmic foundations of those opportunities for spiritual progress which are granted to the present time, cannot be described as directly as the external history of that period, which was the starting point for the dangers and disasters of present-day Europe. We can only feel our way through the veil of the legend towards the figures whose destiny formed the history of the Grail. We have to attempt an indirect approach.

Let us accompany in our thoughts the young Rudolf Steiner in Vienna, approaching his twenty-eighth birthday. He has a lively participation in two circles of people. One, consisting only of very few personalities, surrounds his respected teacher, Karl Julius Schröer. Here everything is concerned with Goethe. This circle is not concerned about the problems of Christianity. At the same time he shares the life of another circle which is particularly concerned with Christianity, consisting as it does largely in professors of theology who belong to the Cistercian Order. Here there is no favourable reaction to Goethe, so that Professor Schröer was there only once, on the occasion when he introduced his pupil Rudolf Steiner. He felt so much repelled by the aversion to Goethe of these men, and the pessimistic conception of the world which was connected

with this, that he never came again. In this circle another name stands at the centre: that of Thomas Aquinas. The doyen respected by all is Professor Karl Werner, writer of the great work about Thomas Aquinas.

This was the time in which Rudolf Steiner was struggling to take hold of the conception of reincarnation in a comprehensive way. The theoretical formulations about this which he encountered in theosophical circles were of no use to him. Destiny now brought it about that two moments struck him like lightning flashes in conversations that arose in each of the two groups. On 9th November 1888, a few months before his twenty-eighth birthday, Rudolf Steiner held a lecture about Goethe in the Vienna Goethe Society, at Schröer's suggestion. Afterwards, the most spiritually active of the Cistercian professors approached him and said: 'Thomas Aquinas.' Doubtless he only wished to say: What you have just described is in accordance with the thought of Thomas Aquinas. But his words tore apart like a flash of lightning the clouds of the centuries, releasing in the soul of the young Rudolf Steiner a vision of earlier times. The turning point in the thirteenth century became visible, when Thomas Aquinas and other Dominican teachers brought about the marriage between European thinking and Christian thinking.

Soon afterwards, about 1st February 1889, he visited his teacher Schröer. Two days earlier the tragedy of Meyerling had happened, Crown Prince Rudolf of Austria had taken his own life under dramatic circumstances. Naturally everyone in Vienna was deeply moved by this event. When Rudolf Steiner came to Schröer, Schröer said enigmatically: 'Nero.' Once more a curtain is torn apart and a penetrating vision becomes possible.

These two moments brought to Rudolf Steiner much more clarity about reincarnation than theoretical, philosophic considerations. But the two occasions were very different. In the first conversation a name was mentioned, which could then be the objective of a vision into the past. This vision reached back into the thirteenth century, when the great Dominican gave to European thinking its Christian stamp. In the conversation with Schröer it was not the word that was spoken, the content of the conversation, by which the vision into the past was

enkindled. Here it was the one who spoke who brought about the vision into the past. It was not so much a matter of Nero and his destiny, but that the one who said 'Nero' – this was then described thirty-five years later in the last of the Karma lectures – was none other than the reincarnated Plato. The vision into the past revealed the situation in Athens, when Plato had such varied pupils about him, among them Aristotle and that personality who was later reborn as Goethe.

At such moments a clear view became possible of the two significant turning-points: the world of Aristotle and the world of Thomas Aquinas.

The qualities of two environments become evident. That mood of the Middle Ages which was expressed when Professor Neumann spoke the name of Thomas Aquinas, remained for a time in the background, as if behind a cloud. Rudolf Steiner had first to develop with all his power the stream from ancient Greece which had revealed itself to him then, and became ever clearer. He had first to give to Goetheanism and Aristotelianism a form appropriate for the present. This he did in the early works written in the eighties and nineties. Only after the turn of the century could he occupy himself fully with Christianity. One can indeed perhaps read out of the karmic connections of Destiny the reason why Rudolf Steiner was unable to take up the task of including Christianity before the turn of the century. But then it was necessary for him.

When Rudolf Steiner was twenty-eight he was about to leave his native soil. At Midsummer 1889 he could make his first visit to Weimar. A few days before his journey, on 15th July 1889, he was standing in Graz beside Peter Rosegger at the grave of Robert Hamerling. A man was there laid in the earth, of whom we know from the Karma lectures that he too once belonged in Athens among the outstanding pupils of Plato. Here a completion was reached of what was possible on the native soil of Austria. Two or three days later Rudolf Steiner travels to Weimar. The way is free. In connection with Goethe, one of the great pupils of Plato, he can begin the foundation of his life work, during seven years at Weimar, bringing his contribution to the further development of human thought.

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We make a great leap to the end of the year 1910, when Rudolf Steiner held what can be called the first Christmas cycle, *Occult History*, in Stuttgart. The unprecedented thing was that he now began to describe concrete karmic connections on a great scale, with full emphasis upon his intention. He began to describe the figures of Aristotle and his pupil Alexander the Great, as if as paradigm of the studies in karma on which he was now setting out. He showed how figures of ancient Babylon, reaching back into the mythical period of the Mysteries, were reincarnated in these two individualities. In the third millennium before Christ, Alexander the Great has been *Gilgamesh*, and Aristotle has been Eabani the teacher and friend of Gilgamesh, a figure less conspicuous in external life, but all the more significant spiritually. Rudolf Steiner begins to reveal the karmic background which influences the first great turning-point, the foundation of European thinking. He will speak later in such a way that light falls upon the other turning-point, the foundation of a Christian development of intelligence by Thomas Aquinas.

It is important to see what acts of destiny preceded this revelation of Karma, which is like a herald of what is to come, in 1910. It can never be sufficiently emphasised that the unprecedented event took place at the beginning of 1910 that Rudolf Steiner brought from town to town the tidings of the new Christ-Event. After those days in January he spoke in many places of the appearance of the new ethereal revelation of Christ. He had begun in Stockholm. From this proclamation proceeded eventually the beginning of his artistic creative activities – for in this year the first of the four Mystery Plays, *The Portal of Initiation*, came into being, in which the first scene contains the event from which developed all the dramatic soul-processes of the four Mystery Plays: the Theodora scene in which the seeress beholds the ethereal Christ. What Rudolf Steiner said in lectures given at this time is important for an understanding of the purpose of the Mystery Plays: that through the announcement of the ethereal Christ a prophetic outlook for the future is opened up. For some millennia mankind has time to grow into the experience of the ethereal Christ; and a resurrection of clairvoyant capacity in the human soul will be connected with this. A torch for the future is lifted up

in this way; but it shines back too into the past, as far as it does into the future. The beholding of the ethereal Christ is at the same time a source of new knowledge about Karma. In the Mystery Plays the prophetic element is closely connected with such vision into the past; for after the way is made free through Theodora several human beings become able to look back into their own earlier lives on earth.

What happened between the first lectures about the ethereal Christ and the performance of the first Mystery Play at Munich in August?

In the course of this spring and summer the journeys made by Dr Steiner are particularly impressive. There is hardly any year in his life in which his journeys make a more striking pattern. In January 1910 he is in Stockholm, where in the course of a cycle about St John's Gospel he speaks for the first time about the coming of the ethereal Christ. He continues this theme in many towns, until in March he travels eastwards: in Vienna he gives the cycle *Microcosm and Macrocosm*. In April there follows a significant journey to Italy. First he visits Ravenna. Then Dr Steiner stays for some time in Rome; this had been prepared by a short visit to Rome in the previous year. Between Rome and Naples he goes to Monte Cassino, and is much concerned with this district, in which Thomas Aquinas spent his boyhood. He is particularly interested in any traces which are to be found of the qualities of soul characteristic of this life. It is not an accident that Rudolf Steiner prepared himself in the region, in which Benedict of Nursia founded the first Benedictine monastery, for the writing of the first Mystery Play, in which a central figure bears the name Benedictus. Finally the journey reaches Palermo; from far in the north he has reached a southern outpost of Europe. And from Sicily he goes straight back to Scandinavia. In Oslo the great cycle on the mission of the folk souls is given. It seems that something is necessary, that demands in a special way simultaneous contact with the furthest regions to the north and to the south.

It will not be unconnected with this pattern that this summer the first Mystery Play can come into being, and at the end of the year the first concrete cycle about Karma can be given. In addition the Karma cycle at Christmas was anticipated by

a preparatory cycle; at Whitsun, on the way from the furthest south to the furthest north, the lectures, *Revelations of Karma*, were held in Hamburg. It is to be seen: the theme of knowledge about Karma has become acute in a quite new way from that moment onwards where it became possible to proclaim the mystery of the ethereal Christ.

What is to be found in the cycle *Occult History* about karmic relationships? Through the figures of Aristotle and Alexander the Great we are led far into the past. The old Babylonian civilisation is spread out before us, in which man has not yet really come to the human measure. They are over life size, more vessels of higher beings than men; thus it is said of Gilgamesh that he is two thirds man, one third God. Greatness does not yet lie in the human individuality itself, but in the capacity to bear within one beings of the Hierarchies.

It is significant for our theme that in this cycle, given at Christmas in Stuttgart, a motif appears which is later developed; it is just indicated, that between the period of the life of Gilgamesh and Eabani in the third millennium before Christ, and the time of the appearance of Aristotle and Alexander at the culmination of Greek civilisation, which is then soon to decline, these two individualities were incarnated in a quiet environment. We are to be shown that it was necessary for Aristotle, before grasping the classical mission for Europe which he had to fulfil, had to pass through the intimate atmosphere of secluded Mysteries. For a moment an intermediate incarnation comes to light, without anything being said about the place or the time, and much less about names and the like. Only in a quite general way it is said that a mission like that of Aristotle cannot be fulfilled without the participation of the Mysteries, with their spiritual substance and intimacy, in the karmic paths of the individual human being. There was no initiation in the life of Aristotle. The special greatness of his achievement was to make exoteric, what had previously been guarded esoterically. But the intimate element is in the background.

We can here bring as an example, how Eabani in that incarnation of his, which lies between the personality of Eabani and that of Aristotle, could receive under the influence of the old Mystery teachings, with the powers that they bring down from

supersensible worlds, the qualities through which the human soul was developed in certain Mystery schools. . . . The soul of the pupil of the Mysteries had to pass through an education leading to a comprehensive, universal feeling of compassion and a universal feeling of fearlessness. Every soul passed through this, in those ancient Mysteries in which Eabani participated, in the incarnation that stands between Eabani and Aristotle. He too passed through this. And it appeared again in Aristotle like a memory of earlier incarnations. Thus he could give the theory of tragedy, because from such memories he realised as he contemplated Greek tragedy that an echo is present in this . . . of that education in the Mysteries in which the soul is purified by compassion and fear.

Thus Aristotle's theory of the nature of tragedy, that it educates human beings through compassion and fear, depends upon an immediate memory; the individuality of Aristotle himself had passed in an earlier time through a training in the Mysteries by means of compassion and fear. We realise that behind the tremendous work fulfilled by Aristotle, bringing knowledge into the exoteric realm, there lies a quiet place of the Mysteries through which Destiny has once led his soul. This is the womb in which European thinking had to develop before its birth. The torch of knowledge about Karma could shine back into the past as far as this at the end of the year 1910.

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We make once more a leap in time. On the Sylvester night between 1922 and 1923 the flames blaze out towards the sky, destroying the first Goetheanum. They do not only cause deep pain; they too are a mighty torch shining into the past. Through the flames of the burning Goetheanum another destruction by fire becomes visible. On the night of Alexander the Great's birth in 356 B.C. the great temple of Artemis at Ephesus, which was famous throughout the world, was set on fire and destroyed by the action of Herostratus. World history becomes transparent: through the flames at Dornach can be seen the flames at Ephesus. What does this reveal?

When the temple at Ephesus was burned, Aristotle was twenty-eight. He lived at Athens. By then he is following his own path; he had been for years Plato's pupil, and had gradually separated from him. It is plain that he has a task that

reaches far beyond Plato. The fire at Ephesus shook him profoundly. Why is this? What led to such an intimate relationship? Through the knowledge of Karma given after the burning of the Goetheanum we find that the gaze into the past through the flames at Dornach does not lead only to the burning of Ephesus, but reaches further. We see Ephesus about the year 500 B.C. There, in the quiet, intimate realm of the Mysteries the two individualities are incarnated, who will intervene in the course of history as Aristotle and Alexander not so very long afterwards. What had been shown at Christmas 1910 only in outlines is shown now clearly in its human detail.

A decisive alteration took place at Ephesus in the year 555. Until then the temple of Artemis upon the Ionian coast was a quiet and remote sanctuary, illumined by the Homeric sun. The holy tradition reached back through many centuries. Only with hesitant reverence was this temple thought of or spoken about in the world in general. Men recalled the times when Homer passed that way, about 1000 B.C. Then in the year 555, in the confusion of war, the place of Ephesian Mysteries was seized by the Lydian ruler, Cræsus; a town was founded by force in the immediate neighbourhood of the temple. Nothing more effective could have been done to disturb the intimate quietness of the place. Immediately before this catastrophic alteration, Pythagoras had been one of the last pupils of Ephesus while it was still unspoilt. As a young man he could receive still everything which Ephesus was able to give out of its ancient, holy traditions.

Just as Pythagoras was the last pupil of the old Ephesus, there was soon afterwards the first great man in the new Ephesus, who suffered bitterly from the changed conditions. This was Heraclitus. He was born in the new town, the child of a noble family. A fire burned within him which grew into hatred towards a humanity capable of profaning what is holy in such a way, and of reducing the sublime to superficiality. Thus in his maturity Heraclitus left behind him all his tasks among men, in profound bitterness, and lived as a hermit close to the temple. Since he was recognised and honoured in his spiritual greatness by the leaders of the temple, he was given a special position there. He was not a priest of Ephesus, but the priests of Ephesus were his pupils and listened to his teach-

ings. He had pupils too, who came there for his sake, but also took part in the life of the Mysteries. In the cycle given during the Christmas Foundation Meeting in 1923 Rudolf Steiner said that the two individualities who were later incarnated as Aristotle and Alexander shared in the last period of Heraclitus as his pupils. It is not impossible that one was a man and the other a woman at this time. The old Heraclitus was full of disgust about the profane world spread out in the new town, although it was his own birthplace. Through his temperament he was a peculiar representative of Ephesian wisdom. Rudolf Steiner described him vividly in his *Riddles of Philosophy*, where he shows that the conceptions of the early Greek philosophers had a significant connection with their individual temperaments. Thus the philosophy of Heraclitus originates in a choleric temperament. Concerned with the future, he always speaks about the importance of Becoming, never about the importance of Being. He speaks of Fire as the original principle of all things, because fire does not leave things as they are, but compels continual change. With this the saying is connected: (so often quoted) 'all things are in a flux'. It must have given a quite special impulse towards the experience of freedom, to have had such a teacher, who directed all thoughts which he possessed exclusively towards Becoming. Philo, the Jewish philosopher, writing in Greek, said that Heraclitus experienced the Logos in Fire just as Moses experienced Jahve in the burning bush. This is a particularly characteristic and illuminating comparison; for what was passed on to his pupils by the embittered hermit of Ephesus had something of the power and dynamic quality of great prophetic natures like Moses. We can picture the deep impression made upon both pupils by the death of their teacher about 470 B.C. Heraclitus must have been about sixty-five or seventy years old; we have for his life no exact dates.

A few sentences from the description of Heraclitus in *Riddles of Philosophy* may be quoted here:

An unprejudiced consideration is compelled to regard Heraclitus's conception of the world as an immediate expression of his choleric inner life. . . . A soul that expresses itself in such a choleric way finds itself akin to the destructive effect of Fire; it does not live in easy, quiet Being; it feels itself as at one with

'eternal Becoming'. A soul of this kind feels immobility to be nonsense; the famous sentence of Heraclitus is thus 'All things are in a flux'. It is only apparent, if enduring Being is to be seen anywhere. . . . Heraclitus's way to thought is usually described by means of the saying: one cannot step twice into the same stream – for the second time the water has changed. One of the pupils of Heraclitus, Cratylus, developed this saying further, by saying that one cannot even step once into the same stream. It is thus with everything; while we gaze at what appears to endure, it has already changed into something else in the general stream of existence.

One of the pupils of Heraclitus is named here; so that we have an indication for forming a conception of those two pupils of Heraclitus, whose names are not mentioned, in whom the two individualities with whom we are concerned prepared for their great European mission.

Here a small interpolation may be made. At a significant turning-point in history we find Pythagoras and Heraclitus in this way at Ephesus. When one pictures these great spirits there does one not have to think again and again of the fact that after the Mystery of Golgotha St Paul and St John worked at the same place? Figures of a similar comprehensive greatness of soul were then in action as messengers of Christ, just as once Pythagoras and Heraclitus lived there.

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In the course given during the Christmas Foundation Meeting, *World History in the Light of Anthroposophy*, Rudolf Steiner said many intimate things about the experience of Heraclitus's two pupils when they received the quintessence of Ephesus:

Now Destiny brought it about that the two personalities, of whom I spoke . . . reincarnated as adherents of the Mystery of Ephesus . . . thereby their souls were, in a manner, inwardly established.

That is to say, the overweight of the super-earthly, the preponderance of the cosmic, in which the two personalities had been involved (and in particular Gilgamesh), during the Babylonian period, is now balanced out. The mighty content

of the spiritual world can be received in such a way that it is related with the clarity of thought to the facts of earthly life.

And so these two personalities were able on the one hand to judge the spiritual of the higher world that came to them as a result of life experience and that lived in them as an echo from their earlier incarnations. And now, as the origin of the kingdoms of nature was communicated to them in the Mystery of Ephesus under the influence of the goddess Artemis, they were able to judge how the things on the earth external to man came into being. . . . And the life of these two personalities – which fell partly in the latter end of the time when Heraclitus was still living in Ephesus, and partly in the time that followed – became particularly rich inwardly, and was powerfully lit up from within with the light of great cosmic secrets.

It is also said:

During the time in Ephesus it was a relatively peaceful life, a digestion and an assimilation of all that had passed through their souls in earlier, more agitated times.

In Ephesus the two individualities could still feel the old order of the world echoing on, in which for example Asia was not yet felt as part of the earthly globe, but still as the lowest heaven. Echoes of this worked strongly in their souls. It is this which arises later in Aristotle and Alexander.

The whole of Asia – in the form that it had assumed in Greece, and in Ephesus in particular – was living in these two. . . . If we can form an idea of this, we can rightly estimate the fact that on the day on which Alexander was born, Herostratus threw the flaming torch into the sanctuary of Ephesus; on the very day on which Alexander was born, the temple of Diana of Ephesus was treacherously burnt to the ground. It was gone never to return. Its monumental document, with all that belonged to it, was no longer there. It existed only as a historical mission in the soul of Alexander and in his teacher Aristotle. . . . You will now be in a position to appreciate the resolve that Alexander made in his soul: to restore to the East what she had lost; to restore it at least in the form in which it was preserved in Greece, as a shadowy picture. Hence his idea of making an expedition into Asia, going as far as it was possible to go, in order to bring to the East once more – albeit in the shadow form in which it still existed in the Grecian culture – what she had lost.

Thus when Aristotle and Alexander were living this stream reached an end – but continued through these two personalities. The impulse for Alexander's conquests was derived from it, on the one side, and on the other the great teaching activity of Aristotle. The one goes eastwards seeking to fertilise the interior of Asia with the European spirit. The teaching of Aristotle seeks to translate what comes from the east into western thoughts.

But what concern us particularly in relation to Ephesus are the descriptions given by Rudolf Steiner in order to bring us with our feelings into the special environment of the temple of Ephesus. He brings before us in living colours the cosmic, poetic quality of this environment. In the lectures held at Torquay in 1924 he says:

Strong and powerful influences of initiation formed themselves into that temple, where on the eastern side there stood the statue of the goddess Diana that has become known to the world – the goddess of fertility, who expresses the abundant fertility which is everywhere in nature. The greatest secrets of existence, profound spiritual mysteries, were expressed in words, when conversations were held sometimes immediately after those taking part in the Mysteries had received mighty influences at the rituals, in all their detail, in the temple of Ephesus. There were profound conversations which continued this; when those who had taken part in the ritual had left the temple, and perhaps at the time when the outer world is most fruitful for such things, in the twilight of evening, they would walk along the path leading from the door of the temple into a wood through which there were many wonderful paths – a wood where the trees were deep green towards blackness, and the footpaths vanished into beautiful distances away from Ephesus in different directions.

Those who take part in the Mysteries come out in the evening, deeply impressed by the ceremonies in which they have taken part and walk along the carefully laid out paths through the dark grove surrounding the temple; and they hold conversations, in which a teacher may say to his pupil:

See – we are walking through the twilight. Sleep, which reveals the divine world, which makes it visible, will soon come to us. Regard thyself in thy whole human form. From the earth the plants are growing; around us is the wonderful wood, casting its

shadows in the twilight, in its green, darkening twilight. The first stars are already beginning to sparkle above us. Gaze upon all this. Behold its majesty and sublimity, and behold too the ever-springing, quickening life both above and below. Then, behold thyself. Think how within thee there lives and weaves a whole universe.

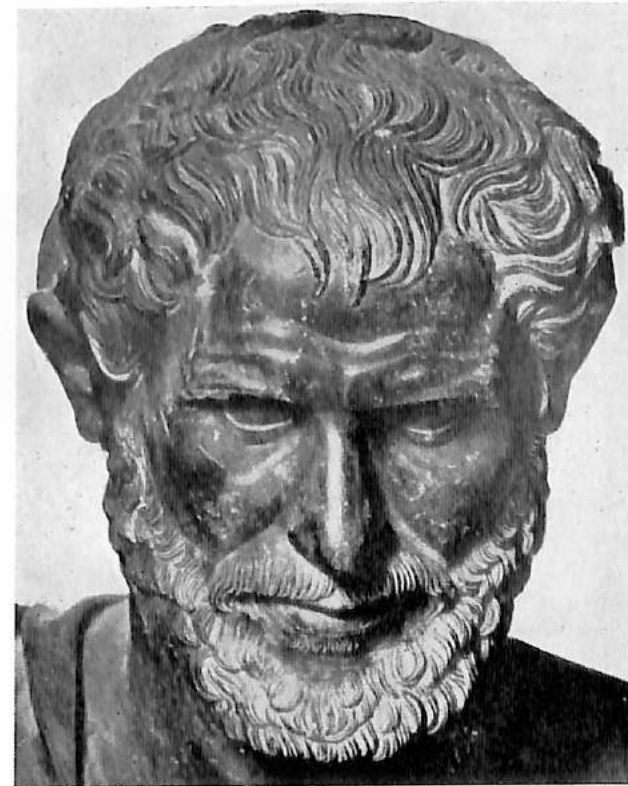
We feel the magic of such conversations, held in the evenings in the wonderful environment of the holy groves about Ephesus. In such conversations the teacher brought the pupil into connection with Persephone, the goddess Natura – with the spiritual powers in the kingdoms of nature. Through this mood we see how the cosmic poetry of such an environment formed the necessary maternal womb for the achievement of Aristotle, which turned entirely towards the outer world, a century later.

