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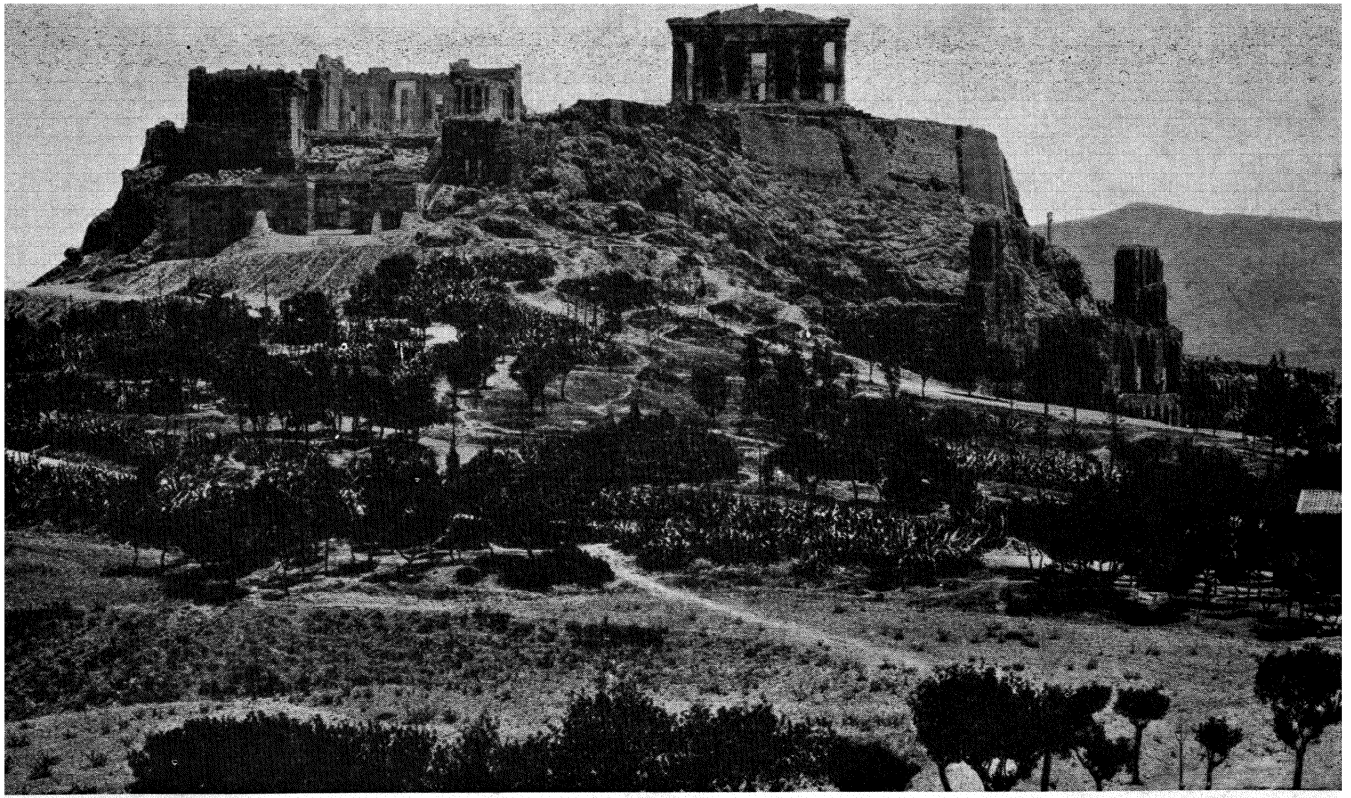

ATHENS: ACROPOLIS *General view of side, W.*

THE GOSPEL OF HELLAS

The Mission of Ancient Greece

and

The Advent of Christ

by

FREDERICK HIEBEL

"We must not follow those who advise us mortals, to think of mortal things, but we must, so far as we can, make ourselves immortal."

ARISTOTLE (*Nik. Eth.*)

1949

ANTHROPOSOPHIC PRESS

NEW YORK

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Anthroposophic Press, Inc.

Cover design by
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PRINTED IN U S A

To my dear wife

BEULAH EMMET HIEBEL

By the same author:

SHAKESPEARE

and the awakening of modern consciousness

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PREFACE

This book originated from various lecture cycles given in cities throughout the United States over a period of many years. Formerly, while teaching classical languages at the Waldorf School in Stuttgart, Germany, and recently while lecturing on classical art in an American college, the author had ample opportunity to broaden his view of Hellenic civilization.

Much of this book was written in the quiet beauty of the Brooks Farm in Hyampom, California.

I wish to express my great appreciation to Henry B. Monges who offered many valuable suggestions and encouraged me to add several details. I also have to thank most cordially Miss Esther Eaton who supervised the entire manuscript with unerring accuracy and great devotion.

Princeton, 1947 FREDERICK HIEBEL

INTRODUCTION

A NEW VIEW OF HELLENIC CULTURE

Confronted with the multitude of publications devoted to the legacy of Hellas, one might ask why a new book about Hellenic culture should be written.

When Emerson said: "Every man passes personally through a Grecian period" he expressed the conviction that our whole modern civilization is inseparably connected with the heritage of ancient Hellas and that every new generation is challenged to build up its own view of antiquity.

The justification for a new study of ancient Hellas lies in the attempt to find a method which can lead to a deeper understanding of history as a whole.

Why is this ever recurrent yearning for a renaissance of Greece so deeply rooted in our minds and so indisputable a factor in our education? With the exception of the structure of our modern economic life and the trend of our technical inventions, the main achievements in the field of our knowledge and in the creation of our art are rooted in the genius of Hellas. The Hellenes discovered the reign of the human being by means of knowledge based on the intellect born of their consciousness.

"Know Thyself" was incised on the pronaos of the temple at Delphi. Later Protagoras announced: "Man is the Measure of All." And at the height of Greek thinking Aristotle called the human being the dearest friend of the gods and concluded: "We must make ourselves immortal!"

Thus this fundamental challenge of self-knowledge ran through all stages of Greek life, and the history of Hellas was a thousandfold response to it. Everything which the Hellenes originated was centered around man's search for self-knowledge and his discovery of himself.

To name only a few of the geniuses who changed the soul of the whole human race we may point to Pherekydes of Samos as the first philosopher and to Thales of Miletus as the first natural scientist. Anaximander and Hecataius opened the doors to physics and geography; Heraclitus of Ephesus to philology and theology; Pythagoras to geometry and mathematics. Herodotus lived as the father of history and Demosthenes as the creator of oratory. Astronomy and mechanics were developed by such scholars as Ptolemy and Archimedes while Plutarch originated the art of writing biography. The Homeric poems became the canon of all poetry. Archilochus added to the hexameters of Homer the iambus and the trochee; Sappho was named as the first poetess; Myron's and Phidias' chisels carved out the representation of full motion, giving life to stone; Polycleitus in his *Canon* wrote the first essay on aesthetics. Aeschylus originated the drama, Socrates dialectics. The times of Sophocles and Euripides like those of Plato and Aristotle marked the ripening and harvesting of the fruits which the mind of Hellas had produced. The sum total of these creative forces appeared in the structure of logic, physics, metaphysics, ethics, politics, rhetoric and poetics developed in the schools of Aristotle in the era of Hellenism which the world empire of Alexander the Great introduced.

The acknowledgment of all the various ways in which the human race has tried to conceive the idea of Hellenic culture would fill a large book. Among the more recent writers of the present and the two last generations we observe an increasing desire for understanding the Hellenic world from the viewpoint of its myths and mysteries, cults and symbols. Ever since the time of romanticism our view has been directed with increasing emphasis to the Dionysiac or Orphic aspect, or, as we often call it, the "night side of Hellas." In fact, it was a search for the rediscovery of the Greek mysteries which inspired Nietzsche in his early writings centering around his *Birth of Tragedy*. Psychoanalysis, initiated by Siegmund Freud and continued along another path by Carl Gustav Jung, was linked with an attempt to reinterpret the early myths

and symbols, particularly those connected with the Greek world.

Research into the subconscious and the dream-consciousness based on interpretation of the Greek myths, especially that which centered around King Oedipus, and on the inner significance of Greek mystery symbols and rites of initiation, has brought about an entirely new approach to psychology.

Fourteen years before publication of the first volume of Oswald Spengler's *Decline of the West,*[1] the proponent of this new view of world history prepared a doctoral thesis on the *Main Metaphysical Thoughts of Heraclitus of Ephesus,*[2] a subject intimately linked with the mystery world of ancient Hellas.

But neither Nietzsche nor Spengler, Freud nor Jung succeeded in constructing a reliable bridge from the Hellenic mysteries to our Christian world. Arriving at a concept of the human soul which fails to explain psychic phenomena in a manner in concordance with Hellenic mystery tradition and the foundation of Christianity, they fall into agnosticism and pessimism.

However, Arnold Toynbee,[3] the leading British historian of our day, has written a world history in strict opposition to Spengler's view of the decline and to his pessimistic concept of the repetition of the same which originated with Nietzsche shortly before his breakdown. Toynbee, too, starting as a classical philologist and historian at Oxford, translated and edited works of Greek thinkers with profound scholarship. Yet he considers the events of Palestine as the turning point of history. He studied the world of the Greek myths and mysteries thoroughly, investigated carefully the various types of "saviors" and "demigods" and concluded by quoting Shelley's words, 'The One remains, the many change and pass.' He is aware of the fact that we must find a bridge between the 'deus ex machina', the apparition of a god on the stage of the Attic drama in the time of the decline of the ancient mysteries, and the 'deus cruci fixus', the mystery of Golgotha.

Thus Arnold Toynbee's view of history is a far more constructive philosophy than Spengler's proclamation of our doom. It tries to shed new light upon the myths and mysteries of ancient Hellas.

Yet it must be stated for the sake of true scholarship that a whole generation earlier than the time of the publication of Toynbee's history there appeared a book which gave the most illuminating key for the student of ancient mysteries in their connection with the rise of our Christian era. It is Rudolf Steiner's *Christianity as Mystical Fact.*[4]

Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925) is widely known as a profound thinker and the founder of a school of spiritual science, the Goetheanum in Dornach, Switzerland. Setting out with the edition of Goethe's natural scientific writings and of philosophical works of his own, he arrived later at a universal world conception centered around a new knowledge of man.

The method which Rudolf Steiner applied to the interpretation of history is derived from Goethe's world conception. He looks at phenomena in the light of symptoms which explain and reveal their inner nature. In his view the archetypal phenomenon of history is the human consciousness. The various data and facts appear as signs and symbols which are symptomatic of a deeper understanding of the origin, growth and change of consciousness. Consciousness according to the teaching of Goethe's metamorphosis, is a phenomenon of constant development and change, determined not only by heredity and environment, language and landscape, but also by impulses of individuals or generations which cannot be traced to physically visible laws of cause and effect.

Positivistic history can only describe the causes and effects of economic processes as seen under the influence of the sociological theories of Marx and his followers. Pragmatic history points only to the outer surface of data and facts and presents an endless catalogue of wars and revolutions, crimes and intrigues, the rise and extinction of peoples. Symptomatic history recognizes the given data and facts to the fullest possible extent but they appear to the historian of symptomatology as outer signs whose inner meaning he has to decipher. He cannot be content to construct an abstract view of a so-called objective history with its overemphasis on political action and reaction and their economic consequences.

A symptomatic view of history does not aim at a countless enumeration of facts in chronological order. These are offered by any elementary textbook. To write history symptomatologically requires the artistic faculty of surveying epochs, selecting individual achievements, emphasizing hidden trends and revaluating facts which have hitherto been unduly stressed or neglected.

A history of Hellas as a description of symptoms of the phenomena of consciousness appears to be nearest to the concept of the ancient Hellenic historians themselves, particularly of Herodotus, who was called the father of history and was celebrated as one of the most artistic prose writers of antiquity. To be sure, the Greek historians did not emphasize philosophically or psychologically the differences in changes of consciousness. They employed no philosophical or psychological terms. But one can clearly observe in reading their stories that they grasped this idea. One sees it in their characterization of the Persians, so different from the Hellenes, and in Herodotus' tales of Egypt. The rise of the writing of history in the fifth century B.C. is itself one of the foremost phenomena of the change in human consciousness.

In this volume the focus of our historical view is the human consciousness. Its special application is to the history of Hellas.

The reader will find the words Hellas and Hellenes almost exclusively used in preference to Greece and Greeks. The latter words, derived from the Latin Graecia and Graeci, apply as well to a living country and nation, while the purely Greek words Hellas and Hellenic refer only to the heritage of classical antiquity.

The aim of our book concerning the mission of Greek civilization can be best expressed by calling it, figuratively speaking, *The Gospel of Hellas.* The two columns on which our Christian civilization of the western world is built are the heritage of the Old Testament and that of Hellas. This has been known since the days of Clement of Alexandria, a Greek by descent and a Christian by faith, and the founder of the first Christian philosophy in the second century A.D. He evaluated the dialectic of Plato and the metaphysics of Aristotle as of equal significance with the Genesis

of Moses and the books of the prophets and he concluded: "Philosophy is God's special covenant with the Greeks as a basis for philosophy according to Christ."[5] In placing the message of the Greeks on level with the revelation of the Old Testament he laid the cornerstone for the building of a true history of the mission of Hellas. In fact, it will appear as an integral part of the task of this book to show that besides the events in the lives of the Hebrews there was nothing that more immediately prepared for the coming of Christ than the spirit of Hellas.

Hence the story of the heathen heritage becomes the Gospel of Hellas.

I

THE HELLENIC CONSCIOUSNESS

"Every Man passes personally through a Grecian period."
EMERSON

1. *HISTORY AS A PROBLEM OF CONSCIOUSNESS*

THE AGE OF HELLAS appeared like a day, short in its brightness, rising suddenly to glory at the zenith between the long nights of the epochs before and after it. Hellas, as she returns to our mind, is not merely a country in geography or a chapter in the book of antiquity; she is the home where the cradle of our intellect stood.

The name of Hellas and of the Hellenes embraced at first only the two northern settlements of Phtiotis and Dodona. Then it became the name for Thessaly; after that for the Isthmus; later for the territory including the Peleponnesus; and, finally, it was the name for everything that was non-barbarian. Even after Hellas was deprived of independence and was the scene of various conquests, her name was, nonetheless, to become forever immortal.

Not in an entirely autochthonous way did the Hellenes originate their culture. Rather, they appeared as the heirs of thousands of years of civilization in Asia and the Nile valley. The sundial, numbers, measures and figures came from Babylon; astronomy, geometry, the shield, helmet and chariot were inherited from Egypt; the alphabet, the art of writing, trade and exchange of goods and the use of coins were the gifts of the Phoenicians; and even in the realm of music we find the trumpet an invention of Lydia, the harp a contribution from Egypt, the lyre from the Orient and the knowledge of musical scales from Phrygia.

Although the Greeks did, indeed, take over from neighboring civilizations all manner of discoveries and inventions, for which they owed a great debt, it was in themselves that decisive changes in

human consciousness appeared, changes on which the achievements of our intellect are based. The way in which the mind of the Hellenes worked in its awakening became the content of a drama which after millenia of preparation could be enacted only once in the course of history.

In facing the problem of consciousness as the focus of our view of history we find several trends in modern historians who point to the necessity of such a method.

Oswald Spengler brought such a viewpoint to his doctrine of the various epochs of culture as living organisms. In his *Decline of the West* he aimed in his way at a history of phenomena and symptoms "that is entirely free from the method of Darwinism—that is, of systematic natural science based on causality."[6] He speaks of a "mythic world-consciousness" which preceded our intellectual awakening: "Childhood speaks to us also out of early Homeric Doric . . . there a mythic world consciousness is fighting like a harrassed debtor against all the dark and daemonic in itself and in Nature."[7] In comparing the life of the various cultures with the four seasons of the year he said that in the springtime the "great creations arise out of the newly awakened dream-heavy soul." The summer of a culture brings the "ripening consciousness" in "earliest urban and critical stirrings." Autumn characterizes the "intelligence of the city, the zenith of strict intellectual creativeness," while the winter brings the "dawn of Megapolitan Civilization" in which the spiritually creative forces vanish and life itself becomes problematical.

Although Spengler conceives each culture as an independent organism he cannot grasp the idea that it results from a certain stage of consciousness which is a transformation of the past and a force for transformation into succeeding epochs.

The great difficulty in Spengler's view is, that he cannot conceive the idea that each culture is not only an independent organism but also the result of a certain stage of consciousness which is a transformation of the past and a force for transmutation into following epochs. The rise and fall of consciousness is for Spengler a spectacle of ever recurrent repetition. There is no central point in

the current of history. The advent of Christ and the beginning of early Christianity mean for him nothing but the "really early Arabian" civilization which is in his mind equal to the Homeric or the Old Kingdom in Egypt.

Although he longed to overcome the Darwinian concept of causality in writing history his interpretation of the decline of civilizations is plainly positivistic and runs into pessimistic determinism. The whole scope of Spengler's history resembles the labors of Sisyphus who rolled the rock to the top of the mountain only to see it fall down and be lifted up again in vain.

Gerald Heard, the British historian and psychologist, has made an outstanding contribution in his various books. He is aware of the dilemma of Spengler's world view contradicting as it does all the theories of progress and evolution which natural science has so convincingly proclaimed. "History is comprehensible only as the story of growing consciousness" stated Heard in his book *Ascent of Humanity*[8] and called this hypothesis on which his book is based revolutionary. For him the evolution of consciousness is the underlying force of history. He calls the original psychic state of man co-consciousness, after which man reached self-consciousness. Following this he assures us man will develop super-consciousness.

It is interesting that a leading psychologist of the western world in consequence of exact studies in human consciousness and in order to avoid the pessimistic doctrine of Spengler's decline, should have arrived at the idea of a super-consciousness as the only way of understanding the progress of humanity. Yet Gerald Heard is orientated by teachings of Hinduism when he speaks of a real science of the mind and names Radakrishnan as a Neo-Brahmin type, a new Bodhisattva who will lead mankind into his spiritual future.

At this point we must try to show how Rudolf Steiner as a thinker of the modern world of the Occident inaugurated his teaching of the growth and change of human consciousness. His school of spiritual science at Dornach in Switzerland is named the Goetheanum. Goethe was the creative genius who launched the hypothesis of the metamorphosis of organisms, a theory which sooner or later

must be accepted and applied to the development of the human soul. Although Goethe was preeminently a natural scientist we find among his works an essay[9] on the spiritual epochs of mankind which offers a foundation for a new concept of history. This essay sketches a view of the organic structure of cultural phenomena which Spengler did not acknowledge in his work. Goethe in his essay developed a fourfold sequence in every development of culture which we can well apply to the example of the Hellenic world. Goethe called the first of these four stages of development that of poetry, in which the folk religion still rules in the dreamlike fantasy of myths. The second stage, that of theology, signifies the rise into the ideal. It is the reign of reason. The third epoch, that of philosophy, is characterized by enlightenment and critcism. Intellect replaces reason, cleverness rules instead of intuition. The decline appears in the last stage, that of prose, the degeneration of the civilization into average life or vulgar sensuality.

Rudolf Steiner carries Goethe's idea still further. He views the human consciousness as the central phenomenon of all historical events; their various data and facts are to him the symptoms of the change and growth of consciousness.

Consciousness prior to the awakening of self-consciousness he characterizes as a state of the soul in which the world was experienced in dreamlike pictures. This dreamlike picture consciousness was common to all peoples and races in prehistoric epochs. The early age of Hellas reflected its last glimpse and marked the time of transition into a period which lies in the full light of historical record.

The gradual awakening of the soul of the Hellenic man presents the struggle between the stage of divination, dream and prophecy, which Rudolf Steiner often called the state of atavistic clairvoyance, and the birth of the intellect. This dreamlike picture consciousness can also be called a mythological or myth-making consciousness, for all the wealth of imaginations of mythological stories originated from it. This clairvoyance was atavistic because it was based on the blood-ties of families, clans and tribes which lived in strict seclusion. Intermarriage, even between neighboring

tribes, was unthinkable and unlawful. The stream of the blood ran through generations without any interruption. Thus the condition of the souls within these bodies was a part of nature and the expression of the consciousness reflected the cosmic pulsation of life which underlay the racial and tribal functions.

In the history of Hellas a transition period extends from the Trojan War in the twelfth century to the age of Homer in the ninth century. This transitory period, however, passes through various intermediate stages. If we wish to apply the sequence which Goethe formulated in pointing to the four stages of poetry, theology, philosophy and prose, we may call the age of Homer (1100-800 B.C.) that of poetry. The king of the tribe was the "shepherd" of the people in an era prior to the building of the city-state, the polis. The following epoch, that of theology, marked the building of the first city-states, ruled by kings, tyrants or aristocrats, the age from Hesiod, the writer of the Greek myths, to that of Onomacritus, who wrote down the Homeric poems (about 800-500 B.C.) The third state, the age of philosophy, is that of the purest development of the Greek polis as the expression of true democracy. The first part of this culminating period is marked by the time from the Persian War to that of the civil war (Peloponnesian War) from the beginning to the end of the fifth century, in which the Greek still experienced himself only as a member of the city-state. In the second part of this era, from the end of the fifth century to the time of Alexander the Great, the Hellene discovered himself not as a member of the polis only, but as an individuality. The epoch after Alexander the Great, which we call the era of cosmopolitan Hellenism (from 300 B.C.), was the era of prose, of the great museums, archives and libraries, which preserved the rich heritage of the past for posterity.

2. *THE GREEK PSYCHE*

The Hellenic word for soul was psyche. To the mind of the Hellenes it indicated the discovery of self-consciousness. Our endeavor in this same direction of achieving self-consciousness has been called by the Greek word psychology.

How did the Hellenes arrive at their concept of the psyche? It goes without saying that it did not arise suddenly in the brain of a philosopher but rather that it revealed itself gradually through various stages of development.

We have evidence in the earliest records of Greek history, the Homeric poems, that the memory of the Hellenes in the Homeric age differed entirely from that of the later periods. The hexameters of Homer were recited by bards without written records and passed on from one generation to the other. The first education of the early Hellenes consisted of these recitals of the Homeric hexameters. They were not learned by heart in the manner of our modern consciousness. From our point of view such a gigantic effort of memory would appear an impossible task. The proverbial "Homeric memory" was a hearing, singing and reciting of verses in obvious harmony with human respiration and blood circulation, undisturbed by any kind of intellectual reflection.

When the cantos of the Iliad and Odyssey were written down, edited and compiled at the end of the sixth century, the time of the rhythmical memory was past. The very fact that this writing took place indicates the loss of the faculty of the previous kind of memory, for during the time of the rhythmical memory writing had been neither necessary nor generally known. The transformed memory became gradually a visualizing of facts and a recording of data. Soon after the Homeric poems were written down, Herodotus, the father of history, was born. The rhythmical memory died out. The historical memory appeared.

The Homeric poems can inform us still more concretely concerning the Greek psyche. They indicate how the Hellenes experienced the so-called "seat of the soul". Reasoning was not yet experienced by the Greeks in the brain as it is with us. It lived, rather, in the breathing functions of man. Homer, at the beginning of the life of Hellas, undisturbed by any kind of sophistication, never mentions the head or the brain as the seat of intelligence. In Homer's epics we can discover a duality of expression regarding the mind of man in meeting the words *phren* and *thymos*.[10]

Phren, the diaphragm, separates the cavity of the chest from the organs below and is naturally connected with breathing. *Thymos* (or *etor* and *kardia*) are the words for the heart. When Homer wishes to express the whole soul life he calls on both forces: *"Kata phrena kai thymon."* The word *thymos* is linked with the feeling and willing and is psychologically connected with the pulsation of the blood. *Phren,* received from without, *thymos* or *kardia* within the circulation of the blood, live in the mind.

Agamemnon's "heart leaps from his breast and his knees tremble beneath him";[11] the diaphragm of Odysseus is "well-balanced"; but the wine affects the diaphragm of Polyphemus instead of affecting his head as it does that of the man of today; and Odysseus declares he longs to wound him in the "breast where the diaphragm holds the liver."[12] These phrases are not to be taken merely as evidence of the fact that the Greeks were ignorant of physiology but as evidence that their consciousness had its seat in a different region of the body, in the heart and respiratory system rather than in the head and nerves.

Homer's words, *phren* and *thymos,* do not appear in the modern sense of anatomy, yet they reveal the state of equilibrium and balance that was unique with the Greeks. Those terms are indispensable to us in trying to trace the trend of their mind. The duality of diaphragm (*phren*) and heart (*thymos*) is that of breath and pulsation. Yet the breathing of the air and the pulsation of the blood belong to each other as the systole and diastole of the circulation. As between blood and breath, heart and diaphragm, the consciousness of the Greek swayed between mind and understanding, image and reasoning, fantasy and argument. Their thinking was in truth nearer to the respiration than to the brain. The thought was not yet isolated from the world. It did not die within the brain, but it lived within heart and lungs. It is for this reason that the Greeks felt the center or seat of their souls to be in the breast.

One can hardly find a more illuminating passage on this subject than the words of Aristotle in his book *On the Soul* where he describes how during the half millenium from Homer to his own

days people thought about this question: "Thinking, both speculative and practical, is regarded as akin to a form of perceiving; for in the one as well as the other, the soul discriminates and is cognizant of something which is. Indeed the ancients go so far as to identify thinking and perceiving. For example, Empedocles says: 'For 'tis in respect of what is present that man's wit is increased'; and again, 'whence it befalls them from time to time to think diverse thoughts'; and Homer's phrase 'For suchlike is man's mind' (Od. XVIII/136) means the same. They all look upon thinking as a bodily process like perceiving, and hold that like is *known* as well as *perceived* by like."[13].

That thinking in the sense of the Greek soul was never the abstract brain functioning of the modern intellect is shown by another statement of Aristotle who himself reached, for his time, the closest possible approach to abstraction. He wrote in his *Metaphysics*: "We think that knowledge and understanding belong to art rather than to experience."[14] Aristotle, who declared that love of wisdom (*philosophia*) is an art, and that wonder is the true origin of thinking, was aware of the fact that thinking was a kind of perceiving. "If thinking is like perceiving it must be either a process in which the soul is acted upon by what is capable of being thought, or a process different from but analogous to that. Mind must be related to what is thinkable as sense is to what is sensible." And he concluded: "To the thinking soul images serve as if they were contents of perception. That is why the soul never thinks without an image. The process is like that in which the air modifies the pupil (of the eye) in this and that way and the pupil transmits the modification to some third thing. As the hand is a tool for tools, so the mind is the form for forms (thought for thoughts). Images are like sensuous contents except that they contain no matter."[15]

The Greek words most frequently used to express thinking were *theoria* and *idea*. Both are derived from the process of seeing. Theoria in the Aristotelian sense is being, action and production and is derived from *horao* (to see). Idea is one of the most characteristic words of the Hellenic tongue. It is derived from *oida* which means

knowing and seeing at the same time. The Latin word *video* (I see) is cognate to the Greek *oida,* and our word vision is derived from *video-oida.* In our word vision the double meaning of eyesight and spiritual imagination is preserved. At the time of the Greeks the idea was "vision", perceived by the eyesight and known by the mind. He, who knew, saw and who saw, knew. When the Hellenes perceived concepts and conceived percepts, there was a harmonious unity between the unfolding of the senses and the reaction of the nerves.

There was no knowledge which was separated from nature in the Greek mind, for the mind itself was considered as the sense-organ of the world. *Gnosis,* the act of cognition, was understood as a process resulting from the relationship between world and man. The Delphic "Know Thyself" (*Gnothi s'auton*) was not a moral abstraction. It meant: *Fructify your soul with the content of the wisdom of the world.* The words cognition and conception have the double meaning of getting knowledge and begetting, as the Bible in Genesis had revealed. From this Delphic word at the beginning of the Greek era a straight path leads through the whole development up to Aristotle, who asserted that *sophia* (wisdom) is *nous* (spirit) and *episteme* (intellect, understanding). Wisdom therefore was for the Greek mind an inner union or marriage between the male principle of the spirit and the female principle of the soul.

Plato[16] differentiated between the three forces of the soul: thinking (*psyche logismos*), willing (*thymos*) and feeling (*epithymia*). Only the thinking soul is centered in the head, while *thymos* has its seat in the heart, and *epithymia* in the diaphragm. For Aristotle the heart was not only the central organ of the body but also the center of all sensation. It was the hearth where the fire of life was produced while the brain cooled it off. Modern minds view such statements as deplorable remnants of ignorance and superstition, even though occurring in such an enlightened thinker as Aristotle; but they completely overlook the fact that it was the nature of their consciousness that caused the Hellenes to think in this way.

From this point of view we must also clarify the ideals by which

the Greek mind lived and grew. *Harmonia* was not a term referring to tones, but rather to rhythmical balance. Rhythm was the manifestation of breathing and breath was the instrument with which the life of nature organizes. Harmony was understood to be an equilibrium in the functioning of the soul in response to the rhythms of nature. Further, harmony was the basis of cognition. The Greek experience of thinking was in touch with forces of rhythm and vitality. Thought was alive and therefore knowledge was thought-life in the exact meaning of the word. This thought-life worked between the poles of sense-perceiving and thought-conceiving like an inhaling and exhaling breath. It was a swaying between the perception of beauty in the outer order of the cosmos, and the conception of morality in the inner order of the mind. *Sophrosyne* (temperance), *Harmonia* (harmony) and *Kalokagathia* (to become good and beautiful) are really untranslatable terms. Expressing the three most important ideals of the Greek they exclude both the one-sidedness of the intellect and the over-emphasis of the will. Only an understanding of the systole and diastole of the heart and lungs of the body will really lead us to the portal of the psychology of the Hellenes who were the first scientists in art and artists in science.

In attempting to make the change of consciousness our starting-point we have also to discriminate between the exoteric current of historical facts and an esoteric stream which is connected with the mysteries and oracles. It is here of importance to listen once more to the words pronounced by the clearest and soberest mind of Hellas at the end of her development. Aristotle, in speaking of the faculties of clairvoyance based on dreams and divinations, declared in his book *On Prophesying by Dreams*: "Dreams are not sent by God nor are they designed for this purpose (to reveal the future). They have a divine aspect, however, for Nature is divinely planned, though not itself divine. A special proof is this; the power of foreseeing the future and of having vivid dreams is found in persons of inferior type, which implies that God does not send their dreams."[17]

In referring to the phenomenon of atavistic clairvoyance as belonging to men of an inferior type, Aristotle reveals that those who were still clairvoyant were stragglers within the development of Hellas whose power to penetrate the supersensible represented merely atavism. Such a statement shows how really advanced and truly Hellenic was Aristotle's mind, yet this must never induce us to conclude that he was not aware of the esoteric stream which underlay the culture of Hellas and which was revealed by the existence of mysteries and oracles. About the mysteries he uttered these remarkable words: "Those who are being initiated are not required to grasp anything with the understanding (*mathein*) but to have a certain inner experience (*pathein*) and so to be put into a particular frame of mind, presuming that they are capable of this frame of mind in the first place."[18]

Thus Aristotle discriminated between atavistic clairvoyance as an inferior type of consciousness and initiation into the mystery wisdom as a superior kind. The following words from his *Nikomachean Ethics,* constituting one of the most Hellenic sentences ever spoken, characterize the mind of all Greece: "We must not follow those who advise us, being mortal, to think of mortal things, but must, so far as we can, make ourselves immortal."[19]

This brings us to the problem of the so-called subconscious and unconscious which with the increasing interest in modern psychoanalysis has so greatly occupied our mind.

Nietzsche had pointed out in his search for the Dionysiac night side of Hellas: "In our sleep and in our dreams we pass through the whole thought of earlier humanity. I mean, in the same way that man reasons in his dreams, he reasoned when in the waking state many thousands of years . . . . In the dream this atavistic relic of humanity manifests its existence within us, for it is the foundation upon which the higher rational faculty developed, and which is still developing in every individual. The dream carries us back into earlier states of human culture and affords us a means of understanding it better."[20]

With a flash of his intuition Nietzsche conceived the idea of the

change of consciousness without arriving at conclusions. From him the way can lead either to the concept of history in the sense of Rudolf Steiner or to psychoanalysis.

Since the Greek myth of king Oedipus has become such an outstanding example of psychoanalytical research it might be excellent for our study to look at the difference of interpretation between the theory of neurosis held by Siegmund Freud and Carl G. Jung on the one hand and the viewpoint of Rudolf Steiner on the other.

Carl G. Jung, still an ardent follower of Freud's theory of neurosis, points out in his *Psychology of the Unconscious*[21]: "Oedipus is still a living thing for us . . . through buried strata of the individual soul we come indirectly into possession of the living mind of the ancient culture, and just precisely through that do we win that stable point of view outside our own culture from which, for the first time, an objective understanding of their mechanism would be possible. At least that is the hope which we get from the rediscovery of the Oedipus problem."[22]

According to Freud dreams are fragments of the conquered life of the childish soul; in drawing parallels between the fantastic mythological thinking of antiquity and the similar thinking of children or lower races, he points to the stage of myths as an infantile stage of soul-development. Jung concludes: "The state of infantile thinking in the child's psychic life, as well as in dreams, is nothing but a re-echo of the prehistoric and the ancient."[23]

The myth of the Theban king Oedipus, which later on became the subject of the Attic drama and of a masterwork of Sophocles, represents, indeed, a central problem of the Greek psyche, for it gives us an excellent example of the change of consciousness. This was intuitively felt by Freud when he developed his theory of the so-called Oedipus complex.