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In the lectures given after the burning of the Goetheanum, in particular during the Christmas Foundation Meeting, there is a clear description too of the great turning-point which followed in the thirteenth century. The two figures, who form again and again the paradigm in the consideration of Karma, now work within the Dominican Order. Aristotle has returned in the personality of Thomas Aquinas. The name of the other individuality is not mentioned; he does not stand historically in the foreground. If we may say that it was earlier a question of Europe – now it is a question of Christianity. The problem arises: how is the development of the human intelligence to proceed, after the Mystery of Golgotha?

To speak in detail about Thomas Aquinas would lead too far. Here we shall consider the intimate preparation for the incarnation as St Thomas. Just as Rudolf Steiner showed how the quiet mystery womb of Ephesus prepared the incarnation of Aristotle, directed into the external world, he indicated with a few brush strokes at least, before the incarnation of Thomas Aquinas, an intermediate incarnation in a corresponding realm of the Mysteries, which has again a quiet, poetic character.

We come here to two passages in lectures belonging to the year 1924, and observe their tentative, guarded way of expression. These things are never said bluntly. The intimate character of these incarnations which lie between is reflected



ARISTOTLE

From Herculaneum (probably fourth century B.C.) from
The Legacy of Greece (O.U.P.)



ALEXANDER THE GREAT
From the Louvre: perhaps an early copy from
a portrait-statue by Lysippos

in the way they are described. In the Karma lectures given at Torquay in August 1924, it is shown how Aristotle and Alexander, while in the spiritual worlds, do not only observe what has become of their activity on earth; they see too how an entirely new impulse has entered human evolution through the Mystery of Golgotha. They experience how Christ becomes man. For the earth this is His coming; but they experience it from the side of the Sun where this has the significance of a departure. Christ must leave the Sun and the souls who are there concerned experience the pain of a Good Friday, when on earth there is the Christmas Event. The two individualities realise that everything through which they have passed, everything that they have achieved, in their destiny up to now, must change utterly; a great turning-point is necessary.

Since their Karma brought them down into earthly life before this event with the meeting of Haroun al Raschid had happened, [it is described that in A.D. 869 the individualities of Aristotle and Alexander, in their life after death, had a spiritual encounter with the individualities who were incarnated in the Arabian civilisation as Haroun al Raschid and his adviser. Before this happened –] they lived as unregarded, unknown personalities, who died early, in a corner of Europe that is indeed important for Anthroposophy; looking in as if briefly through a window into western civilisation, and receiving impressions and impulses, but not imparting significant impulses themselves. This they had to reserve for later.

A second passage is contained in the fourth volume of the Dornach Karma lectures.

Thus Alexander and Aristotle lived on. Their real individualities entered only once briefly into earthly life during the first Christian centuries – in a region interesting from anthroposophical points of view – and returned into the spiritual world, where they were at a time when Haroun al Raschid and his adviser had already left the physical plane for some time. Aristotle and Alexander followed other paths; their real incarnations went with the development of Christianity, westwards.

This quiet intermediate incarnation has its significance in the fact that the two individualities are now able to find a change of direction, from the mood of Greece into Christianity.

What is the corner of Europe which is important for Anthroposophy? This is the corner of Europe where three countries touch: France, Switzerland and Germany – and three mountain ranges meet: the Black Forest, the Vosges and the Swiss Jura. It is the region near the bend in the Rhine where Basel stands, and in the country behind it – as behind the place between the eyes there is the point of the ego – the hill on which the Goetheanum was built. On the day before the Foundation Stone of the first Goetheanum was laid, in September 1913, Rudolf Steiner wrote to Freiherr von Bernus who had offered a site near Heidelberg for the building:

Karma has indicated this point so clearly that I would not dare any longer to offer the Johannesbauverein any other advice, than to build here. . . . I must say that every day fresh spiritual reasons become evident to me, which show the point that has been pressed upon us in a sense as the right one. So I can have no reason any more against laying here tomorrow after sunset, the foundation stone.

Thus he indicates the complex Karmic background which led to the building of the Goetheanum on the Dornach hill and nowhere else. When the foundation stone was laid next day Rudolf Steiner said in his address:

We stand at this moment, led by Karma, at the place through which have passed important spiritual streams: let us feel this evening the earnestness of the situation.

Through Karma they were led to the hill, over which important spiritual streams had passed. The environment of the Goetheanum belongs in fact to the region of this intermediate incarnation, just as Ephesus was the place of the earlier intermediate incarnation. The landscape of the Goetheanum is like another Ephesus. A deep karmic connection unites the temple of Ephesus and the first Goetheanum; this comes to expression in the fact that they were both destroyed by fire at night.

What led Rudolf Steiner first to this place behind Basel, which according to the legend goes back to a foundation by Gilgamesh? – In May and June 1906, the important congress took place in Paris, which was eventful in many ways; for one thing, Rudolf Steiner met Edouard Schuré for the first time. Elsewhere I have written in detail about the significance of this

Alsatian poet and writer in Rudolf Steiner's destiny; Schuré's poetic dramas about the Mysteries were those which were performed in Munich before Rudolf Steiner's Mystery Plays. In Schuré Rudolf Steiner encountered a man who brought with him a particular karmic substance. This was particularly expressed in his enthusiastic support for Richard Wagner's work. He gave this because Wagner had developed and realised the idea of Mystery drama in a festival theatre, and because he developed the Grail myths in artistic form. After Dr Steiner and Edouard Schuré had met in Paris Dr Steiner visited Bayreuth for the first time and attended *Parsifal*. Whether that had been arranged earlier, or came about through the encounter with Schuré, can be left open; but the two events belong together. At the beginning of September Dr Steiner is for more than a week Edouard Schuré's guest, at Baar at the foot of the Odilienberg. This is proved by a letter of 8th September from Baar. The two had much to discuss. It was a significant moment, when they both climbed the Odilienberg. They talked particularly about the figure of St Odilie in the eighth century. Rudolf Steiner said: 'I do not really find the figure of St Odilie here. She is for me to be found directly in Arlesheim.'

St Odilie took refuge in a cell near the hermitage in Arlesheim, when she had to flee from her father. Arlesheim was at this time a great estate belonging to the lord of the Odilienberg. The monastery was founded later. Thus in 1906 Rudolf Steiner already knew the landscape where the Goetheanum was later to be built. He had been several times to Basel to give lectures. Immediately after his stay with Schuré on the Odilienberg the group in Basel was founded on 19th and 20th September, and on 19th November a public lecture was given on St John's Gospel. Basel soon became an important centre for Rudolf Steiner's work; from the start his predominant theme there was esoteric Christianity. A whole series of important cycles on the Gospels were held in Basel: a cycle of eight lectures on St John's Gospel (not identical with the published cycle) in 1907, the cycle on St Luke's Gospel in ten lectures in 1909 and the cycle on St Mark's Gospel in 1912. In between there came in 1911 the lecture on the etherisation of the blood, the heart of all the lectures dealing with the ethereal Christ. During the

course on St Mark's Gospel in September 1912 Dr Steiner was offered the site on the Dornach hill, after the plan for a building for the Mystery Plays in Munich had failed. He went to look at the site, and the decision was made that the building should be erected there. Thus destiny led to this point in Europe, which is so significant for Anthroposophy and for human history in general.

Can these events, which shine into the present from the depths of the past, with their intimate karmic relationships, be described more concretely? We can think once more of the journey through Italy taken by Rudolf Steiner in 1910, during which he contemplated the region around Monte Cassino, and went as far as Palermo, where he held a lecture about Empedocles. He was only in Rome for a few days; but he spoke later, in the cycle, *Christ and the Spiritual World*, about a significant moment during these days in Rome. He describes how for a long time he had not really found what it meant, when it was said that the name of Parsifal appeared upon the Grail. Many indications brought to him by destiny had remained without result.

Once more, I did not know what to do with the impression which I received, coming out of St Peter's at Rome, from Michelangelo's sculpture, which is there on the right side; the mother with Jesus, the mother who still looks so young, with the body of Jesus upon her knees. Under the influence of seeing this work – not like a vision, but as a true Imagination from the spiritual world – there appeared the picture which is inscribed in the Akashic record which shows us Parsifal, after he has left the Grail Castle for the first time. He has not asked there about the mysteries which are ruling there. In the wood he meets a young woman, who holds the body of her betrothed upon her knees, and mourns for him. I knew that this picture had a meaning – whether it is the mother or the bride who has lost her bridegroom (for Christ is often called the Bridegroom). The connection, which had come about in truth without my action, I knew to be significant.

Thus there arises before Rudolf Steiner's soul, as he leaves St Peter's with the impression that follows from looking at Michelangelo's *Pietà*, a picture which is a scene from the story of the Grail: Sigune with the body of Schionatulander, her

bridegroom, upon her knees. Parsifal is passing upon his way, and sees this picture, and is deeply moved. Rudolf Steiner has said in conversation that this scene of the Grail story happened historically in the neighbourhood of the Goetheanum, once more near the hermitage at Arlesheim, where St Odilie had taken refuge a hundred years before from her father. Further, he indicated that behind these two figures of the Grail story are hidden historic personalities, in whom the two individualities whom we are considering passed through a quiet intermediate incarnation.

In the Grail story history is contained in a disguised form. It does not quote places and times in a historical sense but wraps them in the protecting veil of mythical, imaginative pictures. But we may be certain that historical facts are behind the mythical scenes. Behind the mythical figures there are human beings who actually lived. They are personalities of the ninth century. Once more there is spread before us a wonderful, cosmically poetic environment, balancing that of Ephesus: the woodland landscape of the Grail, the forest of Soltane, into which Herzeleide withdrew and bore her son Parsifal, hoping to protect him from the temptations of the world. This woodland region, with the particular quality which it acquired at this turning point of European history, extending into Alsace and into the Jura, provides us with a background against which the quiet events of the ninth century can be pictured. I do not say that one could fix a particular point as that of the Grail Castle. Surely one should not picture the Grail Castle as an externally visible building at all. But if we speak of the landscape in the further environment of the Goetheanum we are treading at the same time tentatively the region of the Grail.

What does this mean?

Ordinarily the figure of Parsifal is regarded as the centre of the Grail story. But one can think too that Schionatulander and Sigune are not less central in the events of the time. The scene in which Parsifal encounters the *Pietà* group, Sigune with the body of Schionatulander upon her knees, is told by Wolfram von Eschenbach in his great Parsifal epic. But there exists too a fragment of another poem by Wolfram von Eschenbach, planned on a great scale, called *Titarel*. If this had been written down and preserved in its entirety, the hero would have

been Schionatulander. The parts which we have are concerned entirely with this figure. In the old French form of the Grail story written by Chrétien de Troyes Schionatulander also appears, though his name is not mentioned. But there is also a more recent form of the Grail story, which is more comprehensive: the *Titurël* epic by Albrecht von Scharffenberg. This includes, with great detail, the content of both epics by Wolfram, the *Parsifal* and the *Titurël*. It is striking that here not Parsifal but Schionatulander is the hero. His destiny is described at great length; thus a figure stands clearly before us, which must interest us particularly in the great historic connections which we are considering.

Who are Sigune and Schionatulander?

Sigune belongs to the Grail family. *Titurël* was followed as King of the Grail by his son *Frimutel*. The children of *Frimutel* are the brothers, *Amfortas* and *Trevrizent*, and the three sisters, *Schoisane*, *Herzeleide* and *Repanse de Schoie*. *Schoisane* dies when her daughter *Sigune* is born. *Sigune* is brought up by *Herzeleide*, before she becomes the wife of *Gahmuret*. When there is no prospect yet that she will become the mother of *Parsifal* she is *Sigune's* foster-mother. She belongs to the closest circle of those who guard the Grail. And who is *Schionatulander*? He is the grandson of *Gurnemanz*. But *Gurnemanz* is in the old stories not a knight of the Grail, as he is in Wagner (Wagner called *Trevrizent Gurnemanz*); he is a characteristic figure among the knights of King Arthur. *Schionatulander* was as a boy a page of the French queen *Anfiese*. She gives him to *Gahmuret*, and he grows up as his page. According to certain statements of Rudolf Steiner he received instruction in the art of the troubadours, so that he can enliven those around him through the power of music and poetry. When *Gahmuret* went for his first journey to Arabia, soon after the death of *Haroun al Raschid*, he took *Schionatulander* with him as page, so that he too acquired an impression of the world of Arabism, of the civilisation of Islam. Then he came back with him to Europe. *Gahmuret* married *Herzeleide*; and with her *Schionatulander* found *Sigune*. Now there began between these two young people a wonderful love story, which is comparable to the archetypal epic of love which tells of *Flor* and *Blancheflore*. The romance of *Schionatulander* and *Sigune* is described in

full. But then *Schionatulander* had to depart, accompanying *Gahmuret* once more to Bagdad to the court of the Caliph. He was now a mature and active man. *Gahmuret* was then killed by treachery and *Schionatulander* had the heavy task of bringing home this news. *Herzeleide* received the tragic tidings of her husband's death just as *Parsifal* was born to her. *Schionatulander* became the regent of the countries which belonged to *Herzeleide*. In all the countries of the world he had to endure adventures and knightly battles, fulfilling the ideal of a knight of the Round Table. One day he was brought the most precious gifts, sent to him from Bagdad by the Caliph. *Schionatulander* travelled once more, for the third time, plunging again into the world of Arabism.

After his return something happened which has a legendary character; the story of the Hound's Leash. *Sigune* and *Schionatulander* were in a wood when a hound, which was on one side cinnabar red and on the other black, with a white breast and white legs, broke out of the undergrowth following game. They caught the hound, which had a long and precious leash wound round its neck on which there was a writing formed in jewels. When they caught him and were beginning to read the writing on the leash, the hound pulled itself free and dashed away. *Sigune* had then the one longing, to read the hound's leash to its end. This knowledge became more important for her than anything else. For her sake *Schionatulander* had to set out on adventure, until he could bring back to her the hound's leash. In these pictures we can recognise that it is a question of occult knowledge which concerns *Schionatulander* and *Sigune*. Then the angry *Orilus* came and killed *Schionatulander*. In this way the picture came about of the bride by the wayside mourning her dead bridegroom. Then *Parsifal* came, and was deeply moved by this sight.

This is told differently in different versions. In Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parsifal* is still at the beginning of his pilgrimage. He had just forced his way as a young fool into the tent of *Jeschute*, the wife of *Orilus*, and taken from her her ring and bracelet. *Orilus* pursued him furiously in order to avenge this deed. But he met *Schionatulander* instead of *Parsifal*. When *Parsifal* came along this way immediately afterwards he saw the dead man, who was killed in his place, upon the knees of his

bride who was stunned by grief. In Chrétien de Troyes the course of events is different. Parsifal had already been in the Castle of the Grail. But he had failed; he did not ask the question. On the next morning, driven from the realm of the sanctuary, he was in a lonely region. He saw then the image of the *pietà*: Sigune with the dead Schionatulander. Through the deep shock that he experienced a dim sense of his own failure began to arise in his consciousness. And Sigune gave to him, although she herself was sunk in deep sorrow, the first instruction into the meaning of the Grail. She reproached him, for not having asked the question. In Wolfram von Eschenbach's account she tells Parsifal his own name. When he said what his mother called him – *cher fils, beau fils* – she recognised in the intonation that he was the son of Herzeleide, with whom she was so closely connected.

We can see what follows from the different versions. In Wolfram von Eschenbach the scene in which Parsifal met the *pietà* group is near the cell where Trevrizent lived as a wise hermit. This is to be pictured in the valley behind Arlesheim where the slope up into the hills begins. In Chrétien de Troyes the same scene is in the immediate neighbourhood of the Castle of the Grail, in the place where Parsifal on the morning after his failure passed again, driven out from the sacred halls into the lonely, deserted region. Then he saw the mourning woman and the dead man and Sigune began to explain to him how he had failed. In one description the place is near Trevrizent's hermitage, in the other it is near the Castle of the Grail. Does it not follow that these places are near to one another? We leave the question open. In any case we are in the region of the Grail, and the hill at Dornach upon which the Goetheanum has been built in our time touches in some way the perhaps extensive region where those people lived, who were the guardians of the Holy Grail. We need not pursue the question of what stood particularly at this place in the ninth century. The hermitage of Trevrizent must also have been the place where Sigune afterwards guarded the grave of Schionatulander and to which Kundrie la Sorcière brought to her from the Castle of the Grail on every Saturday the most necessary food and drink. This will be the same hermitage, to which Parsifal came eventually and received the great instruction in the Grail

from Trevrizent. The place of the Grail Castle itself we have to leave open, according indeed to its characteristically indefinite position among the historic events.

Thus Schionatulander, as one come from the circle of King Arthur's knights, had come this way; if Orilus had not killed him he would have been one of those in whom the Arthur stream and the Grail stream met and permeated one another. In Parsifal this really happened. Schionatulander died before the pre-Christian Mystery stream – Rudolf Steiner spoke indeed of a 'pre-Christian Christianity' – and the Christian Mystery stream could unite. What did he take with him through the gate of death? Certainly above all the impulse to go in his coming life the whole way, which he has just had to leave uncompleted; to help decisively in the encounter between the pre-Christian wisdom and Christian wisdom. Thus came the thirteenth century in which the great Dominicans, led by Thomas Aquinas, made the first step towards this achievement, leading human thought towards its permeation by Christ. The complete fulfilment of this task begins to arise for us above the horizon of history, when we see how a great arch reaches from the ninth century, the century of the Holy Grail, into the present time.

We should be quite clear that it is not a question in this connection of simply regarding the steps of an individuality through repeated lives on earth as equivalent to one another. With such outstanding personalities as Rudolf Steiner quite different standards apply. Nevertheless, with all necessary reserve, we can make clear to ourselves the following steps in the spiritual evolution of humanity. The great steps lead from Eabani to Aristotle, from Aristotle to Thomas Aquinas, from Thomas Aquinas to Anthroposophy and the man who brought it into being. But the intermediate steps are not without their significance. Through these, the quiet Mysteries made their contribution to the wide, exoteric history of human thought, with its increasing consequences for civilisation. The contemplation of a quiet environment, filled with the deeply felt cosmic poetry, which could pour an esoteric mood into what had to be developed exoterically – the contemplation both of the Mysteries of Ephesus and the forest of the Grail region with its spiritual atmosphere, can help us to accom-

pany with our souls the steps which must be taken by the spirit.

In the present, the life work of Rudolf Steiner has accomplished a synthesis of all those significant steps, taken in the past by the outstanding individuality here described. In Greece, Europe was born as bearer of thought; in the Middle Ages a Christian life was born which was permeated by thought. In the present time the seeds have been sown of a spiritual civilisation for all humanity, derived from a thinking that becomes capable of seeing. This will include the gift of the time of Heraclitus, an inner Ephesus, and the gift of the ninth century, an inner realm of the Grail.

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POETRY AND KNOWLEDGE IN AN AGE OF SCIENCE

CHARLES DAVY

THE editors have asked me if I could carry a little further some of the points raised in my book, *Words in the Mind*,¹ and bring them rather nearer to Anthroposophy. I did not try to introduce Anthroposophy at all directly into the book, partly because that would have meant writing a different kind of book, and partly because the relation of poetry to Anthroposophy raises questions which (as we shall see later) I cannot answer.

Poetry has two meanings – this familiar theme was one of my starting-points. The other was Paul Valéry (1871-1945), whose poems, *Le Cimetière Marin* and *La Jeune Parque*, I was struggling to translate. When I got to know more about his life and his views on poetry, I found that this second starting-point was close to the first. For in Valéry the two meanings of poetry symbolised a conflict which helped to silence him as a poet for twenty years.

By these two meanings I mean that poetry has, first, an ordinary rational meaning which can be paraphrased in prose. It has also a musical, 'magical' meaning, and this cannot be paraphrased. Take the opening lines of Tennyson's *Morte D'Arthur*:

So all day long the noise of battle rolled
Among the mountains by the winter sea.

The sense of these lines can easily be rendered in prose:

A noisy battle was fought, lasting all day, among the
mountains by the sea in winter.

But the magical effect has disappeared.

Clearly, the magical meaning is the distinctive mark of poetry. It is not all that matters, by a long way. In the best poetry the two meanings play into and enrich each other. But unless we respond to and experience the magical meaning, we shall get little from poetry that we could not get from prose.

¹ Faber, 1965.

But we can ask whether the experience of the magical meaning is more than a transient pleasure, even a self-indulgence. This question forced itself on the young Valéry; he was strongly drawn to poetry, but no less strongly to the cool clarity and rigour of modern scientific thinking. Poetry gave a special kind of aesthetic pleasure – it created in the reader the delightful ‘poetic state’ – but for truth, for reliable knowledge about the world, one had to go, he felt, to science. In him, as I said in the book, the ‘two cultures’ met and almost sterilised each other.

In reading Valéry’s views on poetry, we have to remember that he was always fighting against the drily academic way of teaching poetry in the French schools of his time; of teaching children to analyse and paraphrase it – exactly what cannot be done to poetry without destroying its magical effects. The process may be useful as a preliminary means of getting to understand the ordinary meaning of a poem, but in itself it draws children away from experiencing poetry and makes them look on it merely as material for a tedious exercise. Valéry therefore always emphasised that in poetry the magical element is the essential, operative element. He even wished there could be a ‘pure poetry’, made up solely of magical phrases and rhythms and including no ideas that could be dissected out and pinned down for examination on their own account. Poetry would then have attained to the condition of music. But he knew that this was an unattainable ideal, for words, however magically interwoven, always have some ordinary meaning, some reference to things or events or ideas. And when, at the age of forty-one, he started to write poetry again, the poems he wrote were by no means devoid of ideas; he was a natural intellectual and his poetry is woven largely out of his thoughts. But for him the ideas were not very important. He used them as a means of enabling him to write the magical-musical poetry he liked writing.

A rather similar attitude towards the two meanings of poetry was taken by Valéry’s near-contemporary, A. E. Housman. Unlike Valéry, Housman very seldom wrote or spoke about poetry, but he did so on one occasion, in his celebrated Leslie Stephen lecture, *The Name and Nature of Poetry*, given at Cambridge in 1933. In my book I quoted a few words from this

lecture in a footnote, but it is now not very easily accessible and I will add a little more about it here.

‘I think’, Housman says, ‘that to transfuse emotion – not to transmit thought but to set up in the reader’s sense a vibration corresponding to what was felt by the writer – is the peculiar function of poetry. . . . When I examine my mind and try to discern clearly in the matter, I cannot satisfy myself that there are any such things as poetical ideas. No truth, it seems to me, is too precious, no observation too profound, and no sentiment too exalted to be expressed in prose.’ Housman therefore concludes that ‘poetry is not the thing said but a way of saying it’, and he asks whether there can be ‘such a thing as pure unmingled poetry, poetry independent of meaning?’ To this question Housman gives no immediate answer, but a little later he answers it indirectly when he says: ‘For me the most poetical of all poets is Blake. I find his lyrical note as beautiful as Shakespeare’s and more beautiful than anyone else’s; and I call him more poetical than Shakespeare, even though Shakespeare has so much more poetry, because poetry in him preponderates more than in Shakespeare over everything else, and instead of being confounded in a great river can be drunk pure from a slender channel of its own. Shakespeare is rich in thought, and his meaning has power of itself to move us, even if the poetry were not there: Blake’s meaning is often unimportant or virtually non-existent, so that we can listen with all our hearing to his celestial tune. Even Shakespeare, who had so much to say, would sometimes pour out his loveliest poetry in saying nothing.

Take O take those lips away
That so sweetly were forsworn
And those eyes, the break of day,
Lights that do mislead the morn;
But my kisses bring again,
bring again,
Seals of love, but seal’d in vain,
seal’d in vain.

That is nonsense; but it is ravishing poetry.’

Housman’s lecture has been strongly attacked, and with some cause, for its debilitating anti-intellectual tendency. It was meant to be provocative, and some of its critics may not have

allowed quite enough for that. But they were right to insist that 'Take O take those lips away' (from *Measure for Measure*) is not nonsense. It is the plaint of a lover who has been in some way deceived but is still in love – or still wishes to be in love. However, the effect of the lines does not depend on our deciding exactly what the song is about. The words evoke something else, a poetic meaning we can feel but cannot exactly define. Now let us revert to our previous, easier example and try to come closer to what this poetic meaning is.

So all day long the noise of battle rolled
Among the mountains by the winter sea.

The key word here, for me, is *winter*. In this context it calls up partly a picture, though not a very sharp or detailed one, of the wintry scene, and with this a strong impression of wintriness, of something essential in the nature of winter. What seems to happen is that the word is enhanced by being set in a certain pattern of sound and meaning with other words, and out of this pattern there shoot out rays – represented on the physical level by nerve-currents, perhaps – which penetrate down below the conscious mind; they call up images, echoes, associations from the unconscious, and these hover like a sort of cloud round the ordinary meaning of the word. So the word is enhanced; and one can feel in reading poetry that a quite ordinary word may have within it, coiled up within it as it were, a fiery expansive energy which is released when the word is brought into the magnetic field of poetry. Compare the effect of *winter* in 'I hope we shall have a mild winter' with the *winter* in Tennyson's lines.

Many other examples could be given; the first that occurs to me is of another season, from Tennyson again, his ballad of the last fight of Sir Richard Grenville's ship, the *Revenge*:

And the sun went down and the stars came out, far over
the summer sea.

Here is an evocation of one kind of experience of summer – of course there are others. For me the experience is not this time bound up so much with the effect of one word, summer; and summer is in itself a less potent word than winter, perhaps. But the line has for me some magical power: it evokes a great

luminous expanse, a calm expanse, the experience of a summer night which is yet almost as luminous as the day.

Hence Housman's remark that 'to transfuse emotion . . . is the peculiar function of poetry' seems to me misleadingly incomplete. Poetry calls up inner pictures, images, of a special kind; they are tinged with feeling, but the feeling accompanies a perception of essences, the opening of an inner eye.

In these effects the sheer sound of words can play an important part, but again a part only. Yeats's line

And on my leaning shoulder she laid her snow-white hand

has a wonderful music of vowel-sounds, but if it is torn out of its context in *Down by the Salley Gardens*, most of its poetic meaning is lost.

A further effect of poetry is that a line or a few lines will call up a sort of half-memory of lines from other poems. This half-memory is rather curious: one feels it is there, somewhere down in the mind, but one may not be able to lay hold of it clearly. Tennyson's line, 'And the sun went down . . .', called up for me a half-memory of some lines from C. K. Scott Moncrieff's translation of the old French epic, *The Song of Roland* (Chapman and Hall, 1920), but I could not be sure of them without turning to the text:

Passes the day, the darkness is grown deep,
But all the stars burn, and the moon shines clear.

Linked in memory with these lines is part of the last stanza of the epic; and since Scott Moncrieff's translation – begun in 1918, when 'the sound of the olifant came so often and so direfully across the Channel' – seems to be almost unknown nowadays, I will give the lines with which the *Song* abruptly concludes. (The first of the two lines quoted above recurs here, as it does elsewhere in the poem.) Charlemagne has defeated the pagans at the great battle of Rencesvals and is hoping for a time of rest at last:

Passes the day, the darkness is grown deep,
And now that King in's vaulted chamber sleeps.
Saint Gabriel is come from God, and speaks:
'Summon the hosts, Charlès, of thine Empire,
Go thou by force into the land of Bire,

King Vivien thou'lt succour there, at Imphe,
 In the city which pagans have besieged.
 The Christians there implore thee and beseech.
 Right loth to go, that Emperour was he:
 'God!' said the King: 'My life is hard indeed!'
 Tears filled his eyes, he tore his snowy beard.

Scott Moncrieff's translation is one of the rare examples of the use of assonance, or partial rhyme, in English verse.

Before we revert to the operative power of words and go on from there to the history of language, I will add that something akin to these half-memories may occur in the writing of poetry, for a poem will sometimes owe its inception to promptings which arise from the unconscious in a sort of nascent form, not yet clearly verbalised. One might have supposed that a poet first has an idea or a theme and that from this consciously chosen subject he develops a poem. Certainly this may often happen, but not always. In one of his essays, 'The Music of Poetry', Eliot says: 'I know that a poem, or a passage of a poem, may tend to realise itself first as a particular rhythm before it reaches expression in words, and that this rhythm may bring to birth the idea and the image.'¹ Valéry tells us that 'my poem *Le Cimetière Marin* began in me with a rhythm, that of a French line . . . of ten syllables, divided into four and six. I had as yet no idea with which to fill out the form. Gradually a few hovering words settled in, little by little determining the subject, and my labour (a very long labour) was before me'.

More often, probably, the starting-seed is not simply a rhythm, but a phrase which comes into the mind from 'nowhere'. It seems to belong to a poem which is asking to be written, but the poet may at first not know at all what the poem is to be about. The phrase is like a magnetic pole; it can be used to draw in associated images, phrases, ideas, round itself. And so, gradually and sometimes painfully, the poem emerges; the poet begins to see what he is trying to say; and then a great deal of conscious endeavour may be necessary before the final pattern is – more or less satisfactorily – achieved. Housman and Stephen Spender have both described this curious process, in which the conscious mind plays, at first, an almost passive role.

¹ From *On Poetry and Poets* (Faber, 1957).

Then the poem is read, and it acts on the reader's mind, his conscious and unconscious mind, in the way I have tried to describe in accordance with my own experience. For others, the experience may be more or less different. But I think that unless a reader of poetry feels that it is acting on his mind, bringing about a momentary change of consciousness, the opening of an inner eye, he will not be responding to the essence of poetry, though he may quite validly like some poetry for other reasons. Here I should add that the operative effect of a poem is not an accurate measure of its all-round merit; other factors, bound up with the poem's ordinary, non-magical meaning come into that. Also there are cases where a few lines, or one line, in a poem have a strong magical effect without saving the poem as a whole from mediocrity. Indeed, it is only with short lyrics that one can expect an entire poem to act magically on the mind – which is what Edgar Allan Poe meant by saying that there are no long poems. In a restricted sense this is true, but a long poem can be rich in merits which will sustain it during the periods when magic is not at work.

Objection could be taken to the use of the word 'magic' in this context, but I have not been able to think of a better one, and if the word carries our thoughts back into the past, this is not inappropriate, for the magic of poetry speaks to us of the youth of human language.

* * *

It used to be assumed that the earliest language must have been the simplest, having developed a little way from cries and grunts and basic monosyllables. But the evidence indicates that in fact the evolution of language has been from the complex to the simple; from highly inflected, song-like languages with many long words to a language such as English, which has few inflections and is apt to sound (at least to foreigners) more like mumbling than song. Some of the old song-character survives in those languages, such as Chinese, where the meaning of a word varies with the intonation given to it in speech.

Early language had indeed some of the musical, image-rich character of poetry, and it was not used only as a means of communicating thoughts. We hear of mantras and spells and

incantations and of 'words of power'. Probably words could then be used in ways that had a direct action on the human organism, body as well as mind, for not only was language different, but the human organism was itself more flexible, more open to such influences. Where early language was deficient was in general, abstract terms; even today there are extant languages which have a separate word for every kind of tree, say, but no word for the general concept, tree.

This evolution of language has of course run parallel with – has indeed been caused by – the evolution of human consciousness, from the Sentient Soul condition, though the Intellectual Soul to the Consciousness Soul, or onlooker consciousness, of today. As human beings developed gradually a capacity for abstract thinking, while losing some of their capacity for participating in the life of nature around them, so language developed an abstract terminology, while losing some of its musical power.

A crucial stage in this process was reached and passed when Nominalism overcame Platonic Realism during the Middle Ages in Europe. The Realists – to repeat briefly a familiar story – held that a general idea, say the idea represented by the word 'lion', had a real, archetypal existence, as Plato had taught. The Nominalists said that 'lion' was simply a name, a label, for a category of animals, the lions. The Nominalists were bound to win, for the belief upheld by the Realists no longer sprang from any direct experience. It had become merely a tradition. The debate occurred when the onlooker consciousness was on the way in, and Nominalism (the precursor of logical positivism and the other scientifically orientated analytical philosophies of our time) is the philosophical outlook which goes naturally with the onlooker mode.

In the perspective of human evolution, this 'fall' of language has been a necessary trend. Modern scientific thinking could not have developed without highly abstract language – a language which can be very accurate and exact because it uses words which are only labels, with no disturbing overtones. Research reports in scientific journals need this kind of language, though they often use it clumsily: good scientific prose is rare. A further stage in abstraction has now been reached, I suppose, in the special languages (Fortran, Algol, Cobol, Nicol)

which are being devised for dealing with computers; but most of us do not have to learn them, yet.

One might perhaps have expected that early in the onlooker epoch poetry would tend to wither away. Instead, the Romantic revival brought a new flowering of poetry in western Europe. But the Romantic revival was a protest movement – partly against the formality of eighteenth-century diction and partly against the temper of the new epoch, exemplified in the rising influence of Newtonian science and the onset of the industrial revolution. The Romantic poets (except for Shelley) mostly looked on these new trends as a threat to poetry, and poetry was indeed subject to crude utilitarian attacks. Now the Romantic protest is long spent; science and technology have gone confidently ahead, and the future of poetry – or at least of poetry in any traditional sense – remains in doubt. The poetry that most of the younger poets are writing today is hard for me to recognise as poetry; its ordinary meaning is often obscure, and any magical meaning seems to be ruled out – it was all right in the past, perhaps, but it is felt to be out of place, a surrender to unreason, in a scientific age.

There may be something in this, for it seems fairly clear that the old magical power of words comes from Lucifer, while modern technical language comes from Ahriman. And it could be argued that to indulge in the magical 'poetic state' is not good today: it may mean succumbing to Lucifer, being carried away by him into the past. This certainly can be so if we value *only* the magic of poetry and pay no attention to its rational meaning – if we use poetry simply as a kind of intoxicant. But even if we avoid this extreme, I am still not sure. Is the traditional kind of poetry, with its verbal magic, due to pass away – has the time for it gone by? Should poetry take some new form, appealing only to the conscious mind, without arousing those resonances from the unconscious which make up the magic? Should we say that to enjoy poetry in the old way is atavistic, not what the future development of consciousness requires?

This question leads into some wider ones. We might ask, first: how is poetry related to mantrams and the language of religious rituals? Here, too, words can be used to bring about a change of consciousness, but with a difference. Poetry has

power to effect a slight, transient change of consciousness without any effort on the reader's part. The intention of a mantram – or at least of those given by Rudolf Steiner – is that a person should, by concentration and meditation, do the work himself. Religious rituals *can* be designed to act directly on consciousness, but in our epoch it is better for people to be left free to participate inwardly in them, as far as they wish and can.

From a similar point of view one might then be inclined to say (and I have heard it said) that poets and artists in the past worked out of unconscious impulses, but today they should learn to work out of conscious spiritual experience. Steiner, however, was quite emphatic that while an artist is at work, he should *not* know exactly what he is aiming at; and certainly it is my experience that a poem cannot be written, or even read responsively, with the aid only of the conscious mind. We might then go on to ask how artistic activities and aesthetic experience stand in relation to the path of inner development described by Rudolf Steiner; for this is a path intended to bring new levels of conscious experience within reach. Hence it might seem that artistic activities, because of their need to be not wholly conscious, lead in a different direction, and that aesthetic experience is a distraction from the spiritual experience that is sought along the path. We might also wonder, looking at it from the other side, whether the development of higher conscious faculties may not positively inhibit artistic creativity, as artists often fear it would.¹

At various times, of course, preachers and teachers have been prone to frown on the arts as a frivolous distraction, but this was never Steiner's attitude. He regarded artistic activities as an essential part of the movement he founded; he himself practised wood-carving and sculpture; and he believed that certain aspects of Anthroposophy could be communicated only by artistic means; the first Goetheanum was designed with this aim in view. All this is on record, but I have never felt sure quite what it involves. Steiner did not want the arts to be didactic; he spoke of allegory as dry and inartistic; he believed that a work of art should speak for itself and not have to have

¹ Relevant to this point is the character of Johannes in Rudolf Steiner's *Mystery Plays*. See also Adam Bittleston's article, 'The Sickness of Johannes', in the *Golden Blade*, 1960.

its 'meaning' explained. But it is not very easy to see how works of art can impart spiritual teaching except in terms of allegory, for conceptual knowledge is not communicated by aesthetic experience itself. Hence, for me, it remains not very clear how aesthetic experience should be related to Steiner's definition of Anthroposophy as 'a path of knowledge, to guide the spiritual in the human being to the spiritual in the universe'.

Perhaps it depends partly on what we bring to aesthetic experience and how we interpret it. The prevailing view today is that if poetry (or any art) seems to reveal something humanly significant about the world of nature, what it reveals is really a projection of our subjective feelings on to the world. But to regard the outer world as having an entirely independent, humanly meaningless existence, consisting basically of nothing but conformations of matter (or energy), is characteristic of the onlooker-consciousness and reflects its limitations. If we are not imprisoned by these limitations and the assumptions that go with them, we can accept aesthetic experience, not as offering conceptual knowledge, but as bringing us into a new relationship, a perceptively participating relationship, with the outer world. The experience – while it lasts – begins to open our inner eye. But for me it is still a question exactly how aesthetic experience bears on the 'path of knowledge' indicated by Rudolf Steiner. I wish I could throw more light on this question, but I must leave it open.

In this article I have tried mainly to describe what the experience of poetry is for me; to connect the power of words with the evolution (or devolution) of language; and to ask, very briefly, what influence the use of scientific language may have on the future of poetry. Here is another open question. Poetry, in a wider than verbal sense, is implicit in human existence; it springs from the interplay of apparent opposites, from the counterpoint of joy and sorrow, hope and disillusion, becoming and passing away, which accompanies our life in time from birth to death. Perhaps we may hope that this harsh-sweet music will always seek expression through renewals of poetry, in forms we cannot foresee.

WORDS ARE DEATH AND RESURRECTION

JOHN TURNER

I

Words, tadpoles, dead, spent spirits' cold extract
Squeezed from the fullness of the integral fact,
Divorced in Eden, killed slowly by time's act;

Black squiggles, specimens, pressed upon this page,
Tired actors, late performers on the night's lit stage,
Will you never wriggle again? Never again rant or rage?

Squat pygmies, cold Hottentots, blacks, millennia tanned:
Destructive Apollo's crabbed signature scratched on the desert
sand,
Tattered aboriginal remainders, foreigners in your own land.

Kalahari was afforested once, gay and verdant with flowers;
Not only mastodon trumpeted: moved supra-mundane powers.
But with a reign's end came the rain's end: now a cipher cowers,

Cold coke and embers charred in the ashes of the human hearth,
Fire's residue: can you not, can you not recall your birth?
You were flames once and played about the earth!

Fools, fossils now, embedded in the prehistoric chalk cliff;
Smelless, soundless, insipid: oh so fixed, still and stiff!
How dead in my head you lie! Not a wiff of wonder, not a niff!

Poor fish, poor fellows: landed: look! such a very poor cop
Laid out on the slab of the frowning fishmonger's shop;
You stare with such vacant eyes. Handled you fall flop.

But there was once when the holy and universal ghost
Day long breathed inspiration, perpetual pentecost.
You were spirits then and danced with the heavenly host!

Would God that I might play a true magician's part!
I'd call all poets up, I'd summon the great art!
You should not lie longer thus naked and apart!

Had I power of persuasion half equal to my passion
You should not stand, displaced persons, forsaken in this
fashion!

But where are the true poets now? Where the creative
compassion?

Abstractions are ghosts and kill. Words are anaemic or lame.
But are not theological election and biological selection the
same?

Should not the Three-personed at the least play a double game?

Back to fresh sheets I would send you, to a warm and perfumed
bed.

I'd say to my dead heart, Come, look, here's missed her, my
head,

Come, both of you, meet miss, my body! Ah, Christ! I'd see
you wed!

But oh my dear children, time's orphans, you poor little ones,
Parentless here on my pavement page, I ponder you mere bags
of bones:

How I would that I could well clothe your bare cold skeletons!

I'd fit you with flesh; I'd fasten you up; I'd place a golden ring
On your thin faint fingers. Thus: and then, then you should
sing,

Sing of what marriage you are! Of whom the famed offspring!

Ages ago, so your song would go, the ocean of meaning, rolling
with endless roar

Its great waves pounding upon our still unknown far but
reverberating shore

Dropped us, let us fall, bade us wait on the warm wet dark sea
floor.

Before Neptunian or Venusian times, before we were or the
gods our forsakers

In that pre-myth-making mouthmaking age, when they spoke,
those blissful breakers,

White horses of spirit, both wild and tame, our bodies and
mind's makers,

We were in our four elements clad and glad, and bliss surrounded
 would feed,
 Dreaming time away before time was, on the slowly waving
 green weed;
 Our meaning and yours began together: from a single embrace
 man's breed.

The pre-logical Logos expressed Himself variously. Very Light
 laughed for delight.

Unborn the opposites lay in one womb: my bad dream's black
 and white;

That supreme poetic prism refracted all colours to the sight.

Would you think that the Tree of Life then was living, was all
 trees?

The Spirit that blew in the branches was the ordinary and
 miraculous breeze?

Breathing over the uncommon common, the hills, inspiring the
 summer and the submarine seas.

All things talked then. Grass was most eloquent. Fern frond,
 fir, fur and feather

In closest conference were innocent conspirators. It was
 wonder's weather.

Differentiation was not. All things rested in their origins and
 ends safely together.

Ripe fruit, rich and redolent, hung on all branches. The sky
 overhead was great

With children nightly. There was too much for sense. The
 sheer weight

Of glory was excessive for all but Him who walked there and
 talked and ate.

All hierarchies at home danced and sang here. Earth hardly
 dared breathe for wonder.

We weak words cannot grapple or grasp now. Few hear the
 imperceptible thunder

Of those far footsteps. Things and gods were not always seen
 sawn as now asunder.

II

I feel the tide or I am the tide. Which? I move up the sand,
 I surmise my incontinent continents, my unknown countries
 and still foreign lands;

I am natural and supernatural at once. I heave to heaven my
 hairy hands.

By night I collect my past, god and animal. I dream, I am
 drawn by the moon

By day I think the sun's thoughts, my own, illuminating lordly
 the noon

But I do not know what I will be or when: may it not be soon,
 too soon!

But what excruciating pains those were and what delicious
 pleasures:

We think we can think of them rightly and try but it is beyond
 our measure:

The yardstick is altered. We merely think. But what really
 scatterbrained treasure

In what sweet sharp sonorous confusion to ears, nose, eye lay
 everywhere

To hand imagine! When all things were bees and hummed,
 what a buzz, what a business was there!

My mind reels attempting to conceive of the heaviness of that
 air.

How many millennia do you suppose we took to cool and
 condense?

Till eye said to ear au revoir, sense departing, to meet again
 later, from sense?

Unacademic distribution of higher degrees at lower substantial
 expense?

Some say that God is idiotic strictly and that He does not
 generalise;

Some say His solutions are never clear; but I think that those
 who are wise

Search the slow scriptural centuries and see how they suddenly
 crystallise.

I see myself and all things written in a strange language. I
 crave expression: incarnation.
 When I try to translate, drawing meaning's curtains I find the
 light of revelation:
 Neither rejection nor projection but dying into life: mutation:
 transformation.

My words, we don't make much noise in the world. Now and
 then I put in an oar
 As I scent our home or feel the foam, hear the distant resounding
 roar;
 Sometimes I glimpse a great ocean-crossing albatross and feel
 my low mind soar.

But the ebb is all that I really feel though I hold to my mind the
 flow.
 I am conscious only of receding spirit, of retreat; but oh so slow
 I go and am these days I did not think one could survive and
 sink so low.

Low under my dark heart, behind my dull head, stands a pool.
 Miles out of eyesight it is, black its water, salt and inert and
 cool,
 The bitter maternal milk of the past, the poison I drank, poor
 fool.

Hardly a sigh breathes there. Nothing moves. No wind stirs
 the stagnation.
 Slowly and silently the heart beats, very poor the circulation.
 A few mosses and lichen grow there maybe, a stunted vegetation.

No well or river but the word unsaid; waters fall, the unshed
 tears
 That mounted slowly drop by drop for over a million dead
 years
 The spirits that shed or cast out could have been transformed
 into spears,

To outrageous fortune's arrows turned, swords spoiling for the
 fight;
 To my mount prancing for battle, its harness glancing in the
 light.
 That is what ought to have been! That is what would have
 been right.

But that was not what happened. Instead I drank, drank deep
 Of the ghost of the comfort that never came and comfortless fell
 asleep,
 Not the shed tears are a misery now but those I did not weep.
 Not the word said nor the wept tear can hurt but that unsaid
 unwept
 That found no drain or soakaway but a serpentine and kept
 Me prisoner inside walls that could and should have been
 leapt.

But as The Man is The Word, a man is a word and a word is a
 world, a wing
 A world is a pearl and a pearl a tear, and a tear a spiritual
 thing.
 So a man and a word and a tear are one and yet and still they
 will sing!

They say that God is everywhere. Is He? Good Heavens under
 and above!
 I believe. But this is a mystery, the omnipresence of Love.
 I will not quarrel with that man who feels God does not mind
 or move.

He had his tantrums too, I take it, and was or should have been
 wild,
 We are told that Mary his Mother was meek patient and mild.
 There is no pain under heaven like that of the lost and lonely
 child.

Remember the doom pronounced on those by whom little ones
 are offended.
 But can nothing be done? Is it too late? There's little that
 cannot be mended
 If only the truth can be known and felt, admitted undefended.

For I do not think those are right who say the past is simply the past.

If the patient fisherman skilfully and gently will again and again cast

The Fish will rise, faint and dumb no doubt, out of the depths at last.

But when will my Eve meet my Adam again? The two so cruelly sliced?

The halves that cannot meet or agree? I am split, I can never be spliced

Till my mermaid and merman meet with my angel in the androgyny of Christ.

Some say that the human race itself has hardly as yet begun;
Others that its finished and done for, the main part of it long ago run.

All depends on time and time's keeper; on both: the Son of God and the sun.

But might we have no more of either and or: my delusive mind detector?

Could we marry these two lost ghosts at last? Either alone is a spectre:

Or is his false emanation. To respect him long or wrongly is to expect her.

Most cannot see now. Mirrors blind. We look through too many lenses.

The grammar of time is learned of eternity. We know so little of tenses.

How should such creatures as we know when from Spirit a star condenses?

Servile we all are and slaves to our subjects, well informed and knowing fools.

Come, let's away from compartments, departments; and contemplate deeper pools

Where omniscience turns to a science of sciences, to Wisdom, as it cools.

Come to myself yourself I say to them. Words you are though minus tempo and tan,

My ancestors: that wealthy child is father to this poor man.
And I am his but am as helpless as you are for I can

Do nothing by myself. My fallen being and yours is separation
We suffer ruin both; a ruined lost relation

Is this natural selection? Without even a hope of mutation?