The Oedipus story began with a prophecy of the Delphic oracle: Laius, the king of Thebes and his wife, queen Iocasta, were to have a son who would kill his father and marry his mother. After his birth, their son, Oedipus, was exposed to the elements on Mt.

Cithaeron but survived and was brought up by an old shepherd who had saved him. The grown up boy, learning from another oracle the prediction of his destiny, fled to Corinth, for he believed that his foster parents might be his real ones and he wished to avoid committing the fateful crimes which were prophesied. However, encountering a man on a crossroad who was his real father, a fact of which he was ignorant, he fell into quarrel with him and killed him. Then he entered his native city of Thebes where he solved the riddle of the Sphinx, slew her and married the widowed queen, Iocasta, his own mother, without knowing the relationship.

The Sophoclean tragedy pictured the fateful consequences of these events: a plague was caused in Thebes by the sacreligious marriage; the truth was finally discovered by Iocasta who committed suicide; Oedipus blinded himself, an act which symbolized the shutting out of the old clairvoyance.

The Oedipus complex, as termed by Freud, is a psychological condition which can arise in infancy when the baby boy develops an intense love for the mother, accompanied by a jealous hatred of his father. In his earlier years Jung followed Freud's theory and stated: "We arrive at a recognition of the present existence of such possibilities, which, although they are too weak to enforce incest, are still strong enough to cause disturbances of considerable magnitude in the soul."[24] Later on Jung disagreed with Freud's overemphasis on the sexual functions of the subconscious. In adandoning Freud he arrived at the conclusion: "This father complex, fanatically defended with such stubbornness and over-sensitivity, is a cloak for religiosity misunderstood; it is a mysticism expressed in terms of biology and the family tradition. As for Freud's idea of the super-ego it is a furtive attempt to smuggle in his time-honored image of Jehovah in the dress of psychological theory."[25]

Jung draws attention to the initiation rites and rituals, myths and dreams of primitive peoples. He is convinced of the existence of mysteries and the initiation into a profounder insight; he even anticipates "the actual growth of consciousness". Yet he insists that nothing shows "that primitive man thinks, feels or perceives in a

way that differs fundamentally from ours. His psychic functioning is essentially the same—only his primary assumptions are different."

Is not Jung on the horns of a dilemma? On the one side he hopes for an actual growth of consciousness, on the other hand he cannot be convinced of a marked change of consciousness in man of today as compared with that of ancient peoples.

Rudolf Steiner[26] dealt with the Oedipus story differently.

He emphasized from the very outset the connection of the Oedipus myth was the Delphic oracle, indicating that we can only understand it under the aspect of ancient clairvoyance and prophecies. In the ancient mysteries there was a path of the soul to overcome that atavistic clairvoyance based on tribal blood-ties. Symbolically speaking such a soul had to lose the ties with the father element of the blood stream of generations. He was no longer the son of a father but was called the son of a widow. This term is to be found in many ancient myths of Egypt and the Orient, indicating that the soul on her path of initiation unites herself with the element of the whole folk-soul. This was the union with the mother world. Such a man reached the state of being a "Persian" an "Israelite" or a "Skythianus." In place of atavistic clairvoyance arose a new wisdom.

The oracle which prophesied the destiny of Oedipus spoke in the ancient terms of initiation. It pointed to the fact that Oedipus will achieve initiation. The tragedy of Oedipus consists, however, in the fact that he does not understand the language of the blood any longer, otherwise his insight into the mysteries of the family blood ties would have prevented him from the misfortune. He solved the riddle of the Sphinx because he was still in possession of atavistic clairvoyance, yet the incest story indicates that his soul, in the transition between two states of consciousness, did not understand the language of imaginations the picture consciousness contains. Even the solving of the riddle of the sphinx, the enigma of man, did not make Oedipus an initiate. If the blood had still spoken in the uninterrupted language of atavistic clairvoyance the tragedy would not have happened. The Oedipus story is the drama

of the dissolution of the ancient blood ties at the turning point of consciousness.

This is, in short, the interpretation of the Oedipus myth by Rudolf Steiner. He pointed to the Oedipus drama as the prototype of the Hellenic transition from the tribal blood-ties to the new consciousness. For that reason Aristotle pointed to Oedipus in his *Poetic* as the hero of the Greek tragedy par excellence.

In this connection it is significant to point to an apocryphal story about Judas Iscariot which the *Legenda Aurea*[27] of Jacobus de Voragine tells us in the same pattern as the Oedipus myth. The mother of Judas had a dream that her son would be born at the time of the end of his race and would kill his father and marry her. The parents exposed the baby to the danger of the sea where a childless queen found him and fostered him. Later the queen bore a son of her own whom Judas finally slew in a jealous quarrel. He fled to Jerusalem and occupied a post at the court of Pilate. In a quarrel in a neighbor's apple orchard Judas killed his father, who was the owner of the orchard, and married his wife. Finally Ciborea, the mother of Judas, whom he married, revealed her dream, they both discovered the fateful crimes. In repentance Judas followed Christ, betrayed him and ended his own life.

Rudolf Steiner used to refer to this apocryphal story of Judas Iscariot in connection with the Oedipus legend for these two stories carry the same imaginations of the change of the tribal consciousness and indicate that the same drama of the soul took place as with other peoples.

The Oedipus saga is, indeed, the Hellenic way of pointing to the riddles of the consciousness of the Greek psyche. Its right understanding is essential for the conception of the gospel of Hellas.

3. *THE COLOR PERCEPTION OF THE ANCIENT HELLENES*

The study of the color perception of the ancient Greeks is indispensable for a further proof of the change of consciousness.

The sense-organs in a child are already fully perfected as far as

their physiological functions are concerned, yet every growing infant has gradually to grasp the relationship of distance in space and the shades of colors. Our percepts grow and change with our concepts.

Modern physiologists, psychologists and philologists have made important investigations concerning the color perceptions of the ancient Hellenes which offer us definite evidence that their faculties for perceiving color differed from our own. Through this evidence we are able to arrive at further conclusions about the change in the character of the Hellenic consciousness.

According to Greek writers the Hellenes did not perceive all the seven colors of the spectrum. All classical Roman authors agree that they recognized but four.

W. E. Gladstone in his *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age*[28] pioneered in investigation of the color perceptions of the Greeks. Many other studies have been added to Gladstone's investigations and a remarkably thorough work by W. Schultz,[29] dealing with the color-system of the ancient Hellenes concludes the investigation most convincingly.

Gladstone determined that the Greeks had only the following definite terms for colors besides white (*leukos*) and black (*melas*): yellow (*xanthos*), red (*erythros*), purple (*porphyrios*) and indigo (*kyaneos*). He submitted two propositions regarding the color perception as described in the Homeric poems: that the perception of the rainbow-colors was vague and indeterminate and that we must therefore seek another basis for the Greek system of colors.

Aristotle, with a mind of keenest sense perception, did not base his system of colors upon the prismatic decomposition of light. He distinguished the colors according to the four elements, earth, water, air and fire. A mixture of all four elements produces all colors. He and Xenophanes described the rainbow as a cloud consisting of purple (*porphyreos*), red (*phoinikos*) and green (*chloros*).

The most important fact is that the Hellenes did not perceive a pure blue and a pure yellow. They only perceived the blue in the

ATHENS: ACROPOLIS: PARTHENON

View of ensemble from N. W.

green color, but not the yellow and they saw in the purple (violet) only the red part, not the blue. These facts led W. Schultz to the definite conclusion that the ancient Greeks had a limited perception of colors and that they did not possess words for characterizing pure blue or blue yellow.

One of the words for blue (*f. i. aeroeides*) signifies only a very light shade of blue and is taken from objects described by the word *hydatodes* which means watery. But all words which are derived from objects can be interpreted differently and prove the confusion which existed in the Greek mind concerning the colors blue, green and violet.

In the same way that the Hellenes did not perceive pure blue they also lacked the perception of pure yellow. The word *ochron,* ochre, means originally colorless and it was not perceived as a definite color. We arrive with W. Schultz at the conclusion that the Hellenes were blue-yellow blind. This conclusion is based on a tremendous amount of material collected by research in philosophy, psychology and physiology with which we cannot deal here in particular.[30]

A few examples must suffice for further enlightment. The Greeks gave the same adjective *chloros* (green) to honey and resin as to the leaves of the trees. In a similar way blue and black were not yet distinguished from each other. They were described by the same word. The Greeks painted their temples with red and blue. But this blue was characterized as *laxourion,* lapis lazuli, the color which Pliny later on called sapphire, an ultramarine-azure shade. *Laxourion* was not distinguished from black. Homer often spoke of the blue hair of Agamemnon and we are certain that he meant black hair, of course, in the same way that he mentioned the wine-red ocean when he wanted to describe the blue water of the Aegean sea.

The ancient Hellenes perceived all colors towards the active part of the spectrum, the part of the so-called warm colors. They saw various shades of red and orange, yellow either as white or as greenish and blue either as black or as purple, wine-red.

A survey of the various terms of colors of the rainbow used by the Greek and Roman authors might give a picture of the complicated and undetermined perception of yellow and blue and of the different words for the three main colors red, green and violet (purple) of which the perception of the rainbow consisted.

Aristotle	phoinikoun	prasinon	halourgon
Xenophon	phoinikoun	chloron	porphyroun
Seneca	igneum	luteum	caeruleum-
		viride	purpureum
	red	(yellow) -green	(blue) -violet

Modern psychologists have pointed out frequently that color tests on young children have shown that perception begins with red and ends with blue, that therefore the warm or active colors which the Greeks perceived almost exclusively are also the first perceptions in the growing child.

The loss of all paintings and murals of ancient Greece prevents us from drawing ultimate conclusions about the color perceptions of the Hellenes. Yet in pottery, which is preserved to us, we see the colors remaining in red and black in spite of the increasing mastery of form.

Red-black is the first stage of color perception according to Gladstone's hypothesis. The second is red-yellow (with their orange shades). The third stage is the perception of green while only the last signifies acquaintance with blue.

4. *THE POLIS*

The difference in the consciousness of the Hellenes from that of later times can be observed from a sociological standpoint in interpreting the city-state which they called *polis*.

The word polis cannot be accurately translated into any other language for this word polis characterized a social status of life which occurred only once in the history of mankind. It meant the molding process of individualization within the consciousness of the Hellenes.

It has often been suggested that the polis was the religion of the Hellenes, and that the struggles for it had the character of religious wars. Every Greek was animated by the impulse of the polis. The changes which the city-state developed marked the stages of the growth and metamorphosis of the Hellenic consciousness.

It is true that the Greek city-state is unthinkable without the preceding development of Babylonia, Egypt and Phoenicia; but in comparison with the cities of these older countries the Greek polis reveals a difference. The city of Babylonia was the castle of its kings and the stronghold of its soldiery. The cities in Egypt were built around the temples and mysteries of the priest-families whose head was the pharaoh. The Phoenicians founded their cities as places for colonizing, as harbors and trading centers. The Greek polis was also the residence of the king and the stronghold of soldiery; it originated from the cults of divine service and was the center of colonization and trade. Yet the polis was more than the sum of these factors.

The center of the Greek city was the *agora,* the place of gathering (*agorein* meant to come together). No trading was allowed there. It was neither the place of justice and law nor of schools and temples. On the agora the drama of individualization took place as on a stage where the individual founded the community and the community was built according to the laws of personality. From the agora of the Greek polis the speeches of the earliest lawgivers were made; to it the messengers arrived; on it Thespis presented the first plays; from it Pericles, the mouthpiece of Athens, spoke of her as "the school of Hellas", and from it, also, Socrates worked as the incarnation of the Hellenic intellect and conscience. The same agora of Athens, from which the way obviously led to Plato's Academy and Aristotle's Lyceum, was the place on which Saint Paul met the Athenians when he brought them the message of Christ and from which Christianity was to rise as a power in world history.

The word *polis* is related to the word *polys* which means many.

In the polis the many became one and the one joined the many. The polis was the stage where the systole and diastole between individual and multitude took place; it was not a fixed place but rather a fluidic stage of pulsation and intercourse. In the agora the breath and heart of the polis were united, the breath being the desire for freedom (*eleutheria*), the heart being the experience of temperance and harmony aiming at the higher ideal of being good and beautiful (*kalokagathia*).

The polis was the birthplace of democracy. The fact that the power of ruling (*kratos*) was exerted by the people (*demos*) was inseparably linked with the development of the polis.

We can discern three main phases of the city-state which were preceded by the Homeric kingship. The king of the Homeric age was called "shepherd of the peoples"and in fact he ruled over people who did not yet settle in city-like places. The Homeric king represented the tribal association as such.

This representation of the tribal association was taken over by the polis, which in its first stage was ruled by a king. The king was not the shepherd of the people but the representative of the community of free individuals in the city state. Later, this kingship went over to aristocracy or oligarchy resulting in the rule of a tyrant. This was the time when the polis gradually became the metropolis, the mother-city which colonized settlements on the various shores of the Aegean Sea. The third stage of the polis is marked by the state of complete democracy in the age of Pericles who exclaimed, before the civil war, in his funeral speech which Thucydides recorded: "Athens is the school of Hellas . . . our city is thrown open to the world . . . for the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men." This was the beginning of the foundation of the polis as world-city, cosmopolis, which after the time of Alexander the Great became more and more the pattern for sociological structure.

Between the first and second stages there took place the change of consciousness from tribal clairvoyance to the awakening of the individual intellect. This was during the era extending from the

mythical king Oedipus to the historical rise of Ionian philosophy around 600 B.C.

In the second phase of the polis the ancient Greek became a member of the city-state. The polis, no longer a tribe or nation represented by kingship, now reflected the conscience of the individual.

The third epoch characterized the Hellene as an entirely independent individual on the path to become a world citizen. Between the second and third state of development in the fifth century we observe the time of fullest prosperity of the polis. Its decisive state of transition was marked by the Peloponnesian or Civil War, when the Hellene first experienced himself as an individual, not as a mere member of the polis. The period from the death of Pericles to that of Socrates marks the last stage in the transformation of consciousness concerning the polis. It was Rudolf Steiner who stated that the civil war resulted in the origin of individualism which coincided with the age of Socrates' teaching on the agora of Athens.

This observation of Rudolf Steiner can be confirmed by quoting a passage from the book of J. B. Bury, the author of the world famous *History of Greece*: "The individual citizen no longer looks at the outside world through the medium of his city but regards it directly, as it were, with his own eyes and in its bearings on him individually. He is no longer content to express his religious feelings, simply as one member of the state, in the common usages of the state religion, but seeks to enter into an immediate personal relation with the supernatural world. And since his own life has thus become for him something independent of the city, his attitude to the city itself is transformed. The citizen of Athens has become a citizen of the world."[31]

In summing up the various phenomena just described we arrive at the conclusion: the development of the city-state through the three main phases of polis, metropolis and cosmopolis is inseparably connected with the growth and change of consciousness.

The ultimate result of the effect of the life of the polis on the individual was the origin of conscience in human consciousness.

5. *THE ORIGIN OF CONSCIENCE*

It is a fact which has been recognized but recently that the Hellenes did not experience conscience until a late stage of their development and that none of the other peoples of pre-Christian times even had a word for it.

Werner Jaeger, the great classical philologist and historian, points out in his *Paideia*: "Nowadays we must find it difficult to imagine how entirely public was the conscience of a Greek. (In fact, the early Greeks never conceived anything like the personal conscience of modern times.)" He states that at the time of the ancient Hellenes political and personal morality were practically identical. "A purely private moral code, without reference to the state, was inconceivable to the Greeks. We must forget our idea that each individual's acts are ruled by his conscience. The Greek thought so too, but not till a later and essentially different period."[32]

The origin of the word for conscience falls in the time of the Peleponnesian War when the last decisive change of consciousness took place as we have seen in the preceding chapter. The word for conscience appeared at first with Euripides after it was coined in the daily language among the common folk and found its last literary expression in the writings of the philosophers. This is now finally proven by classical philology and particularly stated by Friedrich Zucker in his *Syneidesis-Conscientia.*[33] It must, however, be borne in mind that Rudolf Steiner, independent of philological research, revealed this fact twenty years earlier. We have here an excellent example of how his investigations can be checked by the most exact philological method.