So man both is and suffers a broken marriage: of our mere course

We endure, words and ourselves, the same divorce
For nor can laws make love nor grammars force.

Yet seeing one spirit of both language and life is lord –
For were it not so, all would indeed be absurd –

We must both return to the confluence where the Archetypal Word

Swims, most mysterious Fish, in the rocky river of life
Where alone a man with God, with himself, with his wife,
All things and all persons, and with words, is at length no longer at strife.

Easter is soon now. Fish! Ichthus! Son of God! Save
Us both in the first and the second womb well and tomb cave.
Be quick! Raise our twin ghosts from the one single grievous grave!

Bridegroom, re-maker of marriages, lover of the bride,
Help us to arrive at our meaning. Lift us up so we ride,
As Taliessin with his singing harp once rode the foaming tide.

On your dolphin back in this middle man's sphere, our mediterranean ocean:

And heaven and earth are one, and Cupid with Psyche, in peaceful and passionate motion

Shouting the while for joy's champagne, for potent poetry's potion!

Or better, as Orpheus rising on enchanted words as wings
 Drew to himself fish, flesh and fowl, earth itself and all things,
 The Logos, Language, Poetry's self, whose nature eternally
 sings,

May make all things its Israel at last, the whole world its
 priests, prophets and kings!

So what? When? Who knows?

So that we who, lets face it, like they were, are nothing, a nook
 hole and cosmic dark corner, the curse

Of Creation, a more or less wholly blasphemous species, that
 could hardly be or do worse

May by means providential and grace of election and promise
 fulfilled, by deliberate mutation reverse

And take charge of the process, change gear and go forward,
 perfect the whole universe!

SHAKESPEARE'S TROUBLED KINGS

ADAM BITTLESTON

FEW people knew better than John Heminge and Henry
 Condell, the editors of the First Folio, that Shakespeare was
 a practical writer for the theatre. His plays are written to be
 acted, and to be seen. And yet they said:

Reade him, therefore; and againe, and againe: And if then
 you do not like him, surely you are in some manifest danger, not
 to understad him. And so we leave you to other of his Friends,
 whom if you need, can bee your guides: and if you neede them
 not, you can leade your selves, and others. And such Readers
 we wish him.

Their advice has been followed. In countless editions, and by
 people of many tongues and faiths, the plays are read. What
 do we find by reading, that would be less evident on the stage?

Reading, we can stop to think, and look back. We can try
 to follow the development of a particular person or theme
 through a play. And we can compare plays more closely with
 one another. There are indeed dangers in such attempts. A
 living thing may always be destroyed or damaged by our
 attempts to study it; and Shakespeare's plays are in the most
 far-reaching sense alive.

Nineteenth-century critics, and many people since, feeling
 the vivid reality of Shakespeare's characters, have been tempted
 to pass on them moral judgments, or express their liking or dis-
 liking of them. Considering Henry V's rejection of Falstaff, for
 example, they take sides; either they regard Henry as an un-
 grateful prig, or they point out that Falstaff is a disgusting
 scoundrel after all, and thoroughly deserves to be treated in
 this way.

But the reading of Shakespeare can lead to a strong impres-
 sion that such comments are not relevant to his fundamental
 purpose. For him, each human being is a world, containing
 opposites. This goes far beyond a theoretical belief in man as
 a microcosm; it is the continuous experience of his creative
 imagination. The stars and the abyss, the lion and the lamb

and the wolf, are present even in the soul of a Second Murderer, as in everyone else, although the wolf and the abyss may seem to have their way. There is a Falstaff in the king, a king in Falstaff.

It is when we compare one play with another that it becomes increasingly plain how Shakespeare intended such things. Again and again outer conflicts and inner conflicts are compared; and this is not just an external similarity. The storm in the world and the storm in man are one. Who then can be at peace?

From very early, right into the last plays, Shakespeare puts before the audience men who have a responsibility for order in the outer world, as kings or leaders, and who suffer, and cause suffering, because of an inner failure. This is for Shakespeare no theoretical problem; it is a mystery, which leads through terror and despair into the greatest discoveries. It is an evident theme in Histories and Tragedies; but it can be matter for comedy too, in any of the three moods which are found in the plays grouped as comedies in the Folio. The fall of a king is terrible and ridiculous, and his recovery the greatest happiness.

* * *

A country needs a king as the outer world needs a sun, or the body a heart. But kings who fulfil this need are hard to find. In the Histories there is only one who comes near to it, Henry V, who says indeed in the course of his wooing of Katharine:

A good Heart, Kate, is the Sunne and the Moone, or rather the Sunne, and not the Moone; for it shines bright, and never changes, but keeps his course truly. If thou would have such a one, take me? and take me; take a Souldier: take a Souldier; take a King.

Prince Arthur, in *King John*, has the promise of being such a king. When he is dead, having thrown himself down from a wall when attempting to escape from imprisonment, and Hubert lifts his small body in his arms, Faulconbridge says:

How easie dost thou take all England up,
From forth this morcell of dead Royaltie?
The life, the right, and truth of all this Realme
Is fled to heaven:

A king should be guardian of his country's life, right, and truth – of what we can describe today as its economics, its justice, and its spiritual activities. In Shakespeare's picture he is indeed to be the representative on earth of the heavenly streams of life, right, and truth. And as an ordinary sinful man, this is obviously very difficult for him. Henry V can come so near to doing it through a kind of miracle:

The breath no sooner left his Fathers body,
But that his wildnesse, mortify'd in him,
Seem'd to dye too: yea, at that very moment,
Consideration like an Angell came,
And whipt th'offending *Adam* out of him;
Leaving his body as a Paradise,
T'invelop and containe Celestiall Spirits.

But a man with kingly responsibilities dare not give himself too much to Consideration – to study, meditation, and prayer. If he does, the results will be terrible, as for Henry VI, or for Prospero when driven from his dukedom – or ludicrous, as for Navarre in *Love's Labour's Lost*. The ruler must stand firmly in both worlds, not losing either for the sake of the other, if he is to bring strength from the spiritual world into the life of his country, and to approach the spiritual himself with a peaceful heart.

And yet – were he able to do this, would he not be much more than an ordinary man?

In the Histories Shakespeare enters the hearts of seven or eight men, all of whom experience their task as King of England as one that brings, at least at times, an appalling inner tension. They are real, individual men, not examples of the perils of bearing a crown – though they may not resemble the historical personages who bore those names. They are men with whom the individuality of Shakespeare, in the course of world history, has some connection of destiny, which enables him to describe them. They have in common that they have to face the discrepancy between what they are and what they need to be, in a particularly terrible form.

Men without such responsibilities find it easier to sleep. Shakespeare returns in remarkable ways to this theme, for example in *Henry IV*, *Henry V*, and the famous passage in *Macbeth*, until we come to Prospero who can give sleep. The

'ordinary man' can indeed bring from sleep impulses which have their origin in the spiritual world. The kings bar their own way into sleep through great guilt, or perhaps sometimes by over-absorption in externalities. When Henry IV describes with such power the sailor-boy who can sleep in a storm, it is not just a contrast with his own situation – it is a picture of the storm which goes on continually within him, and which must one day burst out over his whole kingdom, as a consequence of his overthrow of Richard II. This storm rages now between him and the spiritual world, from which he longs to draw. Healing might come – if he could go to Jerusalem.

For the king with his troubled soul, abdication is no remedy. To give up his crown by his own act is to deny his own 'I'. This is demonstrated with fearful clarity in *Richard II*, and then in a more complex way in *King Lear*. Richard after his abdication under Bolingbroke's pressure is imprisoned at Pontefract. In his loneliness, he feels his own being as a world – but there is no master, no spirit to reconcile and unite the struggling thoughts and feelings there. Even the words of the Gospel do battle with each other in him. And then we meet themes, with which Shakespeare is to be concerned to the last. Richard alternates between thinking of himself as a king, and as a beggar.

Then am I king'd againe: and by and by,
Think that I am un-king'd by *Bullingbrooke*,
And straight am nothing. But what ere I am, [*Musick*]
Nor I, nor any man, that but man is,
With nothing shall be pleas'd, till he be eas'd
With being nothing. Musicke do I heare?
Ha, ha? Keep time: How sowre sweet Musicke is,
When Time is broke, and no Proportion kept?
So is it in the Musicke of mens lives:
And heere have I the daintinesse of eare,
To heare time broke in a disorder'd string:
But for the Concord of my State and Time,
Had not an eare to heare my true Time broke.
I wasted Time, and now doth Time waste me:

Time, and Nothing, and Musicke: when a man comes through guilt or grief to a place where the world and his own soul seem to have reached an ending, Shakespeare calls upon these. For

one part of the soul Time is the senseless destroyer; for the other it is the redeemer, and itself to be redeemed. All things are plunging into Nothing; sights, thoughts, and the desires of men. But out of Nothing there sounds a music; and though it too is itself apparently Nothing, a man may find in it the greatest power of all.

Where did Richard II fail? He is accused of many things by others in the play, by himself, and by the critics. And yet he is remembered after his death with increasing affection. But the play itself does not particularly show him doing the things he is accused of – listening to flatterers, wasting time and wealth, or causing Gloucester's death. What it does show very powerfully is his refusal to listen to the advice of John of Gaunt, his dying uncle. And John of Gaunt himself compares what he has to say, his words of earnest counsel and rebuke, with music, when he is warned that Richard will not listen to him:

Oh but (they say) the tongues of dying men
Inforce attention like deepe harmony;
Where words are scarce, they are seldome spent in vaine,
For they breath truth, that breath their words in paine.

His hope is not fulfilled; Richard has no ear for this music, and suggests indeed that the sooner he is dead the better. This is a decisive failure in kingliness, according to the Shakespearian ethic. The king has a special duty to listen to the truth, however unpleasant; above all, when it comes from one who has deserved well of his country.

On the path of Initiation, as Rudolf Steiner has described it, there is a great parallel to this. The seeker for Initiation must be ready to sacrifice much in the abundant and joyful realm of Imagination, in order that into his emptied consciousness there may sound Inspirations, which will lead him to participate in the suffering which underlies true creative processes in the world. In ordinary life the power to listen quietly and receptively to others is analogous to, and a necessary preparation for, the capacity of Inspiration in Rudolf Steiner's sense.

Richard II has human qualities which are a preparation for Imaginative powers of a noble kind – but little of those which lead towards Inspiration. Even John of Gaunt's references to the meaning of his own name:

For sleeping England long time have I watcht,
Watching breeds leanness, leanness is all gaunt:

— are relevant; the abundance of Imaginations can be pictured as fatness, willingness to sacrifice in order to receive Inspiration as the acceptance of a beggar's leanness. Richard does not love his lean uncle; and himself comes at last to grieve over the rarity of love 'in this all-hating world'.

There is a similar failure to listen among those kingly figures who fall into groundless jealousy. Leontes, before he has learned to hear Paulina's harsh truth, failed to hear his wife. Imaginations that are not noble, but which spring from dark powers in the blood, obsess him; the dead man's nose, the spider in the cup. Leontes is 'in rebellion with himself'; rejecting Hermione, he rejects part of his own being, his vision of eternal beauty. In one way or in another, the violence in the king's soul leads to the death of others; and then their death too will haunt him. His victims may appear and curse him in his sleep, as happens to Richard III before his last battle; or they may work upon his conscience in waking life. It is the most thorough denial of kingliness, a quality which should be as life-giving as the sun, to have caused death out of hatred, or to gain the crown. And with *this* situation Shakespeare is constantly concerned.

* * *

It is indeed a theme which can be followed back to the great Greek tragedians, and to ancient myths; to Typhon's murder of his brother Osiris. In ancient times, it is mainly a struggle among the spiritual beings themselves, in which man may come to be involved. In the *Bhagavad Gita* in the East, and in Greek tragedy in the West, the conflict begins to be felt as an interior one, though the counsel from the divine realm may still be decisive. In the *Elektra* of Sophocles Orestes can kill his mother with hardly a shadow of uncertainty, if this is Apollo's will. But as Rudolf Steiner pointed out, the Greeks are beginning at this time to discover conscience as an inner experience. And in Christian times the kingly man feels his own absolute responsibility as a more and more terrible, inescapable fact.

Shakespeare's kings face their responsibility for causing death

very differently. At one extreme, Richard III and Macbeth do not seem, on the surface, to be troubled by conscience at all; for them it works outwardly, in the ancient way, as warning figures in dream and vision. At the other extreme, Prospero succeeds in not causing death at all, by Ariel's help; and Hamlet —

It was probably felt at the time of Shakespeare, and generally since, that Claudius has to be killed, and Hamlet should get on with the job. But was this Shakespeare's own belief? As so often, he gives us the full, stubborn facts; there may not be an easy answer. John Vyvyan, comparing *Hamlet* with other plays, describes it very effectively as a spiritual Fall, not after all so unlike that of Macbeth. Hamlet learns to accept killing, but thereby denies his own true being. He rejects Ophelia because he is rejecting the best in himself, the pilgrimage to eternal realities.

Thus if we take *Hamlet* in the whole context of troubled kingship, we can see that this problem is represented in the play not once, but three times over; in Hamlet's father, in Claudius, and in Hamlet himself. The poisoning of the father, like the poisoning of King John (which is similarly described) is not simply a crime done against him; it expresses the tragic fact that he has already poisoned his realm, by what as Ghost he acknowledges, 'the foul crimes done in my days of nature'. He is both hero, as Hamlet sees him, and wrong-doer; he meets after death the significance of what he has done, but is not yet purged. So he is still possessed by an anger that is unkingly — as every kind of personal resentment, or indeed personal affection, disturbs the function of a king. He cannot therefore give Hamlet counsel that would help Denmark; he does not come as near as John of Gaunt does to the utterance of 'deep harmonies', in which a human voice becomes the instrument of the spiritual world. But into his angry and anguished words there enters compassion for the Queen.

Claudius knows himself a wrongdoer — but a king as well. And even if nothing is known about his crime, it will infect all Denmark; it is in his heart, and he is the heart of the country. Hamlet has the potentiality, as Prince Arthur had, of becoming Denmark's true king, of defending life and right and truth. But his kingship will be vitiated from the start, like that of Boling-

broke – Henry IV, if it is won by violence and falsehood.

This is not just a terrible human dilemma. Shakespeare treats it, as Rudolf Steiner shows in his lectures on St Mark's Gospel, with a deep and accurate feeling for the whole course of human history, and for the metamorphoses that come about in the passage of an individuality from one incarnation to another, before and after the Deed of Christ. Hamlet stands before the mystery of the abyss in his own soul; and no counsellor, no beloved, and no friend can interpret it to him.

* * *

If Shakespeare had stopped writing plays after *Hamlet*, it would have seemed that he saw little hope for the sick king. Had there come into existence, during the centuries preceding his time, any representation of the problem of similar grandeur, which offered more hope?

About four hundred years before Shakespeare began to write, the greatest versions of the Perceval story were becoming known. And the Grail Castle is the home of a sick king, Amfortas. Wolfram von Eschenbach says of him: 'The king cannot ride or walk; he cannot lie or stand. He leans but cannot sit, and he sighs, well knowing why. At the change of the moon he suffers much.' The wound which cannot be healed he received in a tourney, in which he fought because of a personal love, not allowed him by 'the writing on the Grail'.

Neither the Grail itself, nor the compassion of those who care for him, nor the wisdom of his brother Trevrizent, can heal him. He waits in grief, which all his realm shares, for Parsifal. Why can Parsifal help? No explicit, direct answer is given by Wolfram. Parsifal is a particular individuality; there is no-one like him; and his name is to be read in the writing of the Grail. He is the chosen successor to Amfortas.

He has however one quite evident quality, which is in this connection of far-reaching significance. He is young; as the nephew of Amfortas, he belongs to the next generation, as do Sigune and Schionatulander. The meeting of human beings of different ages is as familiar in ordinary life as eating and sleeping; and it is equally mysterious. Parsifal's father and mother have died. One uncle, Trevrizent, has been able to give himself entirely to the task of Consideration, as a hermit;

and to the 'deep harmony' of his counsel Parsifal is able to listen, though much of it is bitter for him. Another uncle has the inescapable task of kingship, until he comes, in the way that only he can do, with his compassionate and understanding question.

Much has happened within his own generation before he does this. He has seen Schionatulander dead, and the mourning Sigune; he has found his own wife again, and found his black and white half-brother Fierifis. Inwardly he has gone through something like a death of faith, and the loss and recovery of a sense for the meaning of Time.

All this is of course told, by Chrétien and Wolfram and others, in a mood and with methods utterly different from those of Shakespeare. And yet far-reaching comparisons can be made – fundamentally for the reason that the greatest works of art are in some way always rooted in the Mysteries.

At an unknown date, though it is thought probable that this was two or three years after writing *Hamlet*, Shakespeare wrote *All's Well that Ends Well*. This is regarded as one of the 'problem comedies' between the earlier straightforward comedies and the late 'romances' (this classification is something of an oversimplification). In this play the King of France has a physical sickness of which he is dying. No one can help him, until the daughter of a wise physician who has died comes to Paris. She is Helena, who hopes to marry a man of much nobler birth than herself. Shakespeare has taken the plot fairly closely from an English version of a story told by Boccaccio; but he has added an extraordinary consciousness in his heroine of what she is doing. Helena feels that she has a mission given to her by the spiritual world; when she is persuading the hesitant king to try her remedy, she says:

Of heaven, not me, make an experiment.

And when the king has been convinced by her he says:

Methinks in thee some blessed spirit doth speak
His powerfull sounde, within an organ weake:

Here quite explicitly a sick king is healed by a younger human being, through whom the spiritual world works. In seven out of the twelve plays Shakespeare probably wrote, or

shared in writing, after this time, something that is similar happens; a younger human being, by a sacrifice or simply by existing, helps decisively towards the healing of a sick king – taking sickness in the wide sense in which Shakespeare himself uses it. Those who are young have indeed often to go through an apparent death – as Helena herself does, and Marina, and Perdita, and Imogen, and Ferdinand in *The Tempest*.

Pericles is indeed not included in the First Folio, and there will be a reason for this. But the scene of Marina's birth is strongly Shakespearian; and her meeting with her sick father, who believes her dead, is among the most magical in all the plays.

Why does it so often happen in the later plays that someone is believed to be dead, and then found to be alive? This is not of course peculiar to Shakespeare. In the *Elektra* of Sophocles the death of Orestes is described with great effect, the urn which is said to contain his ashes is brought on, and Elektra mourns her brother in one of the most moving of all elegies – and yet he is alive, before her. These are not just theatrical tricks; something happens in the people concerned, and in the onlookers. In deep secrecy, the ancient Mysteries had led to the enactment of a death and resurrection, in which the candidate for Initiation was laid in a grave, and called back into life by the Hierophant after three days. When Lazarus was raised by Christ, a great transition began from the old forms of initiation to the new, in which the candidate for initiation has to remain active in the everyday world, without anything of the transformation through which he is passing being evident to those around him.

Dramatically, Shakespeare could indicate a path towards initiation through the apparent death of a man or woman. The connection with the ancient mysteries is just touched upon, for example by letting the events in *The Winter's Tale*, where both Hermione and Perdita are believed to be dead, be guided from Delphi, or showing Thaisa in *Pericles* brought to life again at Ephesus. Not that they are represented as having become Initiates; but something of Initiate strength is imparted to them, through which they are capable of exceptional courage, and of making new beginnings. They have become servants of the spiritual Sun.

Sometimes indeed a member of the new generation, and one who is potentially a bringer of healing, suffers actual death. He may have fallen too far into the temptations with which the older generation is sick, as do Romeo (as Mr Vyvyan has shown) and Hamlet; or death may come upon him or her in innocence, as it does for Mamillius in the *Winter's Tale*, for Desdemona, and above all for Cordelia. The extraordinary difference in atmosphere between *Hamlet* and *King Lear* is very much due to this; Cordelia comes so near to healing Lear, to bringing him music and teaching him to listen, and to making him at peace with Time. When she dies, Lear believes to the very last that she will overcome this death, and sees her lips move as if in speech.

Parsifal does not die in his youth; but he sees Schionatulander dead, who has been killed in his place. And just as the mother whose heart was broken by his departure continually watches over him, Schionatulander too will be his invisible companion, inspiring him in the fulfilment of his tasks.

That the dead can shelter and sustain those still on earth, as the Grail story indicates, is in Shakespeare much more than a belief; it permeates his whole relationship to life. In his plays it is perhaps most important not where it is explicit, as in the protection of Posthumus by his dead parents and brothers in *Cymbeline* (though this passage is remarkable enough) but where it is implicit in the pattern of events.

* * *

At the end of Shakespeare's work there stand two great descriptions of kings: *The Tempest* and *Henry VIII*. Since the nineteenth century many have doubted whether Shakespeare himself wrote much of *Henry VIII*. This was entirely for internal reasons; it was not thought worthy of him, by Tennyson and many eminent judges. But there is no external evidence to support this; and there is the single, powerful fact that it was included in the First Folio. Heminge and Condell might perhaps be a little vague about the authorship of something written thirty years before, as were the three parts of *Henry VI*. But *Henry VIII* was written only ten or eleven years before the First Folio was published and was staged with the utmost splendour by them (and others) at the Globe Theatre, which was burned

down when it was being performed. If it was largely written by Fletcher, there was no reason why they should not say so; and every reason, including their explicit and genuine concern for accuracy, why they should. (Of course the spelling and punctuation of the First Folio, of which examples are given in this article are remarkable to our eyes. But they are not simply odd, or utterly careless; they often help us towards recognising the way in which the lines were originally spoken.) In recent years many critics have returned to the view that it is entirely Shakespeare's. The same sources are used throughout, in ways very characteristic of Shakespeare; and it has held the stage through the centuries as nothing by any other dramatists of the time has done.

Shakespeare knew well that reality is full of contradictions. The philosopher nearest to him in spirit (and perhaps in style) is Heraclitus. Both are continually concerned with the great polarities in the world – good and evil, light and dark, hot and cold – and the unities hidden behind their differences. And *Henry VIII* is based on a paradox of this kind. Just as the great rule of Henry V was derived from a wrong, his father's overthrow of Richard II – so the great reign of Elizabeth springs from a cruel injustice, the divorce of Katharine. From an action tainted by passion came the long years of government by a Virgin Queen (of whom, at the time, Shakespeare had been by no means uncritical). Conscience is the best in man; and yet one can have a genuine belief that conscience is counselling an action, which has in reality quite different motives.

Prospero knows what he is doing; Henry does not. Both have servants of very different kinds; Prospero knows already the inner qualities of each, Henry learns by fits and starts. Prospero was cured before his play begins, Henry is sick almost to the end. But for both it is a daughter who brings healing. And both are complex, mysterious personalities, difficult for those around them to understand.

The sickness of Henry VIII shows itself not only in his confused conscience, but in his general inability, at first, to distinguish truth and falsehood. He lets Buckingham be condemned on perjured evidence; he does not see through Wolsey's double games, with their consequences in the economy. Such failures could be disastrous to a king. And in putting away

Katharine he is rejecting a part of his own soul, the part open to the spiritual world. It has indeed been complained that similar consequences should follow, as for Leontes. But even apart from the fact that he has promised to show history as it happened, Shakespeare knows that in human life similar causes produce different results.

The king is sustained by qualities in those around him, with which the whole play is deeply concerned – humility and compassion. Even Wolsey, the proudest, learns to say at his fall:

I know my selfe now, and I feele within me
A peace above all earthly Dignities,
A still, and quiet Conscience. The King has cur'd me,
I humbly thanke his Grace:

It is no accident that the play seems often to be more concerned with the King's servants than with himself. For he is studied through them, and develops through them. For a very long time Shakespeare has been concerned with the problem of the loyal servant, who recognises the mistakes or even the crimes of his master, and nevertheless goes on serving: Kent in *King Lear* and Gonzalo in *The Tempest* are examples from the mature plays. But *Henry VIII* is quite particularly concerned with the relation of master and servant; it is his own servants who betray Buckingham, while Katharine has servants who accompany her into poverty. And Henry is led towards insight by the loyalty of two people who have such genuine humility, that the spiritual world can reveal itself to them; Katharine and Cranmer. (It is characteristic that one is Catholic and the other Protestant.)

In contrast with the great outer ceremonies that are shown and the dance at Wolsey's house, Katharine in her seclusion shares in a ceremony performed by heavenly visitants, who dance about her and hold a garland over her head. Afterwards she asks her servant Griffith:

Saw you not even now a blessed Troope
Invite me to a Banquet, whose bright faces
Cast thousand beames upon me, like the Sun?

She is privileged to see already beyond the time of purification after death, to the spiritual communion of heaven and earth in

which the dead can share. While Catholicism brought a dogmatic element into man's relationship to the mystery of Transubstantiation, and Protestantism often attacked this mystery intellectually, it was the task of esoteric Christianity to guard it in its holiness; but often it was rather the dead than those on earth – and rather the spiritual beings, than human souls – who could preserve the continuity of understanding from the time of Golgotha.

By his office a king or an archbishop should be a protector of this Mystery: but lack of self-knowledge and of humility could make him a wounded Fisher-King indeed. Macbeth is driven away from his own table – and every table spread for a meal is an image of the greatest – by the warning figure of his victim; and the spiritual banquet revealed by Ariel cannot be approached by the guilty rulers.

Henry, like other rulers of his time, was faced with terrible responsibilities; like others, he was a sick king. And Shakespeare shows him led by his physician to see through a window a definite picture; a man standing at a door, humbly and patiently waiting, with the other servants. This is the man from whom he can hear about the future, who receives the Inspiration of which Henry can say:

Thou has made me now a man.

Macbeth too was granted a vision of his successors; but it brought him nothing but bitterness. Henry is sheltered by the soul of a Queen who died at peace; and he can rise to the selflessness of rejoicing at the coming wonders in his country, on which he will be able to look down after his own death.

* * *

And now we are all kings. Even in Shakespeare's time there will have been many who identified themselves deeply with his troubled and heroic, his lamentable and ridiculous figures, whatever outward differences there were between character and onlooker. The Globe knew itself and its audience as little worlds. But today direct and effective responsibility for the spiritual life, the political life, and the economic life is very much more widely shared than under the Tudors; and in particular those who have practical leadership in any of the

three spheres have to find resources of initiative within themselves, which were much more rarely demanded in earlier times even of responsible men. Traditions and conventions help much less. And wherever there is a responsibility to lead, there is the searing necessity of trying to distinguish between ideas that can be genuinely constructive and those too much influenced by personal emotion. The good spirits of a community, whether one as small as a family or one wider than a nation, need to be heard, and may speak through any soul, responsible head or servant or child; most of all indeed, where the generations meet.

PERSONAL MEMORIES OF DR KARL KÖNIG

BERTA KÖNIG, TILLA KÖNIG and A.N.

Wie schön ist nicht ein Herz, das ausgeleert von allem,
Nichts in sich heget mehr als Gottes-Wohlgefallen;
Das, durch viel Kreuz und Leid geschmolzen und gefegt,
Die höchste Majestät im stillen Grunde trägt!

GERHARD TERSTEEGEN

How noble grows the heart that leaves aside
All other cares, to serve God's holy will;
Although this heart in every pain be tried
The glory of the Highest rests there still.

These lines have been chosen by Mrs Tilla König to serve as prelude to these memories of her husband's life. Their truth could be felt by the many people who came from far and near when they had heard of his death at Überlingen, near Lake Constance, on Sunday, 27th March 1966, to see his earthly form for the last time.

Dr Karl König was born in Vienna on 25th September 1902. His parents were Jewish; by hard work they had acquired their own shoe shop, which for many years absorbed their time and strength. He was their only child. The following passages are translated from his mother's life story:

Our boy was an exemplary pupil. He was happy, when he could be with us in the shop, and climbed the ladders and always brought down the right thing for me, which I needed for the customers. I very seldom saw him studying; I soon noticed that he was very different from the other children, and more able. Once, when he was about eleven, we found that he had hanging in his cupboard a picture of Christ. He had then his own room, and had already collected a varied library with Schiller and Goethe, Schopenhauer, Kant and other great writers.

For the afternoons, we employed a *Hofmeister* for him (what lordly names we used then). He was a student, and went for walks with our boy. One day Karli said to me: 'Mother, you

ought to pay the wages to me – I am teaching him, not he me.' Soon he did not want a companion any more.

As he grew older we learned that he was going regularly to church. But we did not stop him, thinking at this age this is nothing serious.

From the beginning of the First World War a change appeared in our boy. He did not want to wear any new clothes, but looked for the old things which he had grown out of and were meant to be given away. He said that he was ashamed to go on the street so well dressed, when he could see so much need everywhere. It was a difficult task for us, to know how to behave towards him. Acquaintances used to come into the shop and asked us why we let our boy go about looking so shabby. 'You are well off', they said, 'and can afford to buy him clothes.' We could only say 'It is his will, and we cannot do anything.' He often came home in the winter without an overcoat. We asked him 'What have you done with your coat?' He said, 'I saw a poor boy shivering, without a coat, so I gave him mine.'

My husband said to me, 'He has got this from you; you are always giving things away.' But I saw the matter more deeply; I saw that a change was going on in him, although it was difficult for me to explain it to myself.

The war brought terrible need; hunger, cold, nothing but sorrow. We had everything we wanted, as we could exchange shoes for food. There was again a great battle with my son. He asked continually: 'Why are we eating so well, when others are so hungry?' Bread had become almost inedible, as if it was made of soil, and we baked bread ourselves. It was a struggle to persuade him to eat one piece of good bread. His whole nature filled us with anxiety. I saw how outstanding he was among all his friends; it was not easy for me to know how I should act towards him.

When he was nearly seventeen, the alteration in him was very plain. He withdrew very much from us; he suffered very much from migraine headaches, which often kept him in bed for two days. Most evenings he was with a family of friends, and we often went to the theatre or the coffee-house. He would never go with us, and with what anxiety we would come home I can hardly express. There was such sadness in him, as if he had to carry the whole pain of the world alone.

After the war, there was in me a great change; my son could see it for he could read on a human being's face the alteration of the soul. One morning he called me into his room and asked what was happening to me. I began to cry bitterly, and said to him: 'I cannot bear this life any more, it is too monotonous for me – I would like to learn, and meet other people, but your father is against any change.' He said to me: 'Look, mother, I have been seeking for many years, but now I am on the way to find what I have been looking for.' And so he told me: 'There is a new society, which is called the Jewish Christians – and there you will meet quite another kind of people. You will hear good lectures and learn a great deal.' So I followed his advice, taking my sister Cilli with me.

The room was full, and lectures were held by different people, among them some anthroposophists. I looked at those who were attending, and was very disappointed, when I studied the expression of their faces; they were all people who were seeking. There were theosophists, anthroposophists, anarchists, atheists, human beings who were in soul and spirit in a bad way, hungry and lame – they all hoped to find salvation through this society.

One night my son did not come home; we thought perhaps he is sleeping with friends. Early in the morning he appeared, dirty and dishevelled. 'And where have you been?' He said 'With the police.' 'And what was the reason?' He had spoken in the park about the bad treatment of animals. The knacker used to come with his little cart and capture dogs in a cruel way. . . . When my son held a speech in the park about this, a crowd gathered, and that was strictly forbidden in Vienna. So he was arrested on the spot.

At the age of twenty-four, Dr König took his medical degree at the University of Vienna, and worked for some months in a big hospital for sick children. In the late autumn of 1927, Dr Ita Wegman, who had worked closely with Rudolf Steiner in the development of anthroposophical therapeutics, and had nursed him during his last illness in 1924 and 1925, visited Vienna to attend the funeral of Rudolf Steiner's sister. She met Dr König for the first time, and invited him to come to work at the Klinik in Arlesheim. He arrived 7th November 1927. Mrs Tilla König writes:

My first meeting with Dr Karl König came about when I was staying for some months in Arlesheim, close to Dornach, in order to learn all that was necessary for the small children's home in Silesia with which I was concerned. Dr König arrived from Vienna on the same day; he was to work in the Clinic as assistant doctor, in accordance with Dr Ita Wegman's suggestion and wish. On the first morning I had to attend a Eurhythmy lesson, and walked up to the wooden house belonging to the Clinic; a few steps in front of me walked a small man in a Russian blouse. That morning five new students arrived for the course; we were received in a far from friendly way, because there was much too little room. The little man went out and returned after a few minutes, saying: 'The five of us will have a course of our own, I have just discussed this with Frau Dr Wegman.' It became indeed a wonderful course, in which all five took part with great zeal and seriousness. Dr König looked much older than he was, partly because of the moustache which he then had; and there were many furrows on his brow. I guessed that he was about forty, and had no idea that he was only twenty-five, just my own age.

One could see that he was a born doctor. I experienced this myself in a drastic way. I had injured my right knee in a fall, and during the night my left eye became violently inflamed. On the way to the Clinic in the morning Dr König met me and asked what was the matter. He was delighted with my answer – I did not share his delight – and said 'This is wonderful, come with me to the doctors.' He drew me with him into a group of doctors, and his words 'Look, you can see – the knee is the eye!' echoed for a long time in my astonished heart.

He had himself a number of courses to give; and in these it often happened that when he was questioned he replied: 'I am sorry, I don't know. But I will think it over, and perhaps I shall be able to answer you.' For many of the young people, who had come for the first time to Dornach and Arlesheim to study, it was a significant experience to listen to Dr Karl König and to get to know him. His quiet, definite, and truthful tones made him seem very much older and more mature. I heard his first lecture in the Goetheanum and took part in the joyful sensation which moved the crowded hall.

In February 1928 I was back in our small children's home.

A friendly connection with Dr König had developed; he had spoken to me of his coming lecture tour in Germany and I had told him about our work with children. When I visited my home I found my sister very ill, and decided to ask Dr König to see her when he held his lectures in Breslau; and this came about. He could help her in a wonderful way. Afterwards I showed him the little village of Gnadenfrei, a settlement of the *Herrnhuter*; he was extraordinarily moved and shaken by the special atmosphere there. The *Herrnhuter* are the last members of the Bohemian Brethren; their last bishop was Amos Comenius. Count Zinzendorf received the first refugees in Saxony, and *Herrnhut* was founded there.

On the same day (it was the eve of Ascension Day) we drove out towards the Eulengebirge. The chain of mountains glowed in the evening light; I could show him the Bohmsberg, where at that time the exiled brethren with their wives and children journeyed down into the Silesian valleys, where the village of Gnadenfrei was to be founded later on. A pious nobleman gave the land for it *aus Gnaden frei* – from free grace. Our small children's home lay just at the foot of the Bohmsberg.

There followed a very different experience. He saw all the children, and the evening passed in the small circle of the co-workers in stimulating discussion. Albrecht Strohschein asked him whether he would not like to join our work. Albrecht Strohschein was one of the three young men who asked Rudolf Steiner for advice and leadership in the care of retarded children at Christmas 1923. But Dr König said that he intended something on a greater scale, this place was much too small! Then came Ascension Day; Karl König seemed thoroughly at home and at ease, he spoke to the children at the morning festival, and played two pieces by Bach. In the afternoon we were visited by friends, Herr and Frau von Jeetze; they offered us their large castle and park for our work. Here at once was the answer; and Karl König happily agreed to join us as doctor after the move. Thus this Ascension Day was a real knot in destiny, and indeed the birthday of his life work. The work in Pilgramshaim grew rapidly, and soon we had between seventy and eighty children, most of them sent by the health authorities. Our friendship too passed through a transformation, and in May 1929 we were married, in the presence of all the children.

Through the various social services and their workers a large circle of friends and people interested had formed; there was an increasing desire to hear and understand more about the new methods of education. And so it happened that Dr Emil Bock as a priest and Dr König as a doctor undertook a number of lecture tours together, visiting particularly, so far as I remember, Berlin and Hamburg. This was a very fertile work. In joke they called themselves Pat and Pattacon – the big powerful Bock and the little Dr König. It was not only the work with children which extended; with the widespread lecturing, anthroposophical groups formed in many towns in Silesia. Not least there was the practice, which grew more and more.

But at this time the political situation changed entirely. In 1933 Adolf Hitler took the helm; soon one could feel that there was no more interest for retarded children, on the contrary, they were in the greatest danger. The racial problem and the Nürnberg Laws began to have their effects and to take control of Germany and the Germans. And so it came about that we formed the decision to leave Pilgramshaim. This soon became known in the circle of patients, whose number continually increased during the last year. Members of the Party came in the evening; Dr König did not make it easy for them – he said that they had surely made a mistake and were looking for his colleague Dr König in the next town, for he himself as they knew was a Jew! They became very confused, and assured him that they wanted him.

It was March 1936 when we left Silesia. Three children had been born to us there. The future lay before us dark and shadowy indeed. To take money from Germany was not permitted; but through the help of some Austrian friends we could rent a house in one of the suburbs of Vienna. The first months were difficult. It was summer, and it was rare for a patient to find his way into the consulting room. We often asked each other how we could go on. But in the autumn the picture altered; many patients came, and a young doctor helped my husband in the ever-increasing practice. Lectures too began again; once a week he spoke to friends and patients, at first in our house, but soon a larger room had to be found; for between one and two hundred people took part. Karl König spoke on

many themes, generally concerned with the study of man and with anthroposophy.

Destiny granted us two years in Vienna; looking back this appears to me as the germ cell of the work that was to extend over the world. A circle of young people gathered about Dr König, and were united in a group. They were people belonging to the most varied directions and callings; students, teachers and artists, people who enjoyed life and people who were serious and melancholic. We had wonderful evenings together. In winter we produced together the Christmases Plays from Oberufer. The idea of a common work came into being – not just the study of Anthroposophy, but to live it and transform it into action. This was for the circle of young friends a goal worth striving for, and the plan to begin a home for children in need of special care took shape.

A tragic impetus came from outside. Hitler had undermined Austria; his troops now swept over the land, and the government was forced to resign. On that very evening we had a meeting heavy with destiny. We read the last lecture of Rudolf Steiner's 'Youth Course' where he speaks about the Archangel Michael. His words gave us the strength to go to meet the future with courage.

This was the last time that we were all together; soon the first friends began to leave. We had made the common decision to leave Austria, and to meet again, in order to begin a common work somewhere in the world. One after the other left Vienna; they went to Italy, Switzerland, France, England, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia – wherever each had connections and possibilities. Our own path was more complicated. In Vienna our fourth child had been born; and we decided to take different ways. A faithful friend took my husband to Italy and I went to my parents with the children. But first I was able to send all the furniture and books to Switzerland. Our separation lasted nearly six months – a time of anxiety, hope and waiting. Most countries had closed their frontiers. Dr König went from Italy to Switzerland and France; he endured journeys and experiences of many kinds. When visiting Arlesheim as the guest of Dr Ita Wegman he was asked by her: 'Why do you not try Scotland, I have friends there?' Two days after this conversation a letter came from the British consulate in

Berne, informing Dr König that he was one of the fifty Austrian doctors chosen to receive entry permits to England, in order to re-acquire their medical qualifications there and to settle there. Destiny had spoken; and at the end of 1938 we were united again. Dr Wegman's friends invited me and the children to come, generously putting an old manse at our disposal. After endless trouble Dr König had succeeded in obtaining a collective entry permit for the circle of friends, and early in the next year one after the other arrived in Scotland.

But before I describe the life and work in Scotland I have to think of the departure from Silesia. During Advent I went to a lecture held in the Breslau Christian Community. Eduard Lenz spoke and afterwards we said goodbye. I told him of the coming journey to Scotland. He spoke in an almost prophetic way about the future, about the destiny of Silesia, and about the necessity for founding islands for spiritual work outside Germany. No-one realised then that Silesia would so soon be separated from Germany in the midst of the disasters of war.

My children and I were for nearly three months the guests of Mr and Mrs Haughton, Dr Ita Wegman's friends, and it was on Rudolf Steiner's death day, 30th March, that we slept for the first time at Kirkton House. The cases of books were not yet unpacked, and the furniture had only just been arranged, but everything began to look homely. On the first evening we three women were together; there was no electric light, so we sat in intimate conversation in the glow of a small oil lamp. We spoke about the coming work. On 1st April Dr König and Peter Roth arrived from Edinburgh where they had been having important conversations with the refugee committees. And the Dean of the Medical School in Dundee had accepted Dr König in a friendly way as an 'advanced student' at St Andrews University. Thus all the preparations were complete and the new life could begin.

Every Monday morning my husband went to Dundee, returning only at the week-ends. But in these two and a half days, endlessly much was concentrated. The first children arrived, and had to be cared for, understood and educated. Thus the first instruction began. The week-ends were very many-sided. Looking back, it is almost incomprehensible to me how strongly Karl König was able to work at this time to form a community.

We sang, spoke, and played together and he was teacher, brother, friend and father in continuous transformation. He shared completely in the purely practical things as well. I remember very vividly the cleaning and tidying every Saturday. The staircase was painted white from top to bottom, and when we discussed the work he insisted on scrubbing part of it himself. For many weeks Peter Roth, Thomas Weihs and Dr König shared this work. They did it so thoroughly that the white paint gradually disappeared!

In the course of the summer more children arrived. But the clouds of the approaching war became more threatening. Just before it broke out the last of the friends reached us. So we were all together again, a small community in a strange land.

Since more and more children were seeking to come to us, we began to look for a new place nearer to Aberdeen. Through the help of Mr W. F. Macmillan, who wished to bring his son to us, we were able to acquire Camphill.

But suddenly a new difficulty appeared. Everything was arranged so that we could move to Camphill at the end of May 1940; but on Whit Sunday, 12th May, all our men were interned. The police arrived in plain clothes, in order not to frighten anyone, and the big bus stopped at some distance from Kirkton House. Half an hour for packing was permitted; by the evening we were without men – five women, seven pupils, and our own four children. Days of anxiety and much thought followed. Some children went back to their parents. We decided to defy fate, and to move to Camphill even without our men. This was done on 1st June.

During the first weeks there was very little correspondence; we did not even know where they were. (They went to the Isle of Man.) Fortunately the friends were not separated, and a time of common study was possible.

At the same time influential British friends began to work for their release, and on 4th October 1940 Dr König was the first to be set free. In the course of the following months the other friends returned. It was a strange time for us women. Together with our own work, we had to do all that the men had done. Rooms were to be painted, furniture to be arranged, the big garden to be cared for and so on. Everything was ready for the new beginning when my husband returned. We felt

that the real work could now begin, filled with the impulse towards spiritual endeavour. Very soon Camphill too was full of children, and the authorities began to pay attention and to become interested. I remember one thing that was typical for this country. The war was still going on, and Dr König was called to go to London to a child who was acutely ill. For this, a small fighter aeroplane was put at his disposal. Afterwards he received an invitation to give a lecture to the R.A.F. at Dyce about his work for children needing special care. We were all astonished at this generosity – no other country would have done this.

A.N. writes:

I met Dr König in 1938 in Vienna where as a young person I suffered from a persistent form of allergy which leading specialists and professors had been unable to help. An acquaintance, a medical student who was a member of Dr König's youth group, advised me to go to Dr König.

The last glow of the setting sun came in through the windows and filled the room. At the desk in the centre stood a very small man with a large – a lion's – head. He wore a physician's white coat. His eyes were very big and grave. When they rested on you, they did not only see *through* you, they seemed to create you anew. Something dormant in yourself responded whether you wanted it to or not; you seemed to become what you really were, beneath the layers of habit, inhibition and illusion.

This peculiar gaze, I think, was one of the unique characteristics in Dr König. I would call it a 'creative gaze'. He not only saw what you were but what you were meant to be.

To this same gaze, our handicapped children responded powerfully. Dr König was not a bit sentimental and he expected the most, even of a disabled child. He could be forbidding when a child 'played up'. But the moment the grave look with its beam of warmth touched the core of the most disturbed child, it responded like a flower, opening up and showing the beauty within.

* * *

In the early years of Camphill, Dr König was superintendent

as well as doctor for the school which was rapidly expanding. Sitting at his desk, dictating innumerable letters, he was there for everything, for every call, any question as to how to go on. For we had no one else to ask – how to teach, to look after a child, to deal with a convulsion, to paint, to garden, to treat a sick horse, when to do this and to do that.

Already in the old manse in the north he had begun our 'education'. This happened on different levels. I remember the long winter evenings when we gathered in his study downstairs around the tiny open fireplace, the curtains heaving with draughts behind us, and we had to stand up and recite poems, long ones and short ones, and accompany our efforts with gestures! But there was no escape. Yet Dr König himself was a natural example of co-ordinated movement. For although he was unusually small, his feet having a slight impairment since birth, his bearing was remarkably free and there was a hidden grace in his gait.

When Dr König lectured, he paced to and fro, the words seemed to come with his strides. When he spoke about animals, a dear subject, he would with one characteristic gesture *become* one or the other animal, to the infinite delight of his audience.

With us, he studied historical periods, personalities, the lives of men who had inaugurated impulses, curative or social. We were given tasks of our own to study and early on were encouraged to 'lecture' to the others. We were taught to *have* interests and to share them. I remember well how angry Dr König could be if any of us had read an interesting book and had not told the others about it.

* * *

None of the young people who formed Dr König's little army in 1939 had much notion of Rudolf Steiner's teaching, for some it was alien. Yet he himself based all his work and striving on Rudolf Steiner's teaching and knew that his future work for handicapped children would at all times have to flow from that source and no other. Therefore his young helpers would have to become pupils of Rudolf Steiner. But there was no force or coercion – simply a knowledge that as our destinies had led us to him, we would have to wake up to the fact that working with him meant – with Rudolf Steiner. So Dr König stead-



Karl König as a boy



Dr Karl König about 1927



Mrs Tilla König with two of their children (Vienna, 1937)



Dr Karl König with a patient (1953)

fastly studied basic books and lectures with us, leading us step by step into a new world.

You could never go to Dr König to complain about others. You got nowhere when you did. Instead of bringing shame on the other, you brought it on yourself. The change in his facial expression when you tried to complain about someone was enough to announce the disaster if you persisted. He disliked a 'worm's view' of the other person and regarded the summing up of another person's 'complexes' as nothing but an excuse for one's own falling short of human obligations. His reaction to a breakdown in human relationships amongst us was stern. Nor would he ever mediate; he demanded the direct encounter to put things straight.

There are many people outside Camphill and some who at times were here who felt that Dr König was imperious, that he did not respect personal freedom but expected everyone to submit to him and his aims and that those who worked with him were blind followers.