If one takes these facts as they are now proven by classical philology and psychology, one has no other chance of procedure than to attempt an entirely new view of the history of ancient Greece.

The first literary record of the word conscience as it is preserved to us can be found in the dramas of Euripides.

Euripides first used the word conscience in his *Medea,* written about 431 B.C. Medea speaks to Jason the remarkable words (verse

495 f.) : "I cannot even understand whether thou thinkest that the gods of old no longer rule, or that fresh decrees are now in vogue amongst mankind, for thy conscience must tell thee that thou hast not kept faith with me."

These words reveal a presentiment that the faith in the old gods is vanishing and new laws are arriving for the consciousness of man. Medea meant that Jason's conscience must tell him that he broke his faith, regardless of whether he still believes in the ancient gods or thinks that new rules govern the mind of man.

Euripides next uses the word conscience in his *Orestes* drama written about 408 B.C. The passage appears in lines spoken by the character of Orestes as follows (verses 395/396):

Menelaos: "What ails thee? What is thy deadly sickness?

Orestes: "*Conscience*; I *know* that I am *guilty* of an awful crime." (He *xynesis,* hoti *synoida* dein' eirgasmenos)

With the exception of the use of the word for conscience in his *Medea,* Euripides' earlier concept of morality, like that of other dramatists, was that man was prompted to his action by beings living outside himself. In his *Iphigenia* (written about 420 B.C.), as in the drama of the same name by Aeschylus (written about half a century earlier), the character of Orestes appears haunted by the *Erinys* (the furies) ; he does not act out of the voice of his inner conscience.

F. Zucker remarked that the word *synoida* (from *synoidenai*) was a poetic abbreviation of the term *syneidenai hemauto* which means to become conscious of something. The usage of this word was therefore in colloquial language before it became a poetic expression in Euripides. This opinion coincides exactly with that of Rudolf Steiner who stated that the word for conscience originated among the common people, then entered the language of the drama and found its ultimate recording in the writings of philosophers and theologians.

Euripides was a contemporary of Socrates and his Orestes drama was written nine years before the death of the philosopher who appeared in the agora of Athens as the living conscience of Hellas. But the Platonic dialogues, centered around the speeches of Soc-

rates, did not make use of the word conscience (*synesis*) in a single instance. The leading classical philologist, Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, pointed out in his book on Plato that Socrates did not yet make discrimination between the subjective and the objective knowledge of the True, Good and Just. His mind is directed to the general moral obligation. He speaks, however, of the *daimon* (the *daimonion*) as of the inner ruler of our moral activity, but he does not yet coin the word for conscience (*synesis* or later *syneidesis*).

The word *synesis* (originally written *xynesis*) as it primarily appeared in Euripides is used by Aristotle in his *Nikomachean Ethics*. *Synesis* is for Aristotle a *dianoetic* virtue, it stands between *sophia* (wisdom) and *phronesis* (practical wisdom), or between higher reason and human intellect. "*Synesis* (conscience) is neither about things that are always and are unchangeable nor about any and every one of the things that come into being, but about things which may become subjects of questioning and deliberation . . . . *Synesis* (conscience) and *phronesis* (practical wisdom) are not the same. For practical wisdom issues commands, since its end is what ought to be done or not to be done; but *synesis* (conscience) only judges."[34]

It is most significant that Aristotle points in his *Ethics* to repentence as the psychological phenomenon aroused by conscience. The self indulgent "man is of necessity unlikely to repent and therefore incurable, since a man who cannot repent (*ametameletos*) cannot be cured."[35] This state of mind described by Aristotle as being without repentance is the opposite of moral virtue.

The Aristotelian idea of repentance and the Platonic *daimonion* were those steps which gradually led to the concept of conscience as the word *syneidesis* finally expressed it. The first evidence of this word *syneidesis* can be found in Demokritos; it then appeared in Demosthenes and was finally taken over by Philo of Alexandria and appeared in the Epistles of Saint Paul.

The word *synesis-syneidesis* was of Ionian origin, coming from that tribe which excelled in the unique contributions of drama and philosophy. As a late-Hellenistic word it arrived in the Roman

world and was there coined as *conscientia,* from which our conscience derived.

It is a fact philologically proven that neither the Hebrew nor the Aramaic language knew a word for conscience. "As a Hellenistic idea, not only as a Hellenistic word, syneidesis arrived at the religion of hellenistic Jewry as well as at that of the New Testament."[36] Among the writers of the New Testament Paul alone introduced the word conscience (*syneidesis*), for he was the only Greek scholar among the apostles and evangelists. He received the word conscience from the usage of the Hellenistic world-language (the *koine*) as well as from the treasures of Greek literature.

The origin of conscience is the culmination of the growth and change that took place in Hellenic consciousness. The fact that its existence in the soul of man was recognized and written about by the Attic dramatists and the philosophers constitutes the last and greatest gift of Hellas. Through this single contribution Hellas became a co-founder, together with the Hebrews, of the truths and ideals of Christianity.

II

THE TWILIGHT OF THE GODS

Riddles of Greek Mythology

"They are holy demons upon earth, Beneficient averters of ills, Guardians of mortals."
HESIOD

1. *PROMETHEUS AND THE THREE GENERATIONS OF GODS*

WHAT WERE THE GODS of Hellas and what their sanctuaries? Were the divinities real; were they symbols of forces in nature or of the character of man; or were they only the fiction of poets?

Everyone who deals with the culture of Hellas knows that this is a crucial question. Every student is on the horns of a dilemma until a satisfying answer to it can be given.

It is significant to note how George Grote,[37] the author of a standard work, *A History of Hellas,* struggled with this problem. Fully aware of the fundamental importance of the myths and legends for the understanding of the whole civilization of Hellas, he apologizes for not being able to arrive at any satisfactory interpretation of the content of Greek mythology: "I describe the earlier times by themselves as conceived by the faith and feeling of the first Greeks, and known only through their legends — without presuming to measure how much or how little of historical matter these legends may contain. If the reader blame me for not assisting him to determine this — if he ask me why I do not undraw the curtain and disclose the picture — I reply in the words of the painter, Zeuxis, when the same question was addressed to him on exhibiting his masterpiece of imitative art: 'The curtain *is* the picture'. The curtain conceals nothing behind and cannot by any ingenuity be withdrawn." These are the agnostic words of the great

historian of the nineteenth century. Yet how astonishing it is to find soon after the preface in the same first volume the following statement which contradicts his first thesis: "I venture, however, to forewarn the reader that there will occur numerous circumstances in the after-political life of the Greeks which he will not comprehend unless he be initiated into the course of their legendary associations."

The Greek mythology, it is true, appears like a curtain. And the words of the painter, Zeuxis, as George Grote quoted them, seem to deny the reality of the Hellenic myths. But in quoting Zeuxis we must not forget the creator of his pictures, Zeuxis himself. It was his genius which lay behind his paintings. In the same way, spiritual beings and events stood behind the picture forms we have in Greek mythology. The curtain cannot at the same time be the picture. It rather stands before the picture separating the reality from the observer. The curtain itself does not disclose the reality but certainly hints at an existence behind it.

"What has the religion of the Greeks to teach us that we are most in danger of forgetting? In a word, it is the faith that Truth is our friend, and that the knowledge of Truth is not beyond our reach," wrote W. R. Inge in his study on Greek religion.[38] Therefore it would be utterly un-Hellenic to give up the attempt to find a satisfactory answer to the problems of Greek myths. La Rue van Hook in his *Greek Life and Thought* rightly states: "In seeking to understand the nature of Greek religion, we must try to divest ourselves of modern religious conceptions which are largely Hebraic."[39] Van Hook touches here, indeed, upon a vital point of discrimination between the Hellenic and the Hebrew religions.

Can we hope to find a conception which is immediately acceptable to us as a theory or hypothesis, and which enables us to reconcile the various viewpoints of criticism, a theory which is by no means alien to the Greek mind itself but is in full accord with the writings of the greatest thinkers of Hellas, such as Plato?

First of all: the Elohim, the divinities of the Genesis of the Old Testament, appeared as the creators of the human being. The message of God in the Old Testament is the Divine Law It gave the

basis for ethics. The gods of the Greek mythology, however, never disclose themselves as the creators of the human being. On the contrary: the myths presuppose that the human being already existed before the gods began to rule. The Greek mythology does not reveal a divine law and found a moral doctrine; the concepts of the gods were the result of man's perception in nature, but a nature quite different from ours.

If we ask whether the gods were real, symbolic or only fictitious, then we must answer that they were actually all three in one. It is only a matter of recognizing to what extent every one of these aspects prevails in any instance.

Judgment is often difficult when we are confronted by the human features and attributes of the gods. What is the import of the myths which tell us, for example, that Zeus, besides begetting, by Hera, Ares, Hephaistos and Hebe, also progenerated Persephone by Demeter, Aphrodite by Dione, Hermes by Maya, Apollo and Artemis by Leto, approached Leda as a swan, Danae as a shower of gold and Europa as a bull? If the gods were spirits, how is their kinship to be interpreted? If they were divine, how is their jealousy and envy to be understood? If they were super-sensible beings, what does their being born in a particular place on earth indicate?

The gods are an objective reality in their own nature and a subjective reality for man's cognition. In many ways they appeared only as higher and loftier human beings; but it is most illuminating to learn from Rudolf Steiner that the Greek gods differed in character from the human being mainly in three respects: they lacked the faculties of devotion, compassion and conscience.[40]

Yet these three capacities for being devoted in awe and wonder, for living in pity and compassion, for experiencing the voice of conscience within the free spirit of an individual, belong to the inmost human achievements which the culture of Hellas gradually unfolded in its works of art and science. These three soul qualities were the roots from which philosophy and natural science, drama and poetry, music and dance, architecture and sculpture, in short the entire message of the Hellenes, sprang. Therefore,

the gods, who are described as devoid of these three human qualities, were different from mere idealizations of mortals.

The gods really lived on earth, not in the time of Hellas, it is true, but in the period that Plato recognized as Atlantis. They passed through a pre-historical existence as the forerunners of man and therefore as his leaders, at a time before the freedom of the individuality was born.[41]

This knowledge of the origin of the gods in connection with the sunken continent of Atlantis was the most important of the early Hellenes. When Plato in his dialogues, *Timaeus* and *Critias,* spoke of Atlantis, he only revived in the language of dialectic discussion what had previously been known to the priests and seers of the Greek mysteries who had their insight through the teachers of the wisdom of Egypt.

Plato's ancestor was the inspired lawgiver Solon, who lived about 600 B.C. in Athens. Plutarch tells us: "His first voyage was for Egypt, and he lived and spent some time in study with Psenophis of Heliopolis, and Sonchis the Saite, the most learned of all the priests; from whom, as Plato says, getting knowledge of the Atlantis story, he put it into a poem, and proposed to bring it to the knowledge of the Greeks."[42]

Plato was not only a descendant of Solon, he was also his successor in regard to the story of Atlantis as it belonged to the inborn Greek myths. In speaking of Atlantis we trace back a purely Hellenic tradition. Plato in his *Timaeus* tells us the story which Critias mentioned to Socrates about Solon in Egypt: "Solon asked the priests, who were most skillful in such matters, about antiquity, and made the discovery that neither he nor any other Hellene knew anything worth mentioning about the times of old. On one occasion, when he was drawing them on to speak of antiquity, he began to tell about the most ancient things in our part of the world —about Phorneus, who is called the first, and about Niobe; and, after the deluge, to tell of the lives of Deucalion and Pyrrha; and he traced the genealogy of their descendants and attempted to reckon how many years old were the events of which he was speak-

ing, and to give the dates. Thereupon, one of the priests, who was of very great age, said: 'O Solon, Solon, you Hellenes are but children, and there is never an old man who is an Hellene.' Solon, hearing this, said,' What do you mean?' 'I mean to say,' he replied 'that in mind you are all young; there is no old opinion handed down among you by ancient tradition, nor any science which is hoary with age. And I will tell you the reason for this: there have been and there will be again, many destructions of mankind arising out of many causes . . . and thus you have to begin all over again as children and know nothing of what happened in ancient times, either among us or among yourselves. For, in the first place, you remember one deluge only (the events of Decucalion!), whereas there were many of them . . . for there was a time, Solon, before that greatest deluge of all (the catastrophe connected with the names of Noah and Manu) when the city which is now Athens was preeminent for the excellence of her laws . . . as touching the citizens of 9000 years ago I will briefly inform you of their laws and of the noblest of their actions.' " . . .[43]

Plato's description of Atlantis, as spoken with the tongues of the initiates of Egypt, is the content of a myth, that is of spiritual insight, not a story of history or geology. The myths of the Greeks, however, tell us in the form of imaginations about the unfolding of the earth and the human body; they reveal to us cosmology and physiology. The mythology of Hellas is , in fact, the only true "paleontology" of Atlantis.[44]

In accordance with ancient traditions we find the earth has passed through four stages of geological development. The first stage was the epoch when our globe was still unified in one sphere with all the celestial bodies of the solar system. It is this oneness which is reflected in the religion of the Hindus, in their desire for unity with Brahma. The second stage of geology is often referred to as "Hyperborea". There was by this time a duality of the sun and the earth sphere. In its principles of Ormudz and Ahriman, the lord of the sun and the prince of darkness, the religion of the Persians reflected this stage of duality. The epoch of "Lemuria",

when a trinity of celestial bodies appeared in Sun, Moon and Earth, marked the third stage of geological evolution. This trinity is reflected in the religion of ancient Egypt which pointed to the divine triad of Osiris (sun), Isis (moon) and Horus (earth).

The fourth stage of the earth's unfoldment, embracing what geology refers to as the end of the Palaeozoic and the whole of the Mesozoic eras, was the world of Atlantis. At that stage the earth had become a globe among the multitude of planets, moons and fixed stars. It was connected with the spheres of divinities through numerous oracles. There were oracles of the sun, of the moon and of all the planetary spheres. The oracles (*oraculum* means literally mouthpiece or lips of the gods) revealed the wisdom of the gods in the manifold spheres of the solar system. This world of Atlantis with her many oracles was reflected in the mythology of Hellas. Therefore the myths her religion revealed were not a unity as in India, a duality as in Persia nor a trinity as in Egypt. They revealed a plurality, a religious conception of polytheism.[45] It is in looking at the various sites of oracles in Hellas that we may see antiquity, as it were, with the curtain raised which had fallen upon the landscape of Atlantis.

In fact, Greek mythology is the curtain, but the curtain is not the picture as George Grote stated. The picture, the reality, is the stage of Atlantis. Ignatius Donelly wrote in his *Atlantis*: "The history of Atlantis is the key to Greek mythology".[46] The gods lived in Atlantis as deified kings, as superhuman beings, forerunners of mankind. On Olympus they lived together like human beings. Donnelly pointed out that the word Olympus is connected with Atlantis. "Greek tradition located the island in which Olympus was situated in the far west, in the ocean beyond Africa, on the western boundary of the known world and where the mighty Atlas held up the heavens. And Plato tells us that the land where Poseidon and Atlas ruled was Atlantis." The powerful Atlas who stood as a giant upon the western confines of the earth "supported the heavens on his shoulders in a region of the west where the sun continued to shine after he had set upon Greece." Atlas, ruling in Atlantis, re-

vealed even through his name the connection with the sunken continent now covered by the Atlantic Ocean.

"The mythology of Greece is really a history of the kings of Atlantis. The Greek heaven was Atlantis . . . the history of Atlantis could be in part reconstructed out of the mythology of Greece", said Donelly.

Plato in his *Cratylus* let Socrates speak of the gods: "My notion would be that the sun, moon and stars, earth and heaven, which are still the gods of many barbarians, were the only gods known to the aboriginal Hellenes . . . . What shall follow the gods? Must not demons and heroes and men come next? Consider the real meaning of the word demons. You know Hesiod uses the word. He speaks of a golden race of men who came first. He says of them:

'But now that fate has closed over this race
They are holy demons upon earth,
Beneficient averters of ills, guardians of mortal men.'

He means by the golden men not men literally made of gold, but good and noble men; he says we are of the age of iron."

Here Plato hinted at the gradual dwindling away of the gods as the rulers of the world. He spoke of the dusk or twilight of the gods, because "we are in the age of iron", stricken with blindness of the soul through the loss of the last vestige of our clairvoyant vision.

Cognition of the gods, however, was a continuous mystical process within the mysteries. The seers and initiates revealed the gods. The mystics experienced the reality of the gods as a projection of macrocosmic forces in light or life, water or earth, lightning or thunder. Yet these forces of the cosmos also had their counterpart within man as the microcosm and taught him to imagine them as architects of the organs of his body and of the faculties of his soul.