Dr König no doubt did not make it easy for the individual to establish his own freedom. He could not brook selfishness and illusion. You had to go through the eye of the needle and the freedom you achieved had to be real freedom which does not mean opposition. When he saw even the smallest glimmer of true freedom in the other, he was the first to acclaim it, to foster it and to build on it to the infinite benefit of all.

He was no doubt imperious, imperious as the lion, and things mostly had to go his way. His way was usually a considered one, more often both wise and good. But two things especially made it possible for others to live with this trait: he was entirely able to accept, if not opposition, then fair correction and would readily consider the other person's view and make it his own. For so powerful and self-contained a person he was surprisingly open to correction.

Finally, all those who lived and worked with him for so long a time were witnesses of the unrelenting struggle he had with himself to make this lion a lamb. His brave battle with everything that was imperious in himself, with his confessed love of the red carpet, that sought for the central and perhaps omnipotent place – in order to develop humility, was to those who beheld it, truly heroic. It was a struggle of years and in the last

few of his life, many circles inside and outside Camphill felt the fruits of this struggle, experienced the balsam of his humility, were sustained by the example of a 'great servant'.

Therefore, when Rudolf Meyer, the priest of the Christian Community who celebrated the funeral service for Dr König at the Lake of Constance spoke of him as having been a 'Brother' to his fellow-men, he set a seal on the long brave way Dr König had gone in the singular overcoming of himself.

A remarkable gift of Dr König's was his ability to delegate. Imperious on the one hand and preferring to do things himself, in the deeper, more vital spheres of the life of the Camphill Movement he knew how to delegate and to foster responsibility and carrying power in others. Thus when Dr König died, the widespread Camphill Movement was so organised and ordered and functions were so carefully delegated that no thought had to cross our mind that the work he had begun could not carry on. The hole he left in our midst has been full of hope and strength instead of being an aching gap, which it could have been.

To be able to delegate must finally be the ability to face death with creativity and courage, even with love, because one knows that whatever one lets go freely and with trust, will return in fuller measure and that only if one lets go, does not hoard, will new life be engendered.

DOLPHINS, CHILDREN OF THE SEA

*Translated, by permission, from 'Die Drei' (Stuttgart),
Nov-Dec., 1964.*

KARL KÖNIG

I

IN recent years a renewed interest for the strange life of the dolphin has developed in many places. Accounts of them appear in newspapers and periodicals and a series of books has appeared concerned with the description of their nature and their qualities.

This interest has grown up particularly through the thorough investigations into a particular species of dolphin, *Tursiops truncatus*, made by American researchers, to begin with in the Marineland Institute in Miami, and more recently at St Thomas in the Virgin Islands and other places. These researchers regard it as a possibility that these particularly intelligent animals may be brought to develop a certain degree of understanding for human speech. This research, especially that undertaken by John C. Lillie and his colleagues, receives substantial government support, because there is hope that through these experiments a basis will be acquired for communication in the future with those living beings which may be met in the course of future expeditions in space through the solar system.

Thus a strange mixture of utopian ideas with the researchers' desire for knowledge is at work, no doubt warmed, too, ever afresh by the special charm which these animals possess. For anyone who has seen and observed dolphins can hardly escape from their fascination. They convey a feeling of contentment and joy.

A few years ago, for example, a dolphin appeared at Opononi, a small place on the North Island of New Zealand, and made friends with the children and fishermen who lived there. Soon many thousand visitors came to watch the sociable animal at play.

Some people got so excited when they saw Opo that they went into the water fully clothed, just to touch her. . . . In the evenings,

when it was too chilly to be in the water any longer and the dolphin had gone off, everyone talked about her. In the tents . . . the campers exchanged their scanty knowledge of the marvel, speaking in low voices while the children slept. They visited each other's tents, becoming friends with total strangers in an instant, all because of the dolphin. There was such an overflow of these friendly feelings that it seemed the crowds were composed of people wanting to be forgiven. . . .

Similar stories are known from antiquity. Herodotus, Pliny, Phylarchos and many other Greek and Roman writers record remarkable meetings and experiences with dolphins, describing their friendship with children and young men, and their helpfulness and self-sacrifice in saving those who are drowning.

In the legends of Greece and Rome there are many stories of dolphins; they appear on coins, cups, jars, grave-stones and mosaics. At no earlier or later time have they been so present to human consciousness.

Aristotle wrote in his *History of the Animals* much about dolphins. In Book IX, chapter 35, he says:

Among the sea-creatures, many stories are told about the dolphin, indicative of his gentle and kindly nature, and of manifestations of devoted affection for boys, in and about Tarentum, Caria, and other places. The story goes that after a dolphin had been caught and wounded off the coast of Caria, a school of dolphins came into the harbour in response to his cries and stopped there until the fisherman let his captive go free; whereupon the school departed. A school of young dolphins is always, by way of protection, followed by a large one. On one occasion a school of dolphins, large and small, was seen, and two dolphins at a little distance appeared swimming in underneath a little dead dolphin when it was sinking, and supporting it on their backs. . . .

Similar observations have been made in the last decade, and described in detail (Alpers, Slijper and others). From these it can be seen that these animals have not only a special relationship to human beings, but also live in close relationship and co-operation with one another. It seems to be one of their characteristics, that they show helpfulness to others; something rare among animals, which deserves close study. What are the dolphins, and what is their origin?

II

The dolphins and porpoises all belong to a larger group of mammals which live in the seas and in some rivers. They are included in the order of whales (*Cetacea*). The suborders are distinguished: the Toothed Whales (*Odontoceti*) and the Baleen or Whalebone Whales (*Mysticeti*).

The former have as their name indicates fully developed mandibles. The Baleen Whales, however, have no teeth; they have in their mouths great racks, in which the small creatures which they eat are caught.

The Baleen Whales are the largest animals now living, among them the Blue Whale and the Fin Whale which are hunted in the oceans of the Arctic and Antarctic. They are mysterious creatures, whose behaviour and way of life are still obscure. Their migrations, their appearance and disappearance are only partly known. For millennia they have been attacked and exploited by men; but their mystery has not yet been revealed.

Very different are the *Odontoceti*. Among them there are giants too, like the Sperm Whale and the White Whale. Both of these are much exploited, for they are often not much smaller than the mighty Baleen Whales. But they all have teeth; the Sperm Whale, however, only on the lower jaw. There is also a strange group, the Narwhals, which have generally only one gigantic tooth which projects from the upper jaw as a spiral horn two or three yards long.

Several of the *Odontoceti* are fierce robbers, which rend and kill any creature that they meet. There is the fearful Killer Whale, with a dorsal fin projecting upwards like a mighty dagger. A Danish scientist, Eschricht, in the last century found in one of these creatures which had been caught and killed, the still fresh bodies of thirteen porpoises and fourteen seals. The fifteenth seal had stuck in the throat of this monster and suffocated it.

The small porpoise, *Phocaena*, lives particularly in the northern waters of the Atlantic and sometimes swims up the great rivers – the Rhine, the Elbe and the Thames. There seems to be no difficulty for the *Odontoceti* to change from salt water to fresh. Even Killers have been observed and caught in rivers.

The dolphins themselves inhabit particularly the seas of the northern hemisphere, but are well-known too on the coasts of Australia and New Zealand; in these regions the large bottle-nosed dolphins with which the present investigations in America are concerned are found.

This short and incomplete survey nevertheless gives a first picture of the whales. According to the present results of research it appears to be justified to regard the *Mysticeti* as having their home more in the Arctic and Antarctic regions, and the *Odontoceti* nearer to the equator. The river dolphins whose snouts are extended in a beak-like form are found particularly in equatorial countries, for example in the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, and related forms in the Amazon and the Orinoco. Only *Odontoceti* live in the rivers, and these in the temperate and equatorial regions. The *Mysticeti* inhabit the seas round the two Arctic circles. The *Mysticeti* which have a longer history on earth live nearer to the polar zones; the *Odontoceti* which appear later approach the equator. The two orders however overlap considerably in their geographical distribution; nevertheless this general scheme appears to be correct.

III

One characteristic belongs to both groups: they are given up entirely to life in the water. The seals, *Pinnipedia*, still change from the sea to the land and back to the water again. These mate and breed on the land, and the calves have to learn to swim and hunt in water. But the whales are entirely confined to the water; they do not return to land at any stage of their lives. Only if the sea throws them upon the coast, and they are unable to get back into the water because of injury or the retreating tide, they are connected indeed with the solid earth but this is then their grave. They are much more definitely creatures of the water than the seals; in spite of their mammalian nature they have left the dry land entirely. The seas and rivers have become their pastures.

Their bodies have become more closely fitted to life in the water than those of the seals. For example, they have no hind-legs. Only rudimentary pelvic bones have remained and prove that rear limbs once existed. The arms too have

atrophied and changed into two fins, which are used for guiding their movements, not for propulsion. And most *Odontoceti* have developed a large dorsal fin, which the seals lack. They have thus many characteristics in which they resemble fishes. But the tail has a fundamental difference. This is not vertical as in the real fishes, but horizontal with some detachment and freedom from the backbone. It impels the animal like a propeller with a quick and powerful rotating movement which its position makes possible. All forward movement comes about in this way. Dolphins easily achieve a speed of twenty knots.

In their movements these animals are great artists. They are not only fast swimmers, who can race with any large ocean steamer, but also tremendous jumpers and divers, often hopping over small sailing boats as if to tease their crews. They can leap for yards out of the water and dive in again gracefully and easily. Their moving games are varied, and much more agile than those of the seals.

In their games they can balance balls on their snouts, throw motor tyres, and catch objects. In the 'Marine Station' at Miami dolphins can be observed playing with the feathers of water birds; they let these be carried away by the currents in the large tank, pursue them, and bring them back. They can carry human beings as riders on their backs through the water, showing both the speed and the steady balance of their movement. No fish could do this. All dolphins live in herds; they are very seldom to be found alone; even when they make friends with human beings, they are often accompanied by another dolphin. As has been mentioned, they help each other when one of them is wounded or in need.

Alpers tells how some years ago seven dolphins were stranded on a small island in the north of New Zealand. They were seven or eight feet long, and the holiday-makers (friends of Alpers, who told him what happened) made every effort to drag them back into the sea. This energetic rescue attempt was however a failure, because of the community feeling among the group; for directly one of the seven was in the water, he attempted with all his power to join his stranded companions. None of them was willing to leave the others in their need. After many hours of effort, two dolphins were rescued; the remainder died on the shore. Their sense of community did

not allow them to preserve their own lives when the others were losing theirs.

Behaviour of this kind is only found otherwise among birds and mammals when they have their young. Then the mothers sacrifice themselves to preserve the life of their offspring. For this to happen on behalf of every member of the herd, as with the dolphins, is unique.

In the 'Marine Station' in Florida already mentioned, the following event was observed. A dolphin which was brought into the Oceanarium collided with his head against the side of the tank so violently that he sank to the bottom unconscious. The two other dolphins approached him, raised him from below to the surface of the water, and held him up until he began to breathe. There are many similar observations. A mother dolphin holds her offspring on the surface until it has drawn the first breath. For the birth takes place, as mating does, under water.

We are thus dealing with mammals which are given up entirely to life in the water, but which always have to come to the surface to breathe. All whales, *Odontoceti* as well as *Mysticeti*, can only live in water if it is always possible for them to breathe air. This happens at very different intervals and under very different conditions. It is stated that dolphins come up at intervals of three to five minutes in order to breathe in fresh air and breathe out used air. They breathe then very quickly, exchanging each time five to ten litres of air.

IV

From this description it is clear that the organ which enables air to be breathed in and out, is for dolphins and whales the centre of their life. This is the blow-hole at the top of the head. It consists in a small hole which can be opened and closed by a valve. The muscles of this complicated apparatus are arranged in such a way that it is opened actively, and closed passively. This hole is like a pupil for the air, actively opened outside water and drawn together passively when the dolphin dives.

This central point at the top of the head should not be compared with the crown of the head in the human being. For only behind the blow-hole does the bony cover of the skull begin,



Dionysos Cup by Exekias
(Antikensammlung, Munich)
see page 103

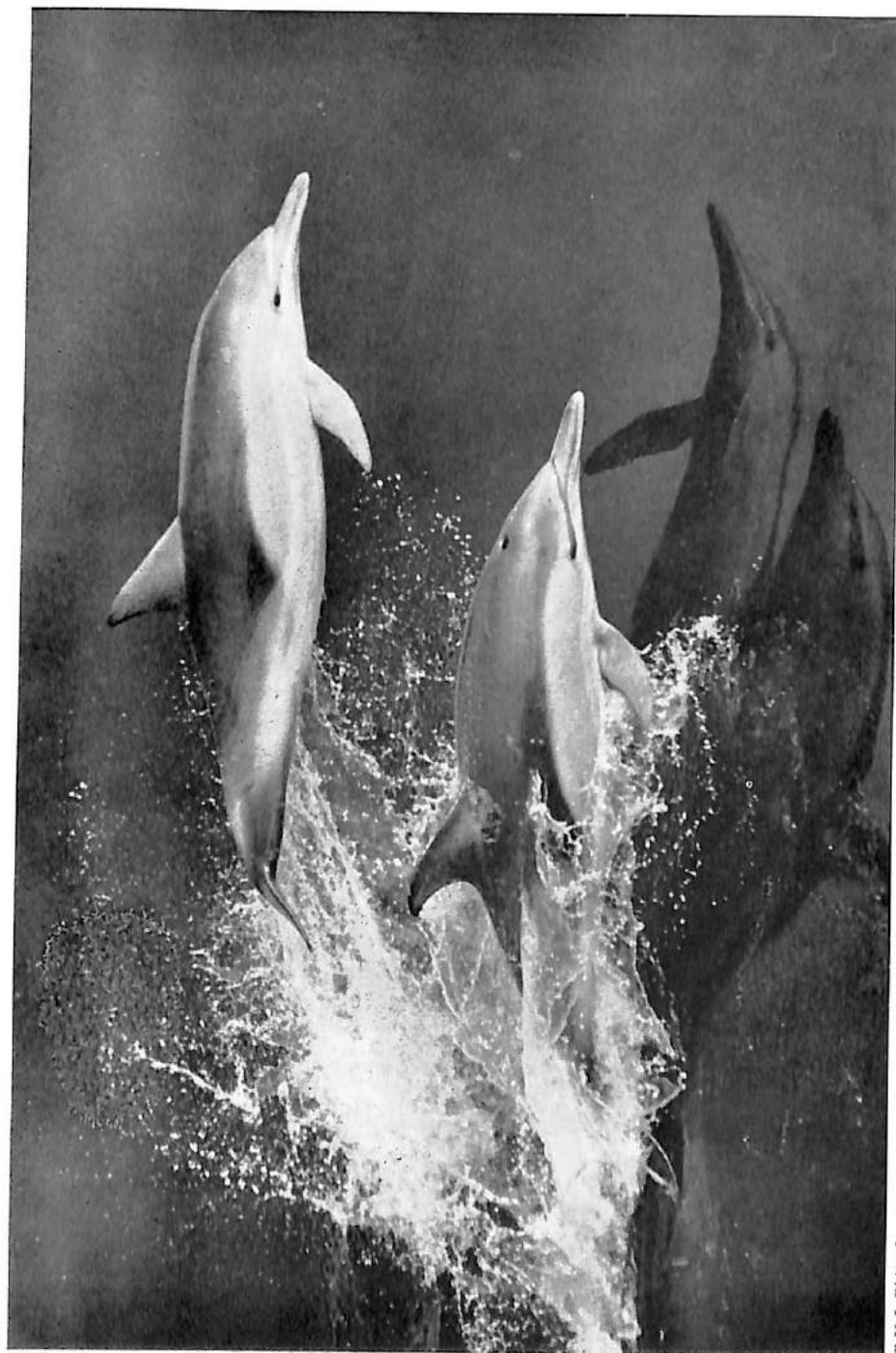
within which the brain is embedded. This place could only be compared in the human face with the region at the root of the nose. But the dolphin lacks the external nose entirely, and only remnants of the inner nasal passages are preserved in the neighbourhood of the blow-hole. What appears like a nose is the upper jaw, cushioned with fat and oil. [In the picture of the leaping dolphins the position of the blow-hole at the top of the head of the nearer dolphin can be clearly seen.] From the blow-hole an airway leads down vertically through the upper jaw into the complicated larynx. From this the inbreathed air proceeds through a short passage into the branching bronchial tubes of the lungs. The apparatus for closing the blow-hole and the air passage leading to it is a system of valves and rings, which can be opened and closed independently at various places.

Immediately below the blow-hole the air passage widens into two larger and two smaller air reservoirs, arranged symmetrically. These air reservoirs, which surround the air passage and are enclosed in a thick net of muscles, serve for the production of sound, which can be achieved both under water and in the air. The larynx too does not only regulate the stream of breath, but can probably produce sounds under water. It is now certain that dolphins can communicate through the most varied sounds. These consist in a deep creaking sound, and notes which extend over grunts and whistles into frequencies which are inaudible to us. These are emitted in the presence of danger and to call other dolphins to help. (The seven dolphins which were stranded, as was described above, communicated through these high frequencies.)

Further, dolphins emit another kind of supersonic wave; these work on the principle of echo location. Solid objects in the water – for example single fish, shoals, ships and rocks – are assayed by these sound waves, which are thrown back and perceived as a sense impression by the dolphins. The details are not yet known. These supersonic signals are sent out abruptly and in various rhythms.

Apparently it [this sonar system] can be used to determine not only the distance and direction of an object but its form as well; by this technique they can find a fish that they want to eat and distinguish it from other objects.

TGB G



T.H.J. Phipps

Leaping dolphins in Cook Strait, New Zealand

[Paul Popper Ltd.]

It is probable that the entire surface of the body is sensitive to these reflected sound waves. For the skin is specially fine and smooth and nevertheless as if invulnerable. For when a wound is caused, from the lower fat layer an oil penetrates into it which stops the bleeding and closes and covers the opening.

No single hair is to be found on the skin of the dolphin, not even bristles or moustaches on the face. Everything is smooth and shining, perhaps in order to make the perception involved in echo location as clear as possible.

Through the special position of the blow-hole and air passage the nose has atrophied. The entire loss of the organ of smell and the two olfactory nerves is connected with this. We have to suppose that no smell of any kind is observed by dolphins, when they draw breath on the surface of the water. It is still in doubt whether they have a sense of taste.

But one sense organ is very highly developed; the ear. Although it is hardly visible externally, as its position is only indicated by a tiny opening behind the eye, and although the outer auditory canal is very long, narrow, and bent in the form of an S – the middle and inner ear are developed with great complexity. The bone which contains them is specially hard – the hardest of all bones found in animals. This is not, as with man and most mammals, grown together with the skull, but only connected with it by ligaments and muscles. In this way it becomes possible for this ear bone (*petrosus*) to be moved in many directions and to adapt itself to a particular sound.

The real inner ear, the cochlea, is much larger in dolphins than in man. It has two convolutions and is particularly developed in the lower part which is connected with the perception of high notes. The auditory nerves connected with this organ are also much more powerfully developed than in man. If one considers that the capacity for perception for high and very high notes is very much greater in dolphins than in other mammals including man then the special development of the whole ear can be understood. Human beings can distinguish notes lying approximately between 20 cycles and 20 kilocycles. With whales and dolphins, but particularly with the latter, this sensitivity rises to 140 kilocycles.

Thus the dolphin, and probably most other whales, are a group of animals with a quite special capacity of hearing. They

perceive their environment especially through sounds, notes and noises. Their realm is not resounding air but the reverberating water. They breathe air but they experience their watery environment as a sounding and rippling, as the resounding of the breakers, the steady murmur of the waves.

Is it astonishing that the Greeks associated the dolphin both with Dionysos blowing his flute and with Apollo, the master of music? That they let the dolphins play to the sound of the lyre?

V

Another special characteristic of all dolphins, porpoises, and other whales, is the exceptional development of their brain. No other mammal, not even the anthropoid apes, can be compared with them. In absolute and relative size of brain the *Odontoceti* are the only mammals which are close to man.

That such mighty creatures as the Baleen whales should have enormous brains is not surprising. These weigh 15 or 16 lbs. But dolphins and porpoises not much larger than man have about the same size of brain. That is an extraordinary phenomenon!

In addition, the form, structure and convolutions of the dolphin brain are remarkably similar to that of man. The former, indeed, appears as if compressed at the back; but it is not much behind the construction of our brain in the complexity of its development. The convolutions and folds are very numerous and recent investigations have shown that the number of nerve cells is similar to that of the human brain substance. The same must be said of the cerebellum, in every respect. It is not only large, but complex and similar to that of man.

Among the nerves of the brain the olfactory nerve is missing, being only present in a rudimentary form in some Baleen whales. The visual nerve too is relatively small. Only the auditory nerve is outstanding in size. It is much the most highly developed sense nerve, and in connection with it those parts of the cerebrum which are connected with hearing are particularly well developed. Here too is shown the nature of the dolphin which is so deeply concerned with the realm of sound.

But why is the brain so large, and so human in form? This has become a burning question to those who have occupied themselves with this matter. And in recent years Lillie and other

researchers in North America have chosen the bottle-nosed dolphin as the object of their experiments because they assume that the size of brain should permit communication like that of speech. Lillie for example is convinced that the capacity of speech is bound to a definite size of brain and that the growing child can only learn to express itself through speech when the necessary size of brain has been reached about the second year.

Such considerations certainly deserve to be treated with a certain scepticism. But the question remains: why have dolphins and other *Odontoceti* such a highly developed brain? Many researchers bring this into connection with their skilful capacity for movement; others (Crile and Quirrig) believe that the particularly active metabolic system is responsible. But where there are such varied possibilities of explanation the real answer has not yet been found.

In this connection the astonishingly mature social behaviour of the dolphins is to be considered, which has been already described; the strong connection they have with one another and their amiability towards men. It must be remembered that dolphins behave quite differently, for example, towards fish. It is known that fishermen in various regions are assisted by dolphins. They summon them with high-pitched whistles; and the dolphins drive shoals of fish towards the boats, as hunting dogs drive game towards hunters. Pliny describes this behaviour; so does Oppian, a great admirer of the dolphin. In recent times similar observations have been made. (Slijper, *op. cit.*) Dolphins behave with particular enmity towards sharks. They attack them by driving their closed jaws into the body of the shark and tearing open the wound made in this way with their sharp teeth, of which they have eighty-eight. But a human being has never been chased or attacked.

Lillie's assertion that he has never seen a sleeping dolphin is important. He says:

Because they do not constantly have to resist gravity as we do, they do not need to sleep as we do. As we discovered, they cannot afford deep unconsciousness at all from any cause – anaesthesia, epileptic convulsions, or a blow on the head hard enough to produce unconsciousness will kill them.

This can be understood if one remembers that all whales have

to come to the surface to breathe at shorter or longer intervals. If this does not happen they are doomed. Is this perhaps the reason for the size of their brain – that it protects them from falling asleep? That different parts of the cerebral cortex can be active in turn, while parts that have been exhausted by consciousness can recover?

How otherwise can this continuous consciousness be achieved? There are many riddles here waiting to be answered. But does not the ever-waking dolphin bring into the depths of the ocean an element which can be felt like an illumination of the water? Fishes have a dim, dream-like consciousness. Whales however carry their constant day-consciousness down into the depths of the ocean, bringing light into the darkness ruling there.

VI

To bring all these phenomena into a single, inclusive and comprehensible picture, revealing the nature and development of the dolphins, is a difficult undertaking. Is it right yet to attempt any such picture, tentatively or definitely?

We picture the oceans of the earth, through which there wander the mighty whales; like memorials of a primeval age they plough the waters in the polar regions, grazing on the billions of small creatures which form their food. They are joined towards the tropics by the toothed whales; from the mighty sperm-whale to the fierce killers and the schools of dolphins and porpoises. For all these, although they are mammals, life in the water has been prescribed by world destiny. They have continually to come up from the depths in order to breathe in and out, and this demands uninterrupted wakefulness; sleep and every other form of loss of consciousness bring death. Therefore their brain is specially large and has as complex folds as that of man. The nose is turned upwards, so that its opening, transformed into a blow-hole, comes to lie at the top of the head.

In this way mouth and nose, which are otherwise among mammals closely connected, are anatomically separated. Between them an unoccupied space has remained which gives to all whales and particularly to dolphins their peculiar facial form. The widely spaced eyes survey this empty field of the

upper jaw. High up breath is expelled and inhaled. The clear separation between nourishment and breathing is a particular characteristic of the whales. Through the blow-hole which points upwards they have given to breathing a special place. For them it must be similar in character to the human capacity for forming mental pictures. For whales have no rhythmic breathing process, as have most of the other animals; their breathing is dependent upon consciousness, upon the varying circumstances of their lives, upon the struggle and the joyful game of existence.

Furthermore the sense of smell has been lost by them. Wherever the power of smell decreases, it is transformed into another capacity. Rudolf Steiner once described how the loss of that powerfully developed sense of smell which exists among the animals, leads in man to the development of the intellect. Thus the human face is not extended forwards as is the face of many ruminants, beasts of prey and apes, but pointing steeply upwards and downwards, granting space to the brow and the chin.

But where did the transformed sense of smell go in the dolphin? Here it went through a metamorphosis into the tremendously developed hearing, which opens upon the infinite realm of sound waves in the air and the water. The dolphin is a creature listening attentively to the world, forming its picture of existence through these perceptions. By means of the breath these tones, sounds and noises are transformed into conscious experiences, which then probably become memories.

Man alone is observed by the dolphin by means of the eye; this is evident from many of the descriptions given by Lillie and his fellow-workers. When the human individuality, with and through his eyes, gazes at the dolphin, it becomes tame and friendly. Does a memory then arise in it of old long-past times, when it was still itself upon the way towards humanity? At the moment of such a meeting of eyes, do pictures of its evolution dawn upon its consciousness? So that it then takes children or youths upon its back and bears them through the waves, indicating that it wished to become what they now are, and gladly acknowledges their humanity? This belongs to the visual world of the dolphin.

With hearing, it lives in the realm of the natural, not of the human. In this it hunts for fish, defeats the ancestral enemy

the shark, and darts through the water. But directly seamen and fishermen appear in their ships and boats, it becomes friendly, happy and tame. Then the eye enters their consciousness, with light and air as the dominant environment.

It is as if the dolphin lives in a world divided into two; in the heights of air and light and in the depths of sound and water. In one world, which air sustains, he encounters man. In the other sphere, in which he finds his nourishment, and his living space as an animal, he encounters the other animals, which are his enemies or his companions.

Slijper says that in 'Marineland' dolphins are frightened by sounds between 300 and 400 kilocycles (about from low C to high A).

Such observations show clearly that our hearing and that of the dolphin have an opposite background of feeling: what for us is music frightens them and drives them away; what for us is painful, like a high-pitched siren, attracts them.

They are thus remote from us – and yet a part of us. But what was it that caused them to seek out, when they departed from evolution towards humanity, the ocean depths instead of the dry land?

A Greek legend tells of the younger Dionysos

... how he was carried off, when he stood on the shore looking into the distance, by Etruscan pirates. They bound him to the mast; but the bonds 'fell from his hands and feet. He sat there smiling, with dark eyes'. A mighty vine grew up about the mast and sails, and the sweet fragrance of a noble wine filled the boat and made the crew and their captain drunk. Only the helmsman remained sober and recognised that he had a god on board. But Dionysos took the form of a lion threatening the seamen; in terror they leapt into the sea and were there transformed into dolphins swimming round the boat. The helmsman alone remained free of this metamorphosis. The god was revealed to him as son of Zeus and Semele.

For the Greeks the origin of the dolphin is connected with the work of the younger Dionysos. He who cannot master the fragrance and power of wine – so they may have thought – becomes a dolphin. The one who remains conscious and upright, as the helmsman does, may remain in the realm of humanity. Rudolf Steiner once said about this Dionysos:

For the present-day consciousness of the 'I', with its intellectual culture, with all that proceeds from our understanding and from our 'I' in general, has its macrocosmic image in the second Dionysos. . . .

the son of Zeus and Semele. And he points to the other legend, which tells of Dionysos's journey towards Asia, in the course of which

. . . he everywhere taught men the sciences, agriculture, the cultivation of the vine and so on. . . . Everything that belongs to intellectual culture is connected with the journey of the younger Dionysos.¹

He who cannot make this step towards the consciousness of the I is left behind and becomes a dolphin. This although it is expressed in a mythological picture is a key to the nature of the dolphin.

The human consciousness of the 'I', when it is achieved, can only develop because the brain becomes a mirror for thoughts and mental pictures. Rudolf Steiner indicates this in the same series of lectures. And he describes the creative powers which brought this about:

That which takes part from the earthly side . . . in building up the brain, the ancient Greek, when he directed his feelings to the microcosm, Man, called the Dionysian principle – so that Dionysos works in us, making the organisation of our body into a mirror of our spiritual life.

Here the historic sacrifice of the dolphin can be clearly recognised. He throws himself down from the ship of human evolution which is led by Dionysos, into the sea. He leaves the vehicle of the developing intellect in order to take with him those forces of the depths which would otherwise prevent the body from becoming the mirror of human thought. The true children of Dionysos remain above, in the light; the powers of the depths, which the god only summons at definite times of year (at the festivals of Dionysos) remain with the whales, which once liberated humanity from them.

When the sound of the flute rang out, when Marsyas arose against Apollo and the forces which opposed Dionysos were let loose, then those powers worked, which were indicated in

¹ From Rudolf Steiner, *Wonders of the World*.

Greece with the word *delphos*, the Womb. These are the same powers which the Greek knew to be guarded by the power of Apollo at his central sanctuary, at Delphi, which bears the same name.

VII

The foundation of this sanctuary is described by two legends, among many others; both are concerned with the dolphin. One ascribes the origin of the oracle to Eukadio, the son of Apollo. He and his companion, the nymph Lykia, were shipwrecked. In their need a dolphin came and took both upon his back, carrying them to the foot of Parnassus. There Eukadio dedicated to his divine father the sanctuary at Delphi.

But it is recorded of Apollo himself that he once took the form of a mighty dolphin which lay down upon the deck of a Cretan boat which was sailing to Greece. By his mighty presence he compelled the boat to take its course to Krisa, the harbour of Delphi. Here Apollo sprang ashore like 'a star at midday. Many shining sparks flew from him, and a glory of light reached the heavens.' But Apollo appeared to the terrified and wondering Cretans in the form of a youth, who led them to the sanctuary and consecrated them as the first priests of Delphi.

In both these myths, a dolphin led to the foundation of the oracle at Delphi. It became a special sanctuary because powers of the depths – incorporated in the Pythia, working through the priestess – were there at work, though bound and mastered. Were these the same forces which were once conquered by Dionysos? Or were they still mightier forces of darkness?

An ancient legend speaks of two different dragons dwelling at the foot of Mount Parnassus: one a male named Typhon, the other female, named Delphyne. She was regarded as the greatest enemy of Apollo. In order to overcome this dragon, Apollo had to transform himself into it. This was the power that ruled over forces of nature which preside over the blind processes of self-reproduction and birth, in their continual repetitions. (For Delphos is the maternal womb.) From this 'dolphin' form Apollo rises free, like a star, becoming its master. Thus through the pythoness the otherwise unbridled reproductive powers of the feminine nature, overcome by the sun

god, were able to speak. Thus the image of Apollo lives on in the consciousness of the Greeks and of later peoples as slayer of the dragon.

Rudolf Steiner has described this in one of his lectures:

The Greeks pictured Apollo as shooting his arrows against the dragon which rose as powerful vapour from the abyss. Thus we meet St George shooting his arrows against the dragon, in the Greek Apollo, in an earthly reflection. And when he had conquered the dragon Python a temple is built there, and we see instead of the Python how vapours mount into the soul of the pythoness, and how the Greeks now conceive that Apollo lives within the wild dragon-vapours, proclaiming to them his secrets through the oracle from the mouth of the pythoness.

Apollo has to transform himself into 'Delphyne'. In this way he wins the power to conquer the Python. In its vapours his being could then work. Thus Apollo bore, among many other names that of the dolphin: Apollo Delphynios.

In connection with the form of the Sun God we meet the Imagination of the dolphin in its macrocosmic being. Here are these primeval evolutionary powers which are mastered by Apollo. The dolphins which accompany the younger Dionysos represent the same forces in a human, microcosmic form. In the wide spaces of creation the Light god Apollo conquers the dark forces of the depths. Within the human soul Dionysos masters the dolphin and thus makes possible the awakening of intellectual consciousness.

The two paths of initiation which existed among the Greeks are indicated in this way. One led the pupil out into the wide spaces of Nature; the other into the depths of his own being. But at Delphi both paths were united. In spring Apollo came from the north and dwelt for nine months at the sanctuary. In winter Dionysos replaced him. Both were guardians of the Delphic, sub-earthly powers which are at work in the turbulent being and becoming of Nature.

Here we find ourselves at the centre of the mysterious destiny of the dolphin, which we set out to seek. The mighty Baleen whales appear as the result of the Apollonian, the more southern Toothed whales as the result of the Dionysian, activities in the cosmos and in man.

Now we can ask about the external evolution of both

families. Can anything yet be known about this? Only in very recent years have decisive discoveries been made in this direction. Through serological research it has been proved that the whales are very closely related to the Artiodactyls (pigs, camels, ruminants). Both great groups can be traced back hypothetically to a common ancestor in the Eocene period, that is in early Atlantis. A few specimens of this family, which must have had many branches and forms, have been found during the last hundred years or so. They are included in the animal system under the name *Archaeocetes*.

They all have a dragon-like body. The limbs are atrophied, particularly the hind limbs. The bodies are of tremendous size. The nose still lies at the front and is closely connected with the mouth, as in terrestrial mammals. From this original form the ungulates as well as the whales are derived.

Should we not assume that this dragon-like mammal lived in marshes? Why otherwise would its limbs have atrophied? It waded and crawled; it could not walk. With the gradual hardening of the earth two distinct groups formed. One mounted the dry land and developed into the ungulates; the other remained in the water and developed into the whales. The whales have never been terrestrial mammals. They have passed through a metamorphosis from the dragon-like *Archaeocetes* descending into rivers and seas. This came about in course of the Atlantean age. This dragon transformation is quite a different process from that which led to the extinction of the great saurians at the end of the Lemurian period. For here a dragon – in which the lower nature of existence and of man is expressed – is metamorphosed into higher forms. The powers of light and of the sun, Apollo's deeds and sufferings, conquer him. This process of evolution appears to have reached its end towards the conclusion of the Atlantean period.

Into this period falls an event, which is described in spiritual science as the third pre-earthly deed of Christ. At this time the Christ Being, working from beyond the earth, brought about a harmonising of the three powers of the human soul; thinking, feeling and willing are brought into equilibrium. Rudolf Steiner says:

The Christ Being had to cast forth from human thinking, feeling and willing that influence, which raged there as dragon, and

would have brought the soul into chaos. A memory of this is at work in all those pictures which are to be found in human civilisation like that of St George who overcomes the dragon.

The Greeks beheld their god Apollo in the same picture.

There is a wonderful consequence of the harmony brought about in this way.

A reflection of this is the art of music, and in particular the Apollonian art, for example that music which is expressed through stringed instruments.

Here we meet again the picture found in many Greek myths: Arion, the singer and harpist, who returns to his home Lesbos, the place of Apollo's birth, carried by dolphins. Man receives the art of music through the sacrifice once brought by the dolphins. They took the powers of the dragon with them into the depths of the water; thereby something else is rescued.

Man's path led upward; he was accompanied by the race of ungulates. Beneath their feet the marshy earth that they were leaving behind grew harder. Feet became hooves. The herds could appear on the firm ground of the steps and meadows that came into being. Nipples grew on their stomachs and breasts; they became givers of milk for man and for animal. Horns and antlers sprang from their heads; new, otherwise unknown symbols of their destiny. They raise these structures, like archetypes of those musical instruments which give men the art of strings, into the atmosphere. The cythera and the lyre appear in their perfect beauty upon their brows.

What the whales keep as a mighty brain mass within their skulls is shown here outwardly in the form of horn and antler. In man both form and mass are transformed into the power of thought. Substance and shape are spiritualised.

Thankfulness that this could happen should fill the heart of man with endless humility, when he looks at the whale and the dolphin, at the ox and the sheep and the antelope. For this reason the ox could be one of the first to greet the Christ Child lying in the manger. The ox could be present as representative of all the ungulates and the whales of the earth, at the place of holiest poverty.

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INCOMES POLICY AND PERSONAL FULFILMENT

GERALD ROWE

I

THE Labour Government's *Statement on Personal Incomes, Costs and Prices* insisted that 'It is essential that there should be no further increase in the level of personal incomes without at least a corresponding increase in the volume of production'. One might suppose that this would give the whole nation a feeling of being in the same boat, ready to pull together through the storm, and would inspire, especially in the ranks of organised Labour, a readiness for equality of sacrifice, and strict, self-denying equity in the putting-forward of really essential claims. But at the Trades Union Congress, a resolution calling on the General Council to consider a greater co-ordination of wages policy 'with a view to providing great equity and fairer relationships' was overwhelmingly rejected.

The foregoing paragraph might read as a pretty dull reiteration of two themes which have sounded hollowly in our ears all through 1966 – but it becomes perhaps more illuminating when it is added that the White Paper quoted came out in February 1948; and that this TUC resolution was torn up in 1952.

Do we – enough of us, that is – believe at the end of 1966 that the sizes of incomes need to be justified by our efficiency in production; that, collectively, we must not draw more than we earn? Is it so, that this country is now having to struggle out of a predicament into which it has been sinking steadily deeper for (at least) the eighteen years since that White Paper was published?

No need to take sides politically about this. If the Trades Unions have insisted on 'every trade for itself' in making wage-claims through all those years, so also have a majority of employers over the same period almost automatically refused to concede claims until after the strike has been called. All this can be (and largely is) looked upon as a sordid rat-race in which all are now running neck-and-neck, which is at least a

great deal more equitable than the spectacle to be seen in February 1848, when the rat-running was being done rather more obviously by the employees, in a revolving wheel constructed, it seemed, by the employers. In February 1848, perhaps the most influential paper to be printed was the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels.

What unhappiness there is in this 'rat-race' phrase, used with every shade of expression, from the frigidly cynical to the wearily apologetic! There is really a very deep and widespread consciousness that, even if all of us in the West are much better off in material things than ever before, this situation has been reached by paths that went badly astray somewhere. Either all, or none, are to blame; the employers resist claims because each can see no reason why he should forever be giving way; each trade union presses its claims because it can see no justice in its own members getting less than they might, even if some impersonal economic force or law threatens the solvency of their industry (or has already, as in railways, long ago destroyed it).

Round conference-tables of a different sort, remote from industrial strife, it is easy enough for people to see the wrongness of the present system: there is no mystery about it. 'In right and in fact', declared the Commission on International Labour Legislation of the Peace Conference at Versailles, 'the labour of a human being should not be treated as merchandise or an article of commerce.' When we are thinking of the whole man, of the whole social system, then we see clearly that the assessment of what is due to him is a matter of justice; that it can only be properly determined, not by economic laws, but by laws formulated consciously in democratic assembly by those who undertake to obey them.

Until the determination of incomes is consciously withdrawn from the economic process, it must inevitably be treated as 'simply a special case of the general theory of value. Wages are the price of labour; and thus, in the absence of control, they are determined, like all prices, by supply and demand.'¹ So long as wage-fixing is regarded as a matter of economics, there is no way out of that; the man, whether employer or employed, must continue to be haunted by glimpses of himself as rat, and to be continually preoccupied by the techniques of rat-struggle

¹ *The Theory of Wages*, by Mr (now Sir) J. R. Hicks, 1932.

against all who might otherwise, in the endless complications both of economic change and of collective bargaining, snatch from him the substantial relative gains that are always to be found somewhere. In the long run, and collectively, we are all governed by supply and demand: but everyone knows that here and now, realistically, there are prizes for the quick, the clever, the strong, at the expense of others.

No one listens very much to the professional economist: he gets down to the real springs of economic forces, but these are always the ultimate determinants (which appear to concern no-one but the most far-sighted Chancellors of the Exchequer), whereas the proximate determinants are the ones that people have to reckon with in the short-term planning of the average man's working life. Baroness Wootton, who has been a research officer to the Labour Party and TUC, as well as a university lecturer in economics and a professor of social science, sees¹ as the most serious error of our national policies since the Second World War if not longer, what she calls 'the flight from economics'. The pushing of self-interest has lost all contact with our real economic situation. Tug-of-war technique is more important than industrial realities. Collective bargaining 'has been transformed, in little more than half a century, from a principal weapon of class struggle into a mechanism for the protection of vested interests that extends almost from top to bottom of the employed community'. So long as it seems that the amount of money available for wages and dividends is growing, supply and demand seem not very important. 'Diplomatic negotiation takes the place of commercial haggling; and there are subtle differences between diplomacy and business.' Power to strike blows, or to stand them, becomes much more relevant than the state of the industry. A craft-union whose men hold key-positions in a whole range of industries can, by threatening to strike, extract advantages for its members that have no proportion to their productivity. Minorities can blackmail majorities. The two parties are like bulls with their horns locked, heedless of the danger of staggering into a swamp that may engulf both of them.

Thus labour relations slip into a world of phantasmagoria.

¹ *The Social Foundations of Wage Policy*, by Barbara Frances Wootton, revised edition 1962.

Every Trade Union representative has an absolute duty to do the best he can for his own members; the employer, when it comes to the tussle, takes the same view of his own firm. The economist can save his breath to cool his porridge – or for the doubtful satisfaction of muttering, when the unmistakable crisis of the economy at last forces itself on the attention of all, 'I told you so'.

The status-implications of the struggle for higher incomes are also referred to by Baroness Wootton, when she discusses claims for 'differentials'. 'Pay and prestige are closely linked.' This feeling is apparent behind some inter-union conflicts. It may be that a claim by one section of workers (e.g., footplate men) for higher rates than others in the same concern is represented as justified by the bearing of greater responsibility, or the exercising of greater skill: but one cannot escape the feeling that prestige is one of the elements involved. Indeed, it may well be that it is among manual workers nowadays that strong feelings about status persist more robustly than among some kinds of 'white-collar' people. 'Explicit acknowledgment of class privilege', Baroness Wootton observes, 'is not in keeping with the convention of this ostensibly democratic age: to say that a university lecturer ought, regardless of the laws of supply and demand, to enjoy a standard of living superior, in some specified degree, to that of an electrician would today be neither good taste nor good economics.' She does not say so, but it might be added that the demand for a 'differential' in favour of one's own occupation is perhaps less likely to be put forward by intellectuals than by many other groups: their status-hunger may not rebel at being paid the same as long-distance lorry-drivers, though it may begin to murmur when they are paid less.

She does mention another scarcely-challenged belief, that 'those who give orders should be paid more than those to whom the orders are given'. Maybe this can be 'justified' by supply and demand (while we accept that the determination of wages ought to be left to economic forces), in so far as the givers of orders are normally those capable of making right decisions, and such people are relatively scarce. But moral justification is another matter: should we not look forward to a time when the manager will be regarded, both by himself and the trades-

men whom he is directing, as just one *kind* of skilled worker among others, not a *rank*? It will then be seen as quite irrelevant to his status whether he is paid more or less than those whom he manages. For Baroness Wootton the economist, if we are to formulate a 'rational wage policy', economic considerations are the only reliable ones. She sees the rational solution in a much greater awareness of economic situations: this requires a disengagement from the diplomatic, non-commercial atmosphere of modern collective bargaining, and a purification of men's hearts from social irrelevancies such as status.

Economics brings her to the conclusion that the rational wage-policy cannot in itself bring justice in social relationships: 'A wage or salary is a payment made to an individual for his work. No wage policy can, therefore, do away with the cruel anomalies that result when the same income has to maintain a variable number of persons.'

And here we must note that our community already admits, in principle, that such 'cruel anomalies' are intolerable, since there is an attempt to put the balance right in another and non-economic way, by family allowances – i.e. a grant given as of right.

So much for the views of a politically-minded economist. Industrialists may or may not think much of economics, but they are very likely to accept without question the traditional view that wages are the price of labour, a payment made to an individual for his work. Whether his work is to be assessed on time or on piece-work (which is largely a matter of feasibility for the particular kind of work), the underlying principle will be somehow to relate payment as closely as possible to output. Just how far this really happens is questionable, inasmuch as the power-diplomacy of collective bargaining is equally likely to produce figures which may be accepted by both sides in a particular dispute, but which are not economically justified in the overall picture. Thus an industrial engineer, manager of a great company, who has to negotiate rates with twelve unions in one works, can say (in the final lecture of a course to senior industrial executives on systems of payment by results)¹: 'The next step would be . . . to superimpose the industries, and finish up with one wage-scale covering every industry in the country.'

¹ *A Fair Day's Pay*, by J. J. Gracie, 1949.

I know that sounds rather a tall order and I do not suppose I shall live to see it, but I have a strong idea that it will come about one day because it is a logical conclusion.'

More and more people will be realising this as time goes on. Baroness Wootton points out the deep historical significance of the fact that we are now discussing, virtually for the first time in our political history, a *national incomes policy*.

Maybe one day a political party will dare to move one step ahead of established opinion, and campaign for a national policy on the basis of a fair living for all, to be determined by Parliament instead of by the present system of trial-by-battle. Indeed, it is now not really a question of removing the determination of incomes from the field of economic forces; in actual fact, that has already happened; what remains, is to determine a principle that will serve human values more truly than economic forces have, or than collective bargaining does now. Economic forces never have, in purity, determined any individual person's income: in the days of the Tolpuddle martyrs, the downtrodden worker could not get the economic value of his work acknowledged; and what happens nowadays, Baroness Wootton has amply demonstrated. Though many vastly complicated questions that are all-too-glibly bandied about on the political-journalistic level would be more adequately met by incorporating more full-time economists into industrial circles, the fixing of wages is not one of them. A national wages policy can only come when we recognise that wages are not within the legitimate field of economics at all.

II

Rudolf Steiner saw very clearly that there is no escape from these difficulties so long as we treat Labour as a commodity.

In old days there were slaves. The entire man was sold as a commodity. Rather less of the man, but still a portion of the human being himself was incorporated in the economic process by serfdom. Today . . . still a remnant of the human being – his labour-power – is stamped with the character of a commodity.¹

¹ *The Threefold Commonwealth*, Section I. One way of defining Steiner's contribution to social science is to say that he demonstrated that the three basic Factors of Production, already definitely recognised by economists – Land, Labour and Capital – must all three be distinguished from commodities, and therefore must not be bought and sold.