The mystic became initiated into the secrets of the sanctuaries of a divinity, when he experienced the actual birth of a god within his own soul.[47] The soul of a perfect mystic became spiritually a son of a god. The knowledge of the relationship and kinship among divinities was a mystical and not a bodily experience. The experience

of the spirit was always recognized as a paternal influence, that of the soul as maternal. In the mystical experience, the gods were eternally present. For this reason the true view of mythology is inseparably linked with the world of oracles and mysteries in which the gods were revealed through the souls of the seers.

The Greeks tell us of three generations of gods who ruled in succession. These three generations of Uranus and Gaia, Kronus and Rheia, Zeus and Hera and all their children are linked with the stories of the Golden, Silver and Bronze Ages which have to do with the states of consciousness in which the human being could approach them.

The first generation of the Greek gods were the creators of our solar system. Their myths present an aspect of cosmology.

Out of the Chaos, *Pralaya,* a state of spiritual inactivity in Hindu terminology, is born Gaia, mother of the earth, as well as Tartarus and Eros. Gaia unites herself with Uranus, heaven, whom she brought to birth and with whom she builds a cosmic unity. Uranus and Gaia created the Titans through whom the first differentiation took place. The twelve Titans represented the sum of the cosmic forces. The number twelve is always linked with the appearance of space. Through the twelve Titans and their unions and marriages among one another, the stars and the elements appear in their rotation and life. Through the union of Okeanus and Thetis the Okeanides were born, the world of water. The offspring of Kroius and Phoibe are Leto, the night, and Asteria, the starry sky. The children of Hyperion and Theia were Selene, moon, Helios, sun, and Eos, dawn.

The early Greeks saw not only the external forms of nature but also their inner life and movement. The winds, the dawn, the night, the sea and the rain, the stars, the sun and the moon were to them actual entities, living, divine beings. The Greeks personalized them by giving them names – Leto, Eos, Asteria and the rest. This they did, not as a mere imaginative personification but through actual perception of the manifestations of the movement and metamorphoses of the forces of nature.

COSMOLOGY

First generation of gods

Chaos

Tartarus — Gaia — Eros — Uranus

Twelve Titans:

Okeanus	Thetis
Kroius	Phoibe
Kreius	Mnemosyne
Hyperion	Themis
Japetus	Theia
Kronus	Rheia

Okeanides

(elemental beings of water)

Leto (night) Asteria (stars)

Eos (dawn)

Helios (sun)

Selene (moon)

(Early —"Polaric-Hyperborean" epochs of earth-evolution)

Revelation of mysteries of Space

Prevailing number: twelve

THEOGONY

Second generation of gods

Kronus and Rheia

(the supreme unit of divine government)

and their six children:

Poseidon	Demeter
Hades	Hestia
Zeus	Hera

("Lemurian" epoch of earth-evolution)

Revelation of mysteries of Time

Prevailing number: seven

The age during which Uranus and Gaia ruled with the help of the twelve Titans signified a particular stage in the earth's evolution connected with the first epochs of the coming into being of our

globe. These spiritual beings wanted to preserve their consciousness according to the earliest stage of the earth evolution. This caused the opposition of the younger generation. Among the twelve Titans Kronus was the youngest. And it was Kronus, Uranus' youngest son, who overcame his father with the help of Gaia, Mother Earth. Kronus succeeded Uranus just as Lemuria followed Hyperborea.

Uranus was connected with the twelvehood, which underlies

MYTHOLOGY

Third generation of gods

Trinity of brothers
(world-government)

Hades	Zeus	Poseidon
(earth)	(air)	(water)

Hera

Supreme divine trinity
(in connection with mankind)

Zeus
Apollo and Athena

Children of Zeus:

Hermes	Aphrodite
Ares	Artemis
Hephaistus	Hestia

(Demigods)

Dionysus
Heracles
Perseus
Tantalus
Minos

Three Moirae, Three Horae, Three Charitae, Three Erinys
Thrice three (nine) Muses
Pan, Satyrs and Nymphs
(Atlantis — "Atlantean" epoch of earth-evolution)
Revelation of mysteries of soul-consciousness
Dominant number: three

space. Kronus and Rheia (who were considered as a spiritual unit by reason of their parenthood) appeared with their six children —Hestia, Demeter, Hera, Hades, Poseidon and Zeus—in connection with the number seven. The number seven always indicates rhythm and time, and the name Kronus (*chronos*—time) means literally the ruling of Time.

The youngest child of Kronus was Zeus and here again was rebellion against the father. Zeus and his generation took over the leadership from Kronus and Rheia as Atlantis followed Lemuria. The volcanic forces of Lemuria with their earthquakes and cataclysms finally calmed down and were chained when Zeus "threw the Titans and Cyclopes into Tartarus."

Zeus and the other Olympians ruled and lived as Atlanteans. The first generation of the gods, (Uranus and Gaia), ruled in connection with the earliest stages of the earth's development as forces in a cosmology. The second generation of the gods (Kronus and Rheia), were the representatives of a theogony. Zeus and the Olympians became the figures in a mythology. Everything that appeared with these divinities revealed its nature in a triad. Hence we have three leading divinities: Zeus, his son Apollo, and his daughter, Athena; three further sons of Zeus, Hermes, Ares and Hephaistus, and three other daughters, Aphrodite, Artemis and Hestia; three Moirae, three Horae and three Charitae; three Erinys: Megara, Alecto and Tisiphone; and, finally, nine (thrice three) muses around Apollo on Mount Parnassus.

The number three dominated the whole Hellenic life as far as it was still connected with the impulses of the Olympians. The government of the world was divided among the three sons of Kronus: Zeus ruled in the air and enlightened the soul-consciousness of man. Poseidon ruled over the waters and worked within the life-forces of the human body. Hades was king of the world of matter and the netherworld and was experienced as the hardening and imprisoning forces in the physical body of man.[48]

Yet the gods could not give to man the most precious of all gifts, the ego. The gods, who with their picture-consciousness were the

Atlanteans, had gradually to resign from the leadership of mankind in order that man might unfold the consciousness of sense-perception and logical reason. The gods had to "die within the soul of man". The soul cut herself off from the imagination of the divine; she stood alone. Her experience now was the twilight of the gods, the first result of sunken Atlantis and the beginning of the age of Iron, of Darkness.

Man was left solitary and would have been completely lost in the wilderness of the Dark Age had he not had leaders who could act as mediators and pioneers of the dawn of self-consciousness. These mediators were the Heroes, the "sons of gods" and of mortal women. They lived as the initiators of man's self-consciousness in the early age of Post-Atlantis. It was their task to teach man how to win freedom, how to become an individual.

The bringer of individuality, preceding all the other demigods and heroes, was Prometheus. Who was Prometheus? It is significant that since he was born the son of Gaia and therefore as a member of the first generation of the gods, he was created at the very outset of the development of the earth. Yet he himself, a Titan, rebelled against his brother Kronus and cast him down, thus helping Zeus to his domination. Prometheus was always a revolutionist. His aim was to further the development of consciousness. He never wanted to remain at the existing stage of evolution. Therefore, while he at first helped Zeus to overthrow Kronus, he later turned against Zeus in order to acquire the power of the ego. Prometheus was the bringer of light and fire to mortals. He was the Greek Lucifer, the Light-bringer and Fire-bearer. He was, in truth, the offspring of all three generations of gods, but he surpassed them in bringing to mankind a gift which the Olympians were unable to give: the possibility of freedom of the ego through the light of knowledge and the creation of art: *Eleutheria!*

Prometheus-Lucifer is thus connected with the origin of the human self. The ego was already created at the very beginning of the earth's development, but slumbered within the bosom of the gods. The ego participated unconsciously in the deeds of Uranus

and Gaia; it abode in the realm of Kronus and Rheia; it took part in the government of Zeus.

Zeus wished to exterminate the human race because of its pride and impiety. To Prometheus and his brother Epimetheus was given the task of distributing gifts to the human race to make these mortals more amiable toward Zeus. But Epimetheus distributed everything to the animals, so that nothing was left for man except trouble and sorrow. Prometheus stole fire from the workshop of Hephaistus and Athena — the will element and the light of intellect within selfhood — and brought with it the arts and sciences to teach man how to write, to weigh and to measure. This stirred the wrath of Zeus, who saw it as a threat to his reign; so he chained Prometheus to the Caucasian rock.

The wrath of Zeus poured out upon the head of Prometheus is transformed through the sacrifice and love, the pity and compassion of Heracles, who freed him. Love and compassion, repentance and conscience were the powers of the ego of man which the Olympians lacked. Prometheus, who brought fire to man, in his love and compassion for mortals, developed the truly human faculty, self-consciousness, and thus became alienated from the gods of Olympus. He became the leader of the human ego as the spirit of freedom and love, guiding mankind from the dusk of the gods to the dawn of the self.

2. *HERACLES*

The goal of Odysseus' wanderings among the shades in the netherworld, as the ninth canto of the Odyssey describes, was to find Heracles. He was the pattern for all demigods, the father of all heroes, just as Zeus was called the father of all gods. Odysseus had to join Heracles to come to know the task of Hellas. When Alexander the Great, at the end of his conquest of the world, reached the two columns in the North that Heracles had built on the boundary of Atlantis, and then led his army to India, he felt within himself the power of the demigod, and the meaning of his wanderings and his labors became clear to him.

Heracles was the archetype of the life experience of the Hellenic man. Every Hellene who strove for immortality was considered an offspring of Heracles. Odysseus was the first on the records of written history, Alexander the last of world importance. Yet all the Greeks considered themselves children of Heracles; and the Dorians who, through their migration ushered in the history of Hellas, were called the returning Heraclidae.

Whence came Heracles? Wherein lies his universal importance for the life of Hellas?

He is the hero par excellence among such heroes or demigods as Orpheus, Perseus, Theseus, Minos, Tantalus, Kekrops, Orion and Sisyphus, all Promethean leaders of mankind.

The problem of modern research in theology and mythology is that it is inclined to look at the myths either from the point of view of the scepticism of materialism as mere creations of fantasy or from an anthropological standpoint as symbols of tribal, ethnological and sexual associations. There is an interesting study[49] about Heracles and Christ which points out parallels between these two lives in regard to their birth, temptation, passion and death. The comparison is surprising. Just as Joseph goes with Mary from Nazareth to Bethlehem, after Mary is overshadowed by the Holy Ghost, so Amphitryon wanders with Alkmene from Mykenae to Thebes, and Zeus, in the absence of Amphitryon, visits Alkmene. Herod's hatred which led to his order to kill the children may be compared with Hera's jealousy which sent the serpent to the infant, Heracles. As Jesus receives his divine message in the synagogue, so Heracles, in communion with the god of Delphi, receives the command to perfect his labor in order to attain immortality. The story of Heracles at the crossroad when he had to choose between a life of ease and self-indulgence and one of arduous endeavor and suffering bears a certain similarity to the New Testament story of the temptation, passion, death and glorification of Jesus Christ.

What does this similarity indicate? That the writers of the Gospels merely copied and transformed the myths of the Hellenes? Or that both stories are mere fictions? Are we to understand that neither Heracles nor Christ ever really existed?

The truth is that the various events in these two lives reflect specific states experienced by the mystics, those who are on the path to higher unfoldment. The myth of Heracles, tracing its origin back to the time of Atlantis, was a forecast of the coming of man's ego consciousness. In the incarnation of Christ on earth, midway in history up to our time, that promise of the coming of the ego consciousness was fulfilled. Thus the story of Heracles, woven into the web of destiny of the Hellenes, is to be understood not as a tale of the adventures of a hero but as depicting through the Greek mysteries the unfolding of the human soul. It was the preparation of the Greeks for the advent of Christ and the mystery of Golgotha, just as many incidents in the life of the Hebrew people prepared them for that crowning event in their history.

Heracles was involved in the fight against monsters and dragons, giants and Titans until he attained perfection, the immortality of the spirit within the mortal body, which is actually initiation. The twelve labors of Heracles represented the task of overcoming the heritage from Atlantis. They were like a year with its twelve months under the aspects of the signs of the zodiac. They were the temptations and trials which had to be undergone by man as he stands in the universe.

The twelve labors were: the fight with the lion of Nemea; the slaying of the Hydra; the killing of the Erymanthic boar; the capture of the hind of Artemis; the expulsion of the Stymphalic birds; the cleaning of the Augean stable; the adventures with the bull of Crete and the horses of Diomedes; the fight for the belt of Hippolyta, queen of the Amazons, and for the cattle of the giant, Geryones; the quest for the apples of the Hesperides connected with initiation into the Eleusinia; the liberation of Prometheus; and, finally, the descent to the netherworld to bring up the three-headed hell-hound, Cerberus. All twelve labors are probations and tests which the way of initiation required, the last two revealing the character of initiation directly.

The twelve labors can be divided into four groups, in each of which Heracles has to develop one of those virtues described by

Plato as courage, presence of mind, justice and wisdom. It is also clear that in the first group of labors, the slaying of the lion; in the second, the adventure with the birds; and in the third, that with the bull, are the most significant as coming before Heracles was able to free Prometheus and descend to the netherworld.

The danger during the development of man in Atlantis was that he might remain at a leonine, bird-like or bovine stage of body. The forces of bull and lion worked overwhelmingly from the terrestrial sphere. The bird-like forces worked from the cosmic surroundings. The deeds of Heracles reveal that he overcame the temptation to yield to which would have made man into a creature of bull-lion-and-eagle-like nature instead of the higher being he was intended to become. Heracles solved the riddle of the Sphinx which was a genuine vision of the stage of human development during Atlantis.[50]

Like Perseus who killed the Medusa, and Bellerophon who slew the Chimaera; like Cadmus who killed the dragon; and Theseus who destroyed the Minotaur, Heracles had to fight for the temple of the spirit which the body had to become. The most significant distinction between Heracles and the other heroes lies in the last two tests and labors which he had to undergo and perform.

It is said that Heracles on the way to the Hesperides visited all the temples and oracles of the world. When he had come through Egypt, Libya, and Aethiopia into the realm of the Hyperboreans, he gained the initiation of Eleusis. At that stage of development he was at last able to free Prometheus on the Caucasus Mountain.

Heracles is undoubtedly linked with the end of Atlantis. The myth has him set up the "pillars of Heracles" which on the one side are known as the Atlas Mountains, on the other as the Rock of Gibraltar. Heracles' way to the Hesperides, daughters of Atlas, led to the region of the West (Greek, Hesperus—Latin, Vesper—is the origin of the word West), where lay the island in the ocean which was Atlantis. The tenth of his labors was the carrying off of the cattle of Geryon. The name Geryon means "the red glow of the sunset" and his abode was "Erythea, in the remote west, beyond the pillars of Heracles."[51]

The journey of Heracles described the boundaries of Atlantis as Plato explained them, those of an empire extending from the West—the Atlantic Ocean—to Egypt and Italy, the shores of North Africa and the islands of Greece. Mount Caucasus represented the opposite of the "pillars of Heracles": for it was the entrance into the new world, into Asia, the cradle of mankind after the deluge.

Heracles, who freed Prometheus by shooting the vulture which gnawed at his liver, is significant as the hero who lived during the transition between two epochs—that of the past of Atlantis and that of the dawn of Hellas. This position makes him the outstanding hero of the nation of Hellas, because it was the destiny of the Hellenes to bring this transition about.

The twelfth labor was the bringing up of the threeheaded hellhound, Cerberus. This signified the end of Heracles' way to initiation. Cerberus guarded the entrance to the netherworld, which means the realm of the dead, the spiritual world. The dog with his three heads portrays the evil distortion and aberration of the soul in thinking, feeling and willing. After his victory over Cerberus, Heracles, as a mortal, is able to enter the realm of the immortals. Thus he attains immortality which means initiation.

The words which Homer's Heracles speaks to Odysseus in the netherworld not only mark the turning point in the wanderings of Odysseus, they are the motto which might stand at the outset of the story of the life of each Hellene: "You, poor man, must work out a cruel task such as I once endured when, in the sunlight, I was the son of Kronian Zeus. Yet I had pains unnumbered; for to one very far beneath me I was bound, and he imposed hard labors. He even sent me here to carry off the dog, for nothing he supposed could be harder labor. I brought the dog up hence, and dragged him forth from Hades. Hermes was my guide, he and clear-eyed Athena."[52] Hermes and Athena appear as the two polarities of the way to the higher world. Hermes leads to the world of within; Athena shows the world of without. Hermes leads to death and the realm of Hades; Athena points to the beauty of the senses and the wisdom of thought. Hermes and Athena together bring about the

initiation of man, opening his eyes toward the wonders of the world and his ears to the secrets of the soul.

The end of the life of Heracles, his sufferings, his battle with the Centaur, his death by conflagration and finally his apotheosis as "son of Zeus" point to the experience of the soul in struggling against the dangers and temptations of Atlantean embodiment to which the centaur belonged. Man had to struggle with the centaur-nature within himself. As Heracles fought, so all his followers had to fight. Odysseus, who stands at the beginning of the rise of the Greek intellect, can be called a pupil of Heracles. Odysseus had to return to Heracles, the guide of the Hellenic spirit.

Before Odysseus reached Heracles in the netherworld his way led him from Minos, Orion and Tityos to Tantalus and Sisyphus. These heroes represent a genealogy reminding us of the descent of man into the world of matter. They are representatives of those souls who were considered sons of Zeus, connected with the divine world, but who gradually forfeited their relationship with the world of the gods.

Tantalus, the son of Zeus, betrays the secrets of those divine ones at whose table on Olympus he once sat. It was the curiosity of the intellect wanting to test the gods which led Tantalus to slay his own son, Pelops. The deed was done in pride and vanity, not in the spirit of sacrifice as was shown by Agamemnon when he was willing to offer up his daughter, Iphigenia; and, in the Hebrew tradition, by Abraham who offered up his son, Isaac. Tantalus represents the tragedy of the awakening of the intellect, the curse of knowledge arising in the soul blinded through its loss of clairvoyance. The pains and sufferings of Tantalus in the netherworld may be said to represent the rise of the intellect with its dangers of treachery, cunning and doubt.

Minos, the mythical king of Cnossus on Crete, was a demigod, too, a son of Zeus and Europa. Even his name is linked with the word mind (*mimnesko* in Greek, *mens* in Latin, *manushia,* in Sanskrit, connected with man and *Mensch*) and therefore with leaders like the Egyptian Menes, the Indian Manu or the Persian Manes. The island of Crete has always been associated with the

imaginations of sunken Atlantis. Crete is a link with the prehistoric age of Hellas. There is no doubt that the cults of the bull which flourished there were remnants of Atlantis. The myth tells us that Poseidon, with Atlas, the ruler over Atlantis, sent to Minos a white bull for sacrifice; but Minos kept him alive. Because of this refusal to sacrifice the bull Poseidon took revenge and sent Minos the Minotaur, that monster with the clever head of a man but the body of a bull. Minos, a bringer and leader of the intellect, had to face the problem of Atlantis: man in the struggle against animality. Archeological research provides two dates for Minos, one in the fifteenth and one in the thirteenth century B.C.; probably the mythical Minos was both ancestor and archetype of those rulers whom research into prehistory assigns to the three so-called Minoan periods. Assuming that Minos, King of Cnossus on Crete, flourished simultaneously with the Egyptian pharaohs, Amenhotep III and his successor Akhnatin (fourteenth century B.C.), it should be noted that there was hieroglyphic writing in Crete before 2000 B.C. and also that the first linear writing appeared before 1600 B.C. when signs for syllables were used for the first time.[53]

Through the myth of the labyrinth and the Minotaur the story of Minos is linked with that of Daedalus and Theseus of Athens. The labyrinth was an invention of the cunning and intellect of the Athenian architect, Daedalus. This labyrinth is represented on ancient coins of Cnossus with seven walls on each of the four sides. Four times seven walls are twenty-eight, the number that points to the moon and its revolution around the earth. As the moon reflects sunlight so the brain mirrors thoughts. The labyrinth was a symbol of the brain with its convolutions. The human being, like the Athenian youths and maidens, may fall victim to Minotaur or he may become victor through the threads of Ariadne, overcoming entanglement with the labyrinth.[54]

After creating the deadly labyrinth, Daedalus with his son, Icarus, had to flee. The image of wings attached to a man should be seen with the poetic eye of mythological perception and not with the literal eye of the technician. Daedalus' flight across the sea dis-

closed trust in his intellect and represented an imagination of thinking. This was the victory of reason. Yet the price had to be paid in the death of his son, Icarus. Like Phaeton, disobeying his father Helios, Icarus perished. Pride and conceit were the forces which led to abuse of the intellect. The death of Icarus is one of those tragic sacrifices demanded by the rise of the power of thought. But the world which awakened through Minos demanded still more: it was necessary each year to offer the monster Minotaur seven Athenian youths and maidens.

Theseus who released them completed the deed of Daedalus. In killing the Minotaur with the help of Ariadne's cunning, he is revealed as a hero, freeing himself and his city from the decadent forces of Atlantis, and overcoming the tendency for man to remain in the bull-like, lion-like or eagle-like nature of his body. In the legend of Theseus, the son forgot his promise to hoist the white sails on his return to Athens and caused the death of his father, Aegeus. In the story of Icarus, the son fails to obey his father and Daedalus loses his son. The principle of the son is always connected with the awakening of the ego.

Odysseus, who descended to the netherworld to meet Heracles, began his journey by beholding the heroes of the Trojan War. In Achilles he met the last of the demigods; and in speaking with Agamemnon he experienced the tragedy of the progeny of Tantalus, including Iphigenia. Iphigenia was supposed to become the wife of Achilles, but she had been carried away to the shores of the Black Sea by Artemis. This Black Sea country was also the scene of the myth of the golden fleece, that relic of the golden age of mankind's consciousness which Heracles and his heroes wished to regain. Here Iphigenia became the protectress of the wisdom and chastity of the soul that seeks for the ideal of Hellas. She did not become the wife of Achilles; instead she caused the fall of Troy and the death of Laocoon, who with his sons was killed by the serpent of the sea. Laocoon's death is the last event in the gathering shadows surrounding Atlantis and in the decline of that clairvoyance which was based on the blood-ties of the family. Not only the priest, Laocoon, but also

his offspring, the stream of inherited blood-ties, had to be destroyed before the dawn of the new age of man. In the words of Homer when Achilles speaks in the netherworld to Odysseus, we enter the soul of Hellas with all her triumph and tragedy: "Not of death speak thou in words of comfort, glorious Odysseus. Rather above ground would I be the hired servant of a man without a lot whose livelihood is but small, than reign over all the perished dead."[55]

The light of the world of the gods vanished. The age of Darkness, Kali Yuga or Deucalion set in. Its darkness veiled the insight of the soul and aroused the fear of death. Achilles, the last of the heroes and demigods, shared his destiny with Minos and Tantalus, Theseus and Heracles. They were forerunners of man's consciousness of the ego which was enkindled by the fire of Prometheus.

3. *THE CHILDREN OF DEUCALION*

The son of Prometheus was Deucalion. He represented the age of Darkness as his name reveals, for it consists of the word *deus* — god and *kalion* — darkness. Deucalion was the leader into the time which the Hindus called Kali Yuga. The flood which is linked with Deucalion must not be understood as the decline of Atlantis but rather as its final consequence. The event was experienced within the consciousness of the soul rather than in outward commotion and change of landscape. The ancient tradition of the Hindus indicated a particular date, 3,101 B.C., for the very outset of this age of iron and darkness.

This date coincides with the beginning of the first dynasties of Egypt during which were built the pyramids near Memphis; and with the wandering of Abraham who led the Israelites to the land of the Jordan. Rudolf Steiner points out that it was Abraham who first transmitted, physically, through heredity, the brain that enabled the human being to develop the faculty of abstract thinking which gradually replaced the gift of clairvoyance. It was because he unfolded for future humanity this capacity for thinking abstract thoughts that Abraham could become the leader of the Hebrew people.

Similar faculties of mathematical and abstract reasoning were at work when the Egyptians built their pyramids. The first and highest of all the pyramids was that of Pharaoh Cheops which was erected exactly at the beginning of the new period of culture when the sun rose under the vernal equinox of Taurus, 2,906 B.C. This date is closely connected with the beginning of Kali Yuga, 3,101 B.C., so that we may say: the pyramid of Cheops was an indestructible monument to the sum of ancient wisdom at the threshold of the Dark Age. The way in which it was constructed originated not only from mathematical thinking but from the new faculty for creating works of art.

As Cheops guided the Egyptians, and Abraham the Hebrews, so Deucalion was the leader of the Hellenes. The Greek Deucalion landing on Mount Parnassus may be compared with the Hebrew Noah landing on Mount Arrarat after the deluge. Thus the new age of mankind began on Mount Parnassus under the cliffs of which the shrine of Delphi was erected as the place which the Hellenes, the children of Deucalion, believed to be the navel of the earth.

The sanctuary of Delphi, indeed, marked the center of life in Hellas and it became the stage for the ultimate transition from myth to history. The Hellenes, as the offspring of Deucalion, lived at the beginning of the age of darkness, yet the center of their inspiration and of their spiritual guidance was united with the oracle-word of Apollo in Delphi.

It was in Delphi, as the myth tells us, that Apollo fought against the dragon, Python. Apollo's deed had to do with the era of Atlantis, and the slaughter of the monster who guarded the well of Castaly was connected with Atlantean development. The fight of Apollo against the dragon, Python, is of far greater importance than all the struggles and battles of the other gods, demigods and heroes which came before or followed. It leads us back to the archetype of all the struggles of Hellas. Rudolf Steiner revealed that Apollo was one of those beings who were able to act as messengers and forerunners of the impulse of Christ. As the Hebrews spoke of the archangel, Michael, as the face of Jehova, so the seers of Hellas knew that in Apollo lived and spoke a similar light and voice.[56] The

impulse of Apollo was therefore to restore the distorted harmony between thinking, feeling and willing and to replace the vanishing clairvoyance with the activity of art. The three times three muses who accompanied Apollo on Mount Parnassus were the representatives of Music. Music, in the sense of the Apollonian muses, was the sum of the mysteries of the weaving and living Word of the World, of the Logos, given to mankind as the impulse to unfold within the depths of the soul the harmony of thinking, feeling and willing.

Hesiod showed in his *Theogony* that he knew of the Heroic Age. Besides describing the Golden, Silver and Bronze Ages and before speaking of the age of Iron or Darkness, he mentioned the Heroic Age. He intercalated it between the ages of Bronze and Iron.

What is this Heroic Age? We note with Hesiod that it belonged neither to the Bronze Age which marked the end of Atlantis, nor to the Dark Age or Kali Yuga when the last glimpses of spiritual insight into the mysteries of the gods vanished. It belonged to that period of transition, of increasing blindness to the spiritual world, which preceded the arrival of Kali Yuga. The figures of this period were the demigods and heroes who, through their mighty deeds, preserved the last glimpses of divine insight. From Prometheus and Heracles to Tantalus, Minos and Achilles, they brought about the transition from the mythological to the historical consciousness.

The traces of a so-called Aegean civilization, between 3,000 and 2,000 B.C., a Minoan epoch, especially in Crete from 2,000 to 1,600 B.C., and a Mycenean era, 1,600 to 1,100 B.C., the latter already connected with the half-historical Trojan War—may only be understood as reflections of the days of the heroes.

From this standpoint it is revealing that, in accordance with modern paleontology, the transition from the use of stone to the use of metals took place during the Heroic Age. Research in paleontology shows us that the ruins of Mycenae and Tiryns disclosed the last achievements in the use of bronze. Iron was known no earlier than 1,000 B.C., that is, not until after the Trojan War which concluded the age of the heroes and introduced the migration of

the tribes, the actual beginning of Hellas' history. The Dorians who invaded Greece fought on foot and used weapons of iron. The heroes of Homer still had weapons and tools of bronze.[57]

The story of the various ages of mankind, as Hesiod gave it, had nothing to do with the conclusions of modern paleontology regarding the use of metals. However, at the outset of the history of Hellas may be plainly seen the meaning of iron in a double sense — that of the use of iron tools and weapons and that of the beginning of the Iron Age with its twilight of the gods. Thus the history of the Hellenes, as the story of the children of Deucalion and particularly of his son, Hellen, is the tragedy of the beginning of Kali Yuga, the Age of Iron.

Homer and Hesiod stood on the threshold of this age. Hesiod was described as being taught by the muses of Apollo while he fed the sheep on the hills of Helicon. He was given a staff as a minstrel's emblem. In order to preserve the message of Apollo and to rescue it from the oblivion which might befall the soul, Hesiod wrote down the myth under the command of the sun god himself, the spiritual guardian of Hellas. "Mankind in the Iron Age will never cease by day or night from weariness and woe," exclaimed Hesiod. "Why have I to live in this generation? Would that I had died before, or were born hereafter!"

Odysseus, during his wanderings in the netherworld from Achilles to Heracles, experienced, as it were, in cross-section, the preceding ages of mankind. Did not Heracles represent the last rays of the Golden Age when man was still fully connected with the gods? Did not Tantalus signify man of the Silver Age, when the gods stood behind him but left him free in his decision and insight? Was not Minos a representative of the Bronze Age when man only remembered the gods as an adult remembers his childhood? Achilles was already the voice of the Dark Age when the human being was left alone in the dusk of the gods, and when even the mighty hero mourned over death and life in the netherworld for "mankind in the Iron Age will never cease from weariness and woe."

Thus we see not only that the gods of Hellas and the demigods, the heroes, were real beings experiencing life on our earth but

also that they had a definite mission to fulfill in bringing man forward on his earthly journey. They were real beings without whom man could not have developed according to the divine plan, without whom he could not have acquired his intellect and his ego consciousness. They were, in very truth, the servants and benefactors of mankind. Thus is mythology justified.

III

THE TRIAD OF THE TRIBES

"Socrates: Should we not offer up a prayer first of all to the local deities?
Phaedrus: By all means.
Socrates: Beloved Pan, and all ye other gods who haunt this place, give me beauty in the inward soul; and may the outward and inward man be at one."

PLATO (*Phaedrus*)

John Ruskin stated in one of his essays that the stories about Noah and Deucalion or Eve and Persephone are "incomparably truer than the Darwinian theory." Such words appear as a golden remnant of the days of idealism before the coming of materialism. Psychoanalysis and social psychology have reduced our view of mythology, mysteries and oracles to merely intellectualized ideas of sexual rites within tribal associations.

This attitude of mind is voiced by Jane Ellen Harrison in her *Themis,* a study of the social origins of Greek religion. She finds that "Olympians were not only non-primitive, but positively in a sense non-religious . . . on the other hand, the cultus of Dionysus and Orpheus seemed to me, whatever its errors and licenses, essentially religious. My instinct was to condemn the Olympians as non-religious because they were really the products of art and literature, though posing as divinities. Could this instinct stand the test of examination or was it merely a temperamental prejudice masquerading as a reasoned principle?" she asks. "The problem might have continued ineffectively to haunt me, and probably to paralyze my investigations, had not light come rather suddenly from unexpected quarters, from philosophy and social psychology." The god is, for such scholars as Harrison, nothing but "a projection from the group. Divinity at its very source is human. Bacchic relig-

ion is based on the collective emotion of the *thiasos*. Its god is a projection of group-unity." The chief element of the "making of a god" is this projection of collective emotions and the true content of the mysteries is merely "the reflection of the rite of social initiation."[58] Turning from so limited a point of view as the above let us with John Ruskin explore the concept that stories of the Old Testament and the myths of the Hellenes were at least as true as the modern theory of the descent of man and let us try to understand the triad of the Hellenic tribes from a higher standpoint than that of tribal initiations, which "make a god" through the projection of collective emotions.

The nation of Hellas was destined to show even in the building plan of her tribes the idea of harmony. The ideal of Apollo was to unfold the three forces of thinking, feeling and willing and to develop them to wisdom, temperance and goodness. It was toward the state of *Kalo-kagathia* (to be good and beautiful) that the life of the Hellenes was directed.

The origin of the Greeks reveals a triad of the tribes. The son of Deucalion was Hellen. Hellen had three sons: Dorus, Aeolus and Ion, the ancestors of the three tribes of the Dorians, Aeolians and Ionians.

The primeval population was called the Achaeans (*achaioi*-old) which means the first or old ones. These Achaeans were soon partly Doricized and partly Ionicized. The three tribes of Hellas emerged as a result of the migration caused by the invasion of the Dorians which occurred at the end of the Heroic Age after the Trojan War (about 1,000 B.C.).

The heroes of the Homeric Age lived in brotherhoods or *phratriae*. The *phratry* was an association of those who had the same father. It consisted of several *gentes* or families, who lived in a patriarchy, following the earlier stage of matriarchy. The emphasis gradually moved from the family (*genos*) and the clan (*phratria*) to the tribe (*phyle*). The tribe in the Homeric age comprised all the people in a kingdom headed by a *basileus* (king) who was descended from the gods and was chief priest, judge and war lord. The Atlantean gods and Post-Atlantean demigods and heroes stood at the origin of the tribes and indicated their inner order.

Paintings on vases still speak eloquently of the foundations of cities as centers of tribal associations in closest linkage with the deeds of heroes or demigods. Such, for instance, was the rise of Thebes through the struggles of Cadmus. Aided by Pallas Athena, Cadmus slew the serpent which guarded a sacred fountain. The killing of monsters had the same significance as the founding of the polis, the city-state; it indicated the transition from the heritage of Atlantis to the foundation of a new stage of life.

The archetypal fight of Apollo in which he slew the serpent led to the founding of the oracle-place of Delphi. The sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi was situated in the heart of Hellas, under the cliffs of Mount Parnassus where Deucalion and Pyrrha landed and became the ancestors of the new race of man. This fact is obviously connected with the triad of the tribes of Hellas. The tripod of the Pythia in Delphi who served as the living mouthpiece of Apollo, the leader of the thrice three muses, stood in the midst of the three tribes: the Dorians, Aeolians and Ionians.

The Dorians ruled over the south; the Aeolians settled in the north and north-west; the Ionians occupied the middle and eastern part of Hellas. Let us look upon this triad of the tribes as a manifestation of the whole of Hellas, swaying between polarities, and finding within themselves that expression of harmony which was the legacy of Apollo.

The Dorians were one-sidedly connected with the forces of will. They came from the north to settle in Aetolia and Boeotia, founding Doris between Mount Oeta and Parnassus; then Delphi; and finally destroying the cities of the Heroic Age, Mycenae and Tyrins, they established their settlements in Laconia and Argos in the Peloponnesus. The center was the kingdom of Sparta.

Sparta gradually became an arsenal; the whole city-state was like a barrack of soldiers. This state of subjugation of the individual to the discipline of war was, however, less strongly developed before the time of Lycurgus (600 B. C.), the lawgiver of Sparta, who was still declared a demigod. Lycurgus' laws were therefore revelations of a seer more than those of a politician. His name, "wolf-repeller", hinted at the overcoming of the one-sided forces of the willing soul,

of brutality, greed and aggression. The Delphic oracle, as cited by Herodotus, said: "Welcome Lycurgus, whom Zeus loves well, and all celestial love, come to my rich shrine. Shall I declare thee human or divine? Surely a god, if I know ought thereof." The belief that Sparta's laws were inspired by Apollo remained in the conservative spirit of the Spartans long after the days of Lycurgus. Sparta is noted for this spirit of conservatism. Old Spartan coins of iron remained in use until the time of Alexander the Great and the constitution was not changed in any way.

After the sixth century when the poets, Tyrtaeus and Terpander, Alcman and Cimaethon lived at the courts of the Spartan kings, and Chilon was counted as one of the seven sages, the discipline of life in Sparta became not only more rigid but appeared to be the only purpose in life. Unhealthy babies were exposed to die on Mount Taygetus; boys at the age of seven came under the care of officers; divided into herds (*buai*), they lived in collective camps until the age of twenty, ruled by young men between twenty and thirty who were not allowed to marry before reaching the age of thirty. But even then they dined in tents, exercised in camps and trained continuously for war. Discipline and collectivism began from birth and ended only with death. Control and discipline were supervised by the organization of a secret police, the *Krypteia.*

The constitution of the Spartans provided for two kings who, with twenty eight members of the council known as the *gerusia* formed the supreme criminal court. Besides the assembly (*apella*) of citizens who were over thirty there were five *ephors* (the supreme civil court) who entered their office at the beginning of the Spartan year which fell on the first new moon after the autumnal equinox. The Greeks observed three phases of the moon, waxing, full and waning; and the year was divided into three seasons, winter, summer and autumn. It seems most likely that Lycurgus determined the calendar of the moon year. The *gerousia,* the council with the four times seven (28) members over sixty years of age who elected the two kings and who made solemn offerings to Apollo every month, was wont to be in session in accordance with the phases of

the moon while the Pythia in Delphi faced the disk of the full moon when revealing the oracle-word of Apollo. The constitution of Sparta preserved this connection. The kingship was hereditary, the two dynasties, the *Agidae* and the *Euripontydae,* claimed descent from Heracles and survived all changes of the state.

The Aeolians were people of reason and memory. Like the Dorians of Sparta they were conservative, but they consisted of simple farmers rather than of restless warriors. The Boeotians, one of these peoples, were noted for their narrow-mindness, prosiness and sobriety. The capital of the Aeolian tribe was Thebes. In Aeolia the government was similar to that of Sparta. No changes of constitution developed.

Sparta unfolded the activity of the will, (the Greek word *thymos,* related to *epithymia,* emphasized the attributes of their souls). Thebes developed the faculties of the mind (*phren,* memory). In Sparta lived the law-givers, Lycurgus and Dracon, and poets of the heroic world, like Tyrtaeus and Alcman. In Aeolia, appeared Hesiod, the bringer of mythology and theogony, and the Theban Pindar, mournful singer of odes and hymns recalling the glory of the past.

Thebes and Sparta were, like *nous* and *thymos,* reflections of the thoughts and impulses of the will.

Harmony and balance would not be possible without a third quality which appeared as the bridge between reasoning and will, prosiness and discipline, reflection and energy. This contribution was made by Ionia.

The tribes of the Ionians lived in the center of Hellas as the heart lives between head and limbs. The colonization of the Ionians in Attica reached in its furthest extent to the islands of the Aegean, the shores of Asia Minor, Sicily and southern Italy. All the various cities of Ionia held their torches aloft to the queen of the *poleis* of Hellas, namely Athens.

There were four Ionian tribes — the *Geleontes, Argadeis, Aigicoreis* and *Hopletas* — each having three brotherhoods. These twelve phratries were united in the cult of Zeus Phratrios, Athena Phratria and Apollo Patroos, from whom all Athenians claimed

descent. We are reminded of the twelve tribes of Israel which were ruled after "the order of the stars", meaning after the twelve signs of the zodiac. The twelve brotherhoods of the Ionian tribes in Attica were the most central and undoubtedly the most important among all the Hellenic phratries.

The Ionian tribe was endowed in the greatest measure with harmony and universality of mind. Athens was the place where *nous* and *thymos, phren* and *etor,* mind and will, could intermingle one with the other to produce the balance between these forces and build the climax of the achievement of Hellas.

The Dorians were inclined to subdue the individual to uniformity. The Aeolians revived the memories of the Heroic age. Sparta indulged in continuous warfare. Thebes persisted in the customs and habits of the past. Sparta and Thebes preserved a constitution of oligarchy and aristocracy. Their kings were considered descendants of gods who stood guard within the ties of the tribes.

Athens developed the greatest possible variety and change of constitution, leading from kingdom to oligarchy, from aristocracy to tyranny and finally to democracy.

The Ionians did not emphasize the preservation either of the constitution or of the rights of blood ties. At the very outset of their development, the impulse for unity with the other tribes was born and the desire to build up a school for the education of the personality towards a cosmopolitan culture was at work. It is not by chance that the epics of Homer grew out of Ionian life and became the poems of all Hellas, that the empire of Pericles built up from Ionia brought about the first confederacy of Pan-Hellas and that the two exclusively Ionian creations, drama and philosophy, achieved worldwide recognition and fame.

Among the early Ionians there was the greatest differentiation of classes. In Sparta only the highest of the three classes was considered as having citizenship with full rights and duties, while in Athens under the kings, the three classes of nobles (*eupatridae*), farmers (*georgoi*) and public workers (*demiourgoi*) were equally free. The previous distinctions among the parties in Athens (the rich landowners, the aristocrats, the merchants and traders, the conservatives,

the peasants and the democrats) lost their importance in the days of the legendary king Codrus, who, in peasant dress, went to the camp of the Spartans to sacrifice his life, as was demanded by an oracle of Delphi to safeguard the Athenians in the war with Sparta.

The Acropolis of Athens was in its earliest period at once residence, citadel and sanctuary, and the residing king was warlord, judge and priest. Yet the Acropolis remained a residence only until the time of Pisistratus, a citadel until the era of Pericles, while the sanctuary was finally transformed into a place of the highest expression of architecture and sculpture. This sanctuary was devoted to Athena, who sprang from the head of Zeus, and to Poseidon, who grew out of a bull. This fact indicated that the mission of Athens was to find the harmony between the forces of the intellect (Athena) and the will (Poseidon).

Among all the stories connected with the foundation of the tribes the Ionian tale of Theseus appeared as the most harmonious in comparison with the story of Tantalus and Pelops of the Dorians, or the myth of Oedipus of Thebes. The name Ionians is derived from Iavones, later changing into Iaones. One notices the harmony and music of these three main vowels: I-A-O!

Thrice three archons ruled Athens. Three among the nine wielded the power respectively of war lord, judge and over-priest. All retired archons formed the council of the Areopagus, the supreme court. This was situated on the hill of Ares northwest of the Acropolis, where the three *Erinys* (Furies) were thought to have their abode in a cavern at the foot of the hill.

When it came to colonization, the Ionians led. The Aeolians colonized in Kymae and Lesbos, the Dorians founded Halicarnassus and Knisus. But colonization by Ionia extended to the foundation of twelve cities (*Duodecapolis*) on the western shore of Asia Minor. This number twelve again revealed the connection with the twelve brotherhoods in Attica in accordance with the life of the cosmos. The twelve cities were: Phocae, Clazomenae, Samos, Chios, Erythrea, Teos, Lebedos, Colophon, Priene, Myus, Miletus and Ephesus.

Among all these cities, Ephesus with the temple of Artemis, which

was counted as one of the seven wonders of the world, had the profoundest mystery school of Ionia. Ephesus was the name of the acropolis which the Carians founded as a protection for the sanctuary of the Artemision, which already stood there, a stone's throw away. In the tenth century Androklus, the son of king Codrus, conquered the Acropolis and founded a Greek polis besides the community of priests of the Artemision. It was here that Heraclitus taught at the dawn of Ionia's philosophy and that Alexander the Great, the disciple of Aristotle, started his conquest of the Orient and the foundation of Hellenism and that finally St. John wrote his gospel. Miletus and Ephesus, the two cities in which philosophy was born and the Fourth Gospel was conceived, lay at the portal of the Orient, though founded by the light of the Occident.

What a multitude of geniuses arose from among the Ionians, compared with those who grew up among the Aeolians and the Dorians! All the creators of tragedy and comedy, sculpture and painting, history, philosophy, politics and strategy, rhetoric and grammar originated around the plains of Eleusis and Athens. In the forces of the soil, in wind and weather, cliffs and crags, valleys and shores pulsated the breath of harmony which determined the heritage of the three tribes of Hellas. These tribes were the forms and vessels through which the genius of the Greek tongue, heart and mind appeared in historical action.

The physiognomy of the Hellenes is an interesting study in types. These were determined not alone by the influence of the land and the weather but by far more profound impulses from the still more distant past of the human race and were plainly disclosed by Greek sculpture. We can recognize three main types, those of Zeus, Hermes and the satyr or faun.[59]

The satyr type was a decadent remnant of Atlantis. The goat-footed satyr in the Hellenic myth and his representation appeared as a straggler from Atlantis who had still to struggle with the forming of his body in opposition to the forces of animality. The satyrs and fauns, as they followed Dionysus the younger, were repeatedly portrayed by the sculptors. Myron, for example, represented Marsyas as the antithesis of Athena in the contest between Apollo's lyre

and Marsyas' flute. The satyr was not only an expression of sculpture or poetical fantasy; he lived as a definite type of physiognomy among the Hellenes. A supreme instance was the countenance of Socrates as revealed in many busts and as portrayed by Alcibiades' characterization in Plato's *Symposium*.

The Hermes-type came from the south-east. The dark-skinned body and the curly hair were characteristic of Hamitic tribes in Libya and Egypt and Semitic populations in Asia Minor. Hermes in the Greek mythology led souls to the netherworld. He opened the door to the depths of the soul. He was linked with the principle of Dionysus. Nothing is more revealing in this connection than to look at the sculpture of Praxiteles, who, out of a deeper insight into such facts of physiognomy, created the statue of Hermes carrying the infant Dionysus. The representations of the face of Plato in many works of sculpture show us another likeness of the Hermes-type.

The Zeus-type was a form of racial structure which came from the north. It was the most harmonious blend of all racial features which derived from Atlantis. The Zeus-type represented the northern or Caucasian race. This type of physiognomy, characteristic of the figures of Apollo and Pallas Athena, Hera, Demeter and Artemis, pictured the human being of the north-west of the world, the European, whose eyes are open toward the realm of the senses and whose forehead is the expression of reasoning. The representatives of the Zeus-type were sculptured from the very outset in the Hellenic plastic arts from the Apollo of Tenea to the Athena Parthenos and the Zeus of Olympia. Busts which represented Aristotle, the thinker with the most acute sense-perception and the most profound reasoning, or Alexander the Great (as Lysippus chiselled him), the personality with the greatest impulse to action, may best signify the physiognomy of the Zeus or Apollo type.

The polarities between the types of Zeus and Hermes lay deeply rooted within the life of the tribes. These were also the polarities expressed by Apollo and Dionysus. Zeus-Apollo were the gods of the heights of Olympus, which was imagined to be in the north of the country. Hermes-Dionysus came from the south. Zeus showed

the wonders of the world of nature; Hermes led the souls to the depths of the netherworld. The Zeus type of man was inclined to see the colors and forms of outer nature. The Hermes man heard the inner tones of the music which came from within the soul. These types represented two streams of mysteries. The cults of the Celtic druids of Ireland and Brittany and the magi of Persia's Zarathustrism revealed the order of the Zeus type. The mysteries of Egypt which were connected with the personality called Hermes-Trismegistus and appeared like the path of India's Gautama Buddha were representative of the Hermes type.

Yet the Apollonian and the Dionysian elements of the mysteries, which were actually two different paths of initiation, had to come together in brotherly union as the Zeus and Hermes type within the racial unfolding of the Hellenic tribes. Apollo and Dionysus, who were both sons of Zeus but from different mothers, lived as brothers within the heart of Hellas, in the sanctuary of Delphi, which for the Hellenes was the navel of the earth. The Apollonian (Zeus), Dionysian (Hermes) and satyr types (the latter belonging to the company of Dionysus) lived and worked together in building up the nation of Hellas and remained as the triad of forces hidden behind the stage on which the drama of the tribes was enacted.

This drama of the triad of the tribes was the result of a twofold molding: the outer process of migration and settlement of the Dorians, Aeolians and Ionians and the inner penetration of these blood-streams through the impulses of the Zeus, Hermes and satyr types. It is clear that in Ionia the unfolding of the three tribal impulses reached their greatest amalgamation and that the forces of the Zeus-Apollo-Athena type appeared in their final predominance. This victory, however, came as a harmony achieved through the decisive influence of the eastern and southern Hermes-type of Asia Minor as well as through the sublimation of the satyr.

How wonderfully this was realized in Ionia's center, Athens! It was for this city that Zeus created out of his forehead the goddess of wisdom Pallas Athene, assisted by Hermes, who brought the heights of Olympus into contact and harmony with the depths of

Hades. And here the outer ugliness of the satyr-faced Socrates was exalted to that of the lover of wisdom.

In Athens' *agora* the triad of the tribes reached its fulfillment. "Athens is Hellas of Hellas" according to a Greek saying. Indeed, her agora gradually replaced all the sanctuaries of antiquity and the courts of tyrants and kings. Here Solon gave the laws, and Pericles spoke of Athens as the school of Hellas; here Socrates discovered the daimon of man as the divinity within the soul; here Plato taught at the Academy and here Aristotle's Lyceum became the school of the world. It was the agora that became the scene on which St. Paul appeared before the Stoa Basileos where the chairs of the Areopagitae stood. The authorities of the Areopagus who once guarded the cults of Eleusis, protected the laws of Solon, watched the origin of drama, accused Aeschylus of the betrayal of the mysteries and also condemned Socrates, now sat in a semicircle before Saint Paul who spoke in their midst to the Athenians.

In no other place on the earth save at the heart of Ionia, Athens, the Hellas of Hellas, could the reformation of the world start anew.

The blessing of the Attic landscape could not be better expressed than through the words which Socrates (in Plato's dialogue) spoke at his departure from Phaedrus. Looking like the satyr Silenus, he prayed to Pan in gratitude for the deities which worked upon and molded the gulfs and hills, valleys and fields around Athens: "Beloved Pan, and all ye other gods, who haunt this place, give me beauty in the inward soul; and may the outward and the inward man be at one."

IV

THE POLIS AS THE AXIS OF GREEK HISTORY

"Thou art a Greek, and, as I hear from the other Greeks with whom I converse, no less than from thine own lips, thou art a native of a polis which is not the meanest or the weakest in their land."
(Xerxes, the Persian king, to the Greek Demaratus)

HERODOTUS

1. *POLIS*

THE TROJAN WAR

The *polis* formed the axis on which the history of Hellas rotated. And, as the rotating earth revolves around the sun, so the polis of Hellas revolved around the awakening of the individual.

History shows us all the failures, distortions and errors that arose from pioneering in the idea of the city-state and discloses the drama of the Hellenic polis as the greatest of all Greek tragedies.

The history of Hellas starts with the destruction of one city and ends with the foundation of another. Troy, whose fall cut the Greeks off from the Oriental past, was less than a polis in the Greek way of thinking. Alexandria became more than a polis whose growth decided the future of Christianity. It became the first world-city, a cosmopolis. Between 1183 B.C., the date of the fall of Troy and 332 B.C. when Alexandria was founded, lay the millenium of Hellenic history in which unfolded the dramas of hundreds of city-states and which culminated in the struggle for leadership among Sparta, Thebes and Athens.

As to foreign relations, the history of Hellas centered in that triad of major events which expressed the continual conflict be-

tween the principles of the East and those of the West: the Trojan War, the repulse of the Persians and the conquest of Alexander the Great.

The chapters of her internal history dealt with the fight for the hegemony of the polis which culminated, within the space of a few generations, in the cities of Sparta, Thebes and Athens.

Between these two trends of outer and inner development occurs the transition from clairvoyant consciousness to the awakening of the intellect; from the loosening of the family blood-ties to the founding of academies of philosophers; from the temples and mysteries to the schools and theatres; and from the courts of kings to the agoras of the *poleis*. This struggle between tribal and individual consciousness took place between the poles of Orient and Occident.

At the very outset the fall of Troy safeguarded the foundation of the Greek polis. The Hellenes developed their tribal consciousness. The victory over the East preserved the treasures of the national epics and the temples. Then the repulse of the Persians saved the colonizations of the Greek metropolis. The victory over the Persians guaranteed the life of the theatre and the world of sculpture. Finally the conquest of Alexander rescued the idea of the polis at the time when Greece had lost her political independence. The citizens of the cosmopolis aimed at a cosmopolitan empire of Hellenism. The empire of Hellenism protected the schools of the philosophers.

The war with Troy, which opened the drama of Greek history, signified the first struggle between the East and the West. Through the excavations of the last centuries[60] we know that Troy was the site of a former priest-kingship which was based on matriarchy. This matriarchy expressed the forces of heredity and stressed the importance of its domination. Research from the time of J. Bachofen's *The Mothers*[61] to the latest works on social psychology has disclosed these facts and pointed to a multitude of documents and phenomena to substantiate them.

What was the actual cause of the war against Troy? From the

time of Heracles the destruction of this mystery-kingdom was the goal of all heroes. After Heracles had embarked in the Argo, he left the ship, during the voyage, to overthrow Troy which was ruled by Laomedon, one of Priam's ancestors. The myth indicates that an expedition against Troy was considered one of the most important deeds of a Greek hero. Why should this have been so?

Since the plains of Troy were neither so fertile nor so vital a center of trade that this warfare against it should have been undertaken for external reasons only, we must seek behind these outer events to find the inner impulse.

Like the heroes of the Argo, whom Heracles joined, and who fought for the Golden Fleece in Colchis as a precious possession for their own culture, so the Trojans had a *Palladium* which combined a sky-fallen shield with the image of Pallas Athena. "The Palladia have always one characteristic" writes J. Harrison, "they are sky-fallen. According to ancient thinking, that which slays can save; so the Palladium which was the slayer became the saviour, the shield. In the well-known fresco from Mycenae we see the shield, half humanized as the object of an actual cult; before this a portable altar, to either side a woman worshipper. But it is not the goddess, Pallas Athena, who lends sanctity to the Palladium, it is the sanctity of the Palladium that begets the godhead of Pallas Athena."[62] The Palladium was a kind of spiritual guarantee to anyone who possessed it that he could live and rule under the guidance of forces representing the greatest possible advancement.

The Palladium is also mentioned in the Iliad of Homer.[63] Odysseus and Diomedes attempted to remove it from the castle of Priam. This passage of the Iliad clearly indicates how greatly future development would depend upon the possession of the Palladium and it actually hints at the real reason of the ten years' struggle for the victory over the Trojans. It is obvious that Odysseus knew of the secret power of the Palladium and its world importance; he, who later invented the wooden horse and thereby concluded the fall of Troy, wished to capture this symbol of an old mystery-place and save it from destruction in order to bring it as a cultural impulse to Hellas.

The legends run that Zeus threw the Palladium down from heaven when Ilus was founding the city of Ilium (Troy). Odysseus and Diomedes, who went into the camp of the Trojans at night, (as the tenth canto of the Iliad describes), carried the Palladium from the temple of Athena and brought it to the Greeks. This act actually determined the fall of Troy. The invention of the wooden horse, which followed, only completed the deed of destiny.

It was an inner necessity for the Greeks that Troy, an Oriental city, the last outpost of matriachy, should fall. Although the Trojans observed the same gods as did the Hellenes, their idea of the polis was that of an Eastern mystery-place and king's castle. The new impulse of the polis of Hellas had to struggle for domination; it had to take up the Palladium at any price. That this happened through the cunning of Odysseus' reason and intellect reveals the most characteristic feature of the mission of the Hellenic mind.

After the Palladium had been carried away, Laocoon, the priest of Troy, had to die with his two sons. His death represented the overcoming of sacerdotalism by the intellect. The myth describing the death of Laocoon and his sons emphasized the extinction of clairvoyance based on family-ties on which the culture of Ilium was founded. The heroes of Troy were the sons of Priam, they were a clan; the Greeks on the other hand, fought as personalities, each of them with his own mind, decision, mood and temper.

Troy was at an end. Hellas was beginning. The path from Troy to Hellas led to the polis of the Greeks. The Trojan War signified the beginning of the dissolution of ancient blood ties. Paris, the son of Priam and a member of the royal clan, desired Helen of Argos to break away from the rule of blood ties on which the Oriental consciousness was based. The Hellenes received the Palladium, the present of Zeus and the symbol of his daughter Athena, because the gods favored the cunning of the intellect more than the conservative rites of the Trojan priests.

The wooden horse, which brought about the final defeat of Troy, enfolds a mystery. The symbol of the horse has always been

connected with the forces of the intellect. Plato used the figure of the horse when he spoke of the faculties of the soul that are given from a higher world, in contrast to those coming from within. What was the Trojan horse in terms of inner significance? It was intended to resemble the conception of the Centaur: the being half-horse and half-man. The Centaur was a relic of the age of Atlantis, when the human being was still struggling with the making of his body in battle against animality. And it was the cunning of Odysseus, in all its mockery and irony, that placed the horse before the gates of the old castle, that fateful present which came out of the past of the world!

The Trojan War was the archetype of all wars that Hellas fought. It was the fight for the creation of the polis, a battle which raged as an ever-recurrent conflict between Orient and Occident. The duel between Hector and Achilles symbolized it, Hector representing the tribal consciousness, Achilles the individual man. Hector, the son of the Trojan king, longed to sacrifice himself for his royal clan. Achilles, the Greek demigod, desired personal fame which he preferred to a long life. Hector died still believing in the immortality of his clan, and its blood ties, while fear of death is shown in Achilles' mourning over his friend Patroclus and in his words in the netherworld.

The fall of Troy brought about the transition from the age of bronze to that of iron. The Iliad and the Odyssey, the earliest records of Hellas, appeared after the Dorian invasion at the beginning of the Iron Age. Thus the curtain of the stage of Hellas' history rose!

2. *METROPOLIS*
The Repulse of the Persians

The first calendar, dating from the Olympian games of 776 B.C. (not the first year these games were held) was connected with the erection of the oldest temples on the site of the Hellenic festivals, in Olympia. These events corresponded with the date of the foundation of Rome and with the important astronomical change when

the sun began to rise in the vernal equinox under the sign of Aries, 747 B.C.

This was the time when the polis of Hellas colonized in the east, west, south and north, gradually becoming a metro-polis, a mother-city protecting and defending her offspring. It marked the actual opening of the Graeco-Roman period of culture and the beginning of Greek architecture. Just as two millenia earlier the pyramids had introduced the epoch of Egypt, so the Doric temple built in Olympia ushered in the history of Hellas.

Soon after that, Archilochus of Paros, in introducing the iambic and trochaic measures, laid the cornerstone for the literature of the world. He was called the first "Greek of flesh and blood:" the son of a noble father and a slave mother, the offspring of a mixed marriage.[64] This fact shows us the trend of the age in suddenly loosening the ties of the clans. In contrast to Hesiod, who wrote epic verse, Archilochus, the first lyricist, addressed himself to the people and used colloquialisms freely.

The seventh century presented great variety in the art and beauty of the countless courts of the tyrants. At these courts the richest life of culture was fostered and inspired. The Spartan courts harbored Terpander, Alcman, Cimaethon and Tyrtaeus. In Mytilene lived Pittakus; near him, Trasybulus of Miletus. One of the so-called seven sages was Periander of Corinth at whose court lived the poet Arion, the bringer of the dithyramb; Theognis sang in Megara and Simonides; Anacreon and Lasos wrote under Pisistratus of Athens.

The idea of the Greek polis reached another stage of metamorphosis when its passed beyond the phase of the court-life of the tyrants, which was more or less Oriental in character. The Greeks now possessed the Palladium which meant that they were the real owners of the new world of the polis. Yet the "Trojan War" seemed to be continued inwardly in the struggle with the Oriental element of tyranny.

The turning point in the history of the polis came during the time of Solon in Athens. Solon became archon about 594-593 B.C.

and it was his reform of the constitution which laid the actual foundation for democracy. Solon stood on the threshold between two ages; the Greek middle ages which now came to an end and the more modern and truly Hellenic era of the democracy of the polis. It was the time when the earliest sculptured statues repeated again and again the likeness of Apollo. And indeed, from now on, Apollo became the foremost leader of the destinies of Hellas' *poleis.*

Solon's motto was the Apollonian word, "Avoid excess", expressing the utmost desire for temperance and balance. Solon reduced the power of the council of the Elders, the Areopagus, which had hitherto represented solely the aristocratic forces of conservatism, based on the traditions of the blood-ties. The Areopagus remained only a protector of the constitution, while Solon's popular courts of justice became the cornerstones of Athenian democracy. All four classes of citizens, including the lowest, the Thetes, were admitted to the meeting of the *apella,* the general assembly, indicating that the people of Athens actually held the sovereignty of the state.

What a drama of evolution! The ninth century B.C. brought to birth the great epics. The eighth century through Hesiod revealed the myths. The chronology of the Olympian games appeared with the first Doric temples of stone. The seventh century disclosed the first lyricists and sculptors, while the sixth century, now under the immediate leadership of Delphi's Apollo, realized the *"Know Thyself"* in the dawn of geometry, mathematics, natural science and philosophy. It was then that Onomacritus wrote, besides his edition of the Homeric poems, a book on the *Rites of Initiation.* The writing down of the Iliad and Odyssey revealed the loss of the rhythmical memory. The book on the rites of initiation disclosed, even in the choice of the subject, that the mysteries had lost their real influence. Otherwise how could he have ventured to profane those rites of initiation, the very nature of which demanded that they could not be written down literally, but must rather be lived through or exercised by the neophyte?

All this together, the rise of Hellenic art, knowledge, perception and memory, belongs to the story of the fastest revolution

the human soul ever experienced—for it all occurred within the span of a few centuries. And now, in the midst of the first harvesting of the fruits, the soul of Hellas had to face her severest test, the war with Persia.

The metropolis throve in the continuous activity of founding, developing and enriching other *poleis*. One such venture was a group of colonies founded by the Athenians in Ionia on the west coast of Asia Minor. After a time, these colonies fell victim to Persian domination. Suddenly they broke out in open revolt, a truly "political" resistance to the enemies of freedom and democracy.

When the Athenians realized that their Ionian colonies were in danger of being wiped out by Persian despotism, they decided to fight again, for a second "Helen of Argos," the symbol of Hellenic harmony, beauty and temperance; and to restore democracy.

The die was cast, the struggle was on. The Greeks ventured to penetrate the land of the mighty foe by attacking the small city of Miletus. Thus the burning torch was thrown into the gigantic empire of Persia.

The Persian War cannot be understood from the standpoint of mere strategy of battles, if one compares the superiority of the Persian army, which was united by the Oriental despotism, with the small and scattered units of the Hellenic tribes, entirely lacking in unity, discipline, training, experience and leadership. The repulse of the Persians by the Greeks belongs to one of the few real miracles of the history of warfare. But understanding of the miracle comes with realization of the fact that the decisive battles, which led to the destruction of Miletus, were fought near the seat of the mystery temple of Ephesus just as later the victory of Salamis was decided within the sight of Eleusis. Herodotus regarded these facts as essential and he tirelessly stressed their importance in telling us various stories through which we might become aware of the difference between the consciousness of the barbarians and that of the Hellenes: "God help us, Mardonius, what men are these thou has brought us to fight against! Men that contend not for money but for merit."[65]

The Persians fought only for the external values of wealth and power. The Hellenes of the colonies contended for the ideals of freedom and beauty! The war between Hellas and Persia was a conflict between two stages of consciousness. The Persians under Darius and Xerxes, as Herodotus described them, appeared as a decadent aftermath of that Oriental despotism which had previously been linked with the mysteries of the gods. The consciousness of the Persians was not yet individualized. It had not arrived at the stage of the polis and it did not awaken as had that of the Greeks to the spirit of the agora.

It is interesting to review from this standpoint the stories which Herodotus tells us about the doubts and reassurances in the talks of the Persian king with Greek friends at his court: "Now after Xerxes had sailed down the whole line and was gone ashore, he sent for Demaratus the son of Ariston, who had accompanied him in his march upon Greece, and bespake him thus: 'Demaratus, it is my pleasure at this time to ask thee certain things which I wish to know. Thou art a Greek and as I hear from the other Greeks with whom I converse, no less than from thine own lips, thou art a native of a city which is not the meanest or the weakest in their land. Tell me, therefore, what thinkest thou? Will the Greeks lift a hand against us?' And Demaratus answered . . . 'come what may, they will never accept thy terms, which would reduce Greece to slavery.' "[66]

The decision in the war against the Persians came through the sea battle of Salamis in 480 B.C. This was not only the greatest victory of the Hellenes over the Persians, but also a visible miracle of the guardian spirit of Hellas. How did this occur? After the battle at Thermopylae, the Persians had invaded Delphi whose oracle foretold the destruction of Attica. The sacred arms lay in front of the temple when lightning struck, causing the barbarians to retreat. Yet Xerxes' siege of the Acropolis lasted for two weeks and was followed by the plundering of Athens and the burning of her temples. On September 17, 480 B.C., Xerxes entered Athens. Everything seemed to have been lost forever. . . .

But three days later came the victorious sea battle of Salamis!

Herodotus referred to the influence of the mysteries of Eleusis upon this event. The place of the mysteries and the Sacred Way which led from Athens to Eleusis were in the immediate neighbourhood of the gulf of Salamis, where the ultimate decision occurred. We find in Herodotus the story of Dikaios, an Athenian in exile, who, with Demaratus, watched the battle of Salamis. " 'Demaratus,' said Dikaios, 'great harm will befall the host of the king . . . these are immortal voices proceeding from Eleusis to take vengeance for the Athenians and their allies . . . this is that festival which the Athenians hold yearly in honor of the Mother and the Maid (Demeter and Persephone); and every Athenian or other Greek that desires it, receives initiation and the sound thou hearest (calling Jacchus) is the chanting of the initiates.' Demaratus answered: 'Keep quiet — if these, thy words, be reported to the king thou wilt lose thy head.' "[67] Thus the gods of Eleusis won the victory over the idolatry of the Persians.

The date of the battle of Salamis signified the second birth of Hellas. Aeschylus fought in the battle as a man of forty-six; Sophocles marched in the procession of the victory-feast as a youth of sixteen. Euripides had just been born. Salamis signified the glory of the origin of the drama. *The Persians,* by Aeschylus, acted in 472 B.C., which set forth the tragedy of Xerxes, became the national drama of the Greek theatre, the first stage of the civilization of the Occident.

The year of Salamis not only witnessed the repulse of Persia but it marked the victory over the Phoenicians, who through the Carthagenians threatened the Hellenic colonies in Sicily until, in the battle of Himera, Hamilcar of Carthage was defeated. The unique year, 480 B.C., therefore brought the ultimate victory of the Greek polis for the world of the West. Neither the royal castles in Babylonia nor the trading posts and storehouses of the Phoenician harbors could further menace the life of the polis.

The result was the rise to power of the greatest of all *poleis*: the fulfillment of that which the Palladium of Athena promised: the

wonder of Athens!

The genius who conceived the idea of this polis in harvesting the fruit of the victory