It is an evolutionary step, now striving for recognition, that Labour shall be lifted out from the field of economic forces altogether, and the remuneration of the worker (in the widest sense, from professional or managerial to unskilled) be seen as a right. What Steiner logically demonstrated has existed as an absolutely fundamental feeling from the earliest days of the modern Labour movement. The feeling underlying the expression 'rat-race' nowadays – when all feel dominated by forces beyond their control – Steiner referred to as 'this loathing of the labour-commodity' notion.

If it is not really a sale of the worker's labour that is happening when wages are paid to him, what is really taking place?

What really happens is, that the employer receives in return from the worker commodities that cannot exist unless the worker devotes his labour-power to creating them. The worker receives one part, the employer the other part of the commodity so created. The production of the commodity is the result of a co-operation between employer and employed.

The wage, then, more accurately seen, is indeed a price, not of Labour, but of the worker's part of the commodity. And what should determine the amount of the worker's share – that is, the just price? Now we come to the point, the basis of valuation by human right. The just price, Steiner lays down, is that which will properly maintain the worker and his dependents while he carries out his next act of production.¹ (This somewhat abstract phrasing is necessary, to cover a wide variety of methods and dating of payments.)

So the fixing of the payment comes down to payment according to needs. The way of assessing needs is not touched upon: this omission is not an evasion of obvious difficulties, but a necessary consequence of Steiner's whole political theory. For he holds that the definition of rights in all matters is the true province of Parliament (which ought to keep out of economics altogether): the democratic vote must settle them. And what a democratically-elected Parliament is going to define as right for its particular nation, at any particular time, cannot be laid down in advance by any theorist. To Steiner, earthly justice must be simply what the people regard as just for them, and which they define in the laws they enact.

¹ *World Economy*.

This principle of remuneration is to apply also to employers (whether they are managers or directors or independent entrepreneurs is immaterial).

The estimate of what these (i.e., an employer's) earnings should be must, in this field, be in accordance with a man's own free view – on what he is willing to regard as a suitable return on his work, taking into consideration the preliminary training he requires for it, the incidental expenses to which he is put, etc. etc.

But this does not mean offering a blank cheque to workers on the director-level: Steiner adds here, 'Whether he finds his claims gratified or not, will depend on the appreciation his services meet with.'

This does not, nowadays, involve any great readjustment of ideas. Economists¹ have long recognised that what is vaguely called 'profit' contains an element which can be isolated as salary or net earnings of management. Even independent employers and professionals quite commonly pay themselves a fixed salary. But Steiner's analysis implies that the earnings of the employer shall be restricted to this, just as the employee's are. He will not accept²

the argument commonly used in this connection, namely that the prospect of the gains associated with the ownership of means of production is needed in order to stimulate the entrepreneur to exertion. The whole form of thought represented in this book, with its conception of a progressive evolution in social conditions, must lead to the expectation that this kind of incentive to social activity may be eliminated. . . .

This problem of incentive worries many who would really like to see income determined by need, and it is formidable enough to cause very many people to ridicule any notion which would sever the connection between personal income and amount of work. Moreover, as things are, it appears a conclusive argument against any firm levelling of incomes. Maybe, it is said, we could have incomes fixed by some simple criterion of needs – for example by number of dependents, with increments to compensate for loss of earnings during long professional

¹ See Alfred Marshall at the beginning of this century, or even the considerable intimations of this fact which had occurred to Adam Smith in 1776.

² *The Threefold Commonwealth*, Section III.

training, etc.: but is humanity to be trusted to work hard for one size of carrot, with no stick?

Some of this danger may be eliminated by quite obvious means; a democratic State would soon find ways of dealing with convicted idlers of any rank. But, sheer idleness apart, it remains true that an egalitarian system of payment not scaled according to work would be utterly without the incentives which even the present confused situation can provide. And Steiner faces this squarely, observing¹ that an economic system organised as he would have it 'will have, however, no means of arousing in man the will to produce'. Therefore, 'if the economic system is to be organised in a way that can give no impulse to men's will to work, then there must be some other organisation from which this impulse must come'.

Those who feel themselves (sometimes, perhaps, regretfully) to be hard-headed realists are inclined to wince away when such words as 'love' and 'spirit' are brought into rational discussion of social relations. Yet is it really hard for us in 1966 (having learnt from psychology that the real springs of most human action lie a good deal deeper than our cerebral processes) to face up to the fact that a satisfying mode of life can only be one that satisfies the whole man, and not only his head?

'Geist' in German has a much more definite meaning than 'spirit' has in English. It carries a good deal of the common factor we find in culture, religion, art, science – mental refreshment and creativeness and activity on all levels above the bodily. Hence, Steiner writes:

Only in a free life of spirit can such a love spring up for the human social order as an artist has for the work growing under his hands. If one is not prepared to consider a free life of spirit, in which to cultivate this kind of love, then one may as well renounce all attempts to construct a new order of society. Those who doubt that men are capable of being educated to this kind of love must give up all hope of eliminating personal gain from economic life. . . . It is the dependence of spiritual life upon State and economics which creates the desire for personal gain; this desire for gain is not a primary feature of human nature.

Steiner acknowledges that it is difficult to imagine the emergence of a complete new set of values in our social life,

¹ *The Threefold Order of the Body Social*, Study Series III.

because we have never yet seen anything like them. We remain sceptical about removing the traditional incentives, because we

simply do not know what powers of man's innermost nature are hindered from expanding, when he is forced to develop in the patterns into which the State and the economic system mould him. Powers such as these in the depths of human nature cannot be developed by institutions.

It is beyond the scope of this article to expound what Steiner means by the freeing of the spiritual life: wide reading in his works gradually brings it home to one what vast consequences can gradually flow from it – evolving, not springing into existence at once. As to the incentive it would provide, one way of describing it is to say that men and women who have grown up through the formative stages of childhood and thereafter with the full sense of personal significance that will be normal when an education devoted to the liberating of personal qualities instead of to the securing of vocational qualifications, the free exercise of personal talents of every kind, a flowering of artistic and religious awareness, can be the experience of all – such citizens will normally grow up with a spontaneous loyalty and affection towards their society. Such a fundamental, positive attachment, replacing the present mistrusts and resentments, will provide far stronger impulses than either the grudging conformity that drives most of us into the rat-race, or the delinquent impulse that drives into crime those who will not or cannot conform.

To many people, including many anthroposophists, Steiner's social analysis is abstract and unrewarding. One reason for this is that it supplies no ready-made solutions for this pressing problem or that. We have seen why this must be so, as regards problems of justice: no individual, or discussion-group, can predict what a democratic Parliament might ordain, if it had only justice to think about and were not also weltering in endless and misguided struggles to manipulate the economic situation by central control. As regards economic problems, it is essential in Steiner's prescription that the economic sphere, once set free from politics, will arrive at its innumerable practical decisions through the sensitive network of 'associations', which means voluntary organisation, through the whole

field of industry and commerce, of continuous consultation between the producers, distributors and consumers of every commodity whatsoever. Just as centralisation in Parliament is absolutely right for the determination of rights which must be equal for all, by the same token the sensitive network with no centre at all is essential for the incessant changes and endless variety in economic activity. So, again, no armchair discussion of current economic problems can reveal what the appropriate 'associations' in a freed economy would find it necessary to do about the value of gold or the world-movements of wheat or a shortage of airline pilots.

Steiner's prescription contains no answers: what it does is to set forth the rearrangement of society that will make it possible for right answers to be found. Separate out decisively the rights of man (including his remuneration and conditions of work) as the proper sphere of the democratic Parliament, and they will, no longer bedevilled by other considerations, be settled in ways that correspond truly with the community's feelings for human justice and the dignity of the individual. This done, it is safe to leave the economic field freely to the practical managers of industry and trade and consumption, since what they do can no longer harm anyone's rights, and world-economy, no longer distorted either by conflict or by restriction, can flourish. Finally, liberate the life of knowledge, intellectual and artistic creation, education, religion, healing, and we can look to see a flowering of the human spirit altogether beyond present conceptions.

It is certainly this last point that is so hard to envisage, and which makes people, all too often, feel let down at the last moment by the threefold *social* picture. Yet herein is contained all the light, colour and fire, which can be so much more warmly experienced in Steiner's threefold pictures of individual man in his relations with the universe. Each of us individually can feel the responses of his own body, soul and spirit to the cosmos, and can experience, by perseverance with inner exercises, the significant stirrings, however slight, which give the conviction of starting upon a personal path. But how to picture all that is to fire the mass of people in their daily striving, if the incentives of financial gain are to vanish utterly from the scene?

Now, let it be admitted flatly that a materialistic conception of human life cannot accept this picture. The Communist conception, though also fired by an impulse of justice, to rescue the rights of man from the domination of other men possessed of economic power, uses financial incentive everywhere. Outstandingly productive workers are not rewarded merely with medals and hero-worship; they receive substantial increments. Wage-scales based strictly on performance are enforced by law at all levels, and it is everyone's duty to know all about them, and the complicated bonus-system and prizes and overtime pay and increments for night-work, work under noxious conditions, etc. etc. The corresponding provisions for deductions and stoppages of pay, because of poor work, absences and other disciplinary lapses, are equally elaborate. From dipping into the labour-laws¹ of the Soviet Union, one feels that the Russian worker must think all day about his pay-scale, and be haunted by it in his dreams. An extract from a resolution passed in 1946 by the All-Union Council plenum gives some picture of the outlook:

It is the duty of the trade-unions' central, provincial, factory-, workshop- and house-committees daily to occupy themselves with wage-questions, to make sure that the system of remuneration in force is being applied in the right way, to remove what may be preventing the workers from increasing the productivity of their labour and thus their own reward; to work for a more general application of the piece-wage system and progressive piece-wage system and also of theoretical output-norms instead of those based on experience and statistics.

One can see in this the logical conclusion of accepting the necessity of personal gain as the only reliable stimulus for work.

III

It is of the highest importance to realise that Steiner's social prescription is, first and foremost, designed to promote social efficiency. Not only are his aims far from sentimental, they are not even primarily moral in their purpose. He wants liberty for the spiritual life, because in the arts, education, science, religion, every significant achievement is brought about by the creative conception of some individual. He wants equality in

¹ See *Wages, Prices and Social Legislation in the Soviet Union* by Lief Bjork, 1953.

the life of rights because, as all history since the Middle Ages shows, it is an unconquerable human conviction that the rights of men as men are equal, whatever their differences of personality or ability may be, and they will move towards violent revolt if this feeling is seriously frustrated. He wants fraternity in the economic life, because here functional co-operation is everything; personality and humanity are irrelevant as compared with function within the network of economic connections; to get the job done requires working together dispassionately like brothers.

The threefold principle will be found richly rewarding in the diagnosis of social ills – not only at home, but in very different climates and cultures. African tribalism in new nations could cease to be explosive, under constitutions which permitted complete freedom in culture and language (the free spiritual), while ensuring equality of opportunity in employment and promotion, and which left politicians without any possibility of influencing trade. Moreover, the principle that social justice is whatever democracy declares to be so means that there is no limitation on the exotic forms which the judiciary and the executive may take. If people like to bring their disputes to a wise old man sitting under a tree, there is nothing in the 'Threefold' to prevent them; if they like to appoint strong men to rule like chiefs, let them. The word 'dictator' is Roman, and it was in the most democratic period of Roman history that the people sometimes appointed dictators with absolute power, to carry through definite tasks within a stated period.

But Rome entered upon her decline, when Romans tried finally to force all things together under the personification of the unitary state as Emperor. There is no more certain recipe for disaster than to force together, under a single control, life-powers which can flourish only if each has the conditions that it needs. Even old Aesop knew that a living body has no single centre: it must permit the dispassionate coolness of the senses, the surging creativeness of bodily metabolism, the rhythmic justice of breathing and circulation. If the properties of one invade another, there is disaster, which may take the form of an acute crisis, or of chronic disablement. Our society experiences both.

THE PROTESTANT

Abused, for company I turn to those –
 Makers and kings of history – who dared
 Be faithful to themselves; who, constant, chose
 Hatred and contumely, and nothing cared
 For ills but one – the losing of their star.
 For since in each an individual fount
 Of light is set, man's self alone may bar
 The path of light, and 'tis of small account
 If fools and wise alike that fount disdain.
 My light is mine; without it I become
 A ship adrift, a plaything of the wind;
 Therewith, assured, I steer a course to gain
 A haven certain though unknown, a home,
 Where true things incomplete, completion find.

GERTRUDE M. WARD

BOOK REVIEWS

The Nature of Substance, by Rudolf Hauschka, D.Sc. (Vincent Stuart Ltd. 55s.)

It was necessary to the development of science as we know it today, with all its marvellous achievements, that it should become strictly *quantitative*. True, we use substance for its qualities: but the understanding of the relations between substances and of the interplay of forces, on which scientific progress depends, demands measurement and mathematical awareness at every stage of experiment and interpretation. The colours seen in the spectroscope can be ignored: the precise measurement of distances between lines in the spectrum-band gives results that can be used.

But Goethe glimpsed, and was fired by, the possibility of a science of *qualities*, in which colour and form and many other observational experiences could provide the observer with highly definite, though unmeasurable, conceptions of, for example, plant and animal growth and evolution. Steiner carried this much further.

Dr Hauschka's book is an adventure into the qualitative chemistry of tomorrow. It is a very-closely packed epitome of a lifetime's work, every page rich with observations, information, speculation; never abstract, always referring to definite substances. There are chapters on carbohydrates, etheric oils, resins, fatty oils, proteins, vitamins, metals, alkalis and halogens, plant poisons, potentised dilutions. There are separate treatments of hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen; likewise of carbon, phosphorus and sulphur, arsenic, antimony and bismuth, of copper, tin, lead, mercury, silver, gold, aluminium and the ferrous metals. Minerals, plants, animals are characterised in a way that relates their essential qualities to their bodily substance. Throughout, these substances of Earth are continually related to extra-terrestrial forces, to planetary and zodiacal connections and influences which are invoked in a living way that points towards the future of such knowledge; one never has any feeling that the author needs to rely on traditions.

This reviewer sat in Dr Hauschka's lectures on chemistry, thus conceived, over thirty years ago, and something or other from those lectures has come to mind, in a fruitful way, every year since. This book shows how Dr Hauschka has now worked many of the enthralling hints and intimations of those early lectures right through into pictures through which are already dawning vast designs of cosmic relationships, sketching out the most suggestive hypotheses for

further pioneering into these new and boundless realms. That is the essence of the book. He is less impressive in his treatment of certain *quantitative* experiments, especially one on the lunar-cyclic appearance and disappearance of phosphorus and potassium in growing plants. Any research scientist in orthodox circles, even for experiments of the most routine kind – much more for one which challenges fundamental notions – would take the utmost care to provide qualified readers (at least in an appendix) with every detail of assaying methods, handling techniques and safeguards against errors. Scientists are eager to repeat and check even lengthy experiments which lead to revolutionary conclusions, if they are described in a manner which arouses their respect and makes them feel that here is something that needs looking into. Two chemists, however, shrugged their shoulders and raised their eyebrows over Dr Hauschka's claim to have proved nothing less than the creation and annihilation of matter by living plants. Busy research-workers cannot drop their programmes to investigate enormous claims that are presented with such little detail that they can be dismissed as probably due to oversights and omissions of several different kinds. Surely the author wants his experiment performed in the widest possible circles as soon as possible?

However, this book may well prove to be epoch-making. It should be on all our bookshelves alongside *Man or Matter*, in which Dr Ernst Lehrs made his great Goetheanistic adventure into the realm of physics. It is also a pleasant book to handle, a worthy product of Robert Cunningham and Sons' press at the foot of the Ochil Hills.

G. R.

Relative Deprivation and Social Justice: a Study of Attitudes to Social Inequality in Twentieth Century England, by W. G. Runciman. (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966. 40s.)

'RELATIVE DEPRIVATION' means a *feeling* or belief that the social group to which one belongs suffers deprivation as compared with some other group. It is of little importance how far such a feeling is founded on facts; our social attitude, even the way we vote, arises out of our feelings and beliefs, which are frequently compounded out of a tissue of muddled notions and wishful thinking, as much as of real knowledge.

It is by such realistic standards that Mr Runciman drew up the questions addressed to a sample of 2000 people in suitably varied parts of England and Wales. The 1415 who agreed to talk to his interviewers (of the Institute of Community Studies) were men and women of whom 919 followed manual and 496 non-manual occu-

pations. The surveyors grouped them into income-classes, and each was asked to say whether he regarded himself as middle or working class, with carefully-designed supporting questions to elicit what he really meant by his answer. Some people, for example, meant by 'middle class' something 'in-between, neither top nor bottom'; others, non-manual; others, 'people like you and me, who live respectably'. By 'working class', some meant manual workers; others, like the doctor's wife who said 'We're all working class nowadays', were found to be speaking, not out of 'inverted snobbery', but out of a sense of solidarity with all who have no unearned income. Most of the questions were framed to find out in what sense people were satisfied or envious. Social investigators now use the three 'dimensions of deprivation' laid down by Max Weber – Class (economic), Status, Power.

Thus, summarising the changes of the last half-century, arrived at by combining the result of the survey with the absorbingly interesting historical review (which forms about a third of the book) of the period 1918-62, Mr Runciman writes:

In the dimension of Class, a cycle of mounting resentment followed by passive conservatism; in the dimension of Status, relative deprivation spreading steadily but slowly as inequality is reduced; in the dimension of Power, a decline in militancy as the legal, electoral and industrial position of the underprivileged has been seen as progressively improving. From these interlacing strands there has been woven a social fabric in which traditional privilege blends with egalitarian socialism, and class-consciousness with a veneration of existing institutions, in a manner which is immediately visible to even the most casual student of Britain but which is very much easier to document than to explain.

Mr Runciman writes modestly, but in fact the reactions brought out by his survey do a good deal to explain these contradictions. People do not really bother to envy the spectacularly rich or successful, or resent aristocrats: but they do have very strong feelings about gains made by reference-groups adjacent to them in the social structure; hence, the more that inequality of Status is reduced, the stronger the feeling against remaining inequalities. Few now feel deprived of political Power. While the standard of living is rising for most ('in contemporary Britain, it is largely the old who are the poor,' observes Mr Runciman), conservatism (sometimes with the capital C) spreads.

Mr Runciman distils from his history and his survey a theory of social justice for our time. This section is closely argued and extremely interesting. Some of the principles most people agree on may be mentioned here. No unearned incomes, except for those disabled by age or infirmity. No personal deference to occupants

of authoritative positions. All positions open to those able to fill them. Admission to every branch of education (80 per cent of both manual and non-manual respondents wanted a university education for their children) not to be affected by any social advantage or attribute.

What a survey cannot do is to get behind what people think they think, to reach down to those profound springs of human potential which great changes, emergencies and releases may suddenly reveal – those tremendous forces that can swing a nation along a fresh course, or evolve a new civilisation altogether. But this book deserves to be widely known. It is entirely readable, and judiciously illuminated and enlivened by apposite quotations of the actual replies given to interviewers. It gives the impression of bringing out as much of the complex truth as such a survey can.

G. R.

Occult Science and Occult Development: Christ at the Time of the Mystery of Golgotha and Christ in the Twentieth Century. Two lectures given by Rudolf Steiner in London, 1st and 2nd May 1913. (Rudolf Steiner Press, 6s.)

Spiritual Knowledge: The Reality and its Shadow, by Eleanor C. Merry. (New Knowledge Books, 8s. 6d.)

BOTH these books were originally published some time ago; but much care and thought have been given to their reissue, and their content is of lasting significance. Rudolf Steiner's London lectures of May 1913 appeared in English already in his lifetime, in 1924. Mrs Merry's book appeared in 1936, far less worthily produced than in the present edition.

Rudolf Steiner came comparatively seldom to England, and only for short visits. He recognised the terrible dangers threatening central Europe, and struggled to implant there above all spiritual impulses capable of enduring the approaching storms. But he often spoke of the deep impressions he received when he was in England, particularly in places strongly connected with the past – Oxford, Stratford-on-Avon, Penmaenmawr and Tintagel. And in his lectures given in England it is often as if he were trying to compensate for the brevity of his visits by the spiritual abundance of what he had to say. He would go directly into matters very remote from everyday thinking, as if he knew that those in England who were willing at all to hear about concrete spiritual facts were prepared at once to go into them deeply. This is to be felt most of all in the lectures he gave at Penmaenmawr and Torquay in 1923 and 1924.

He did not of course abandon his fundamental principle of describing spiritual realities in such a way that they could be under-

stood by healthy human common sense. But on these occasions he certainly gave this common sense some strenuous exercise.

In the two London lectures the first is indeed concerned with a laying of foundations, a careful description of the path which leads towards objective spiritual knowledge. But Rudolf Steiner goes on to speak of three great and related mysteries of our time in ways which it is worth returning to again and again, they are so fundamental and far-reaching. He speaks of the gradual reappearance in humanity of memories of earlier incarnations, which can be profoundly disturbing if they are not met with the right mood and understanding. (This description can be compared with that in the Breslau lecture given a year earlier, printed in this issue of the *Golden Blade*.) And he brings before his hearers, as if to sustain them through the years of separation which were to follow, his fundamental insight into the character of our present age. He speaks of the Archangel Michael as having become the inspiring spirit for humanity, the earnest Countenance of Christ, through whose guidance we can find the right way into the future. During the last years of his life, Rudolf Steiner was to speak and write in much greater detail about the historic significance of Michael; here we can meet this great teaching in its beginnings.

Since 1910 Rudolf Steiner had spoken about the approaching experience, at first by a few, and then by an increasing number of human beings, of Christ's presence among humanity in a spiritual form. In the second London lecture he spoke of this once again, with a significant difference. He describes the historic background of this event.

When the Christ spirit lived on earth in a human form, He met men's hatred, and they brought about His physical death. But the death on the Cross was followed by the Resurrection; the disciples could experience the presence of Christ in a new form, the redeemed Temple of the body. But in the first century very few human beings knew about this event.

In the second London lecture, Rudolf Steiner describes Christ's presence in the spiritual world, in which He has taken the form of an Angel. And here too He meets the deep opposition of men, expressed in materialism which men carry in their souls through the gate of death. This materialism reached its culmination in the nineteenth century, and brought about something like a renewal of the tragedy of the Cross. For men on earth in the twentieth century as a result a renewal of the mystery of Easter is coming about; here on earth Christ will become visible again, but not in a mortal body - He will become visible for the organ of spiritual vision which is beginning to develop in man.

But these events are surrounded with great threats and dangers; it is especially easy for us to be misled when we are just beginning to come into touch with spiritual realities, by fears and illusions of every kind. Mrs Merry's distinguished book is concerned with the problem of the true and the false in spiritual knowledge; and indeed with the danger that can be contained in things true in themselves, when the limits of their validity are not seen. She deals with great discernment with the history of spiritualism in this country, with appreciation for the positive impulses that have worked in it and a clear eye for much that has been misleading. And she shows the great need for patience and reserve, when the first beginnings of spiritual sight and hearing approach a human soul.

The book has been carefully edited, with notes, an index, and a reproduction of one of Mrs Merry's paintings, by Mr John Fletcher. Through reading this book, we can feel ourselves encountering one of the most remarkable of Rudolf Steiner's English pupils, who knew from very intimate personal experience about the things of which she writes.

A. B.

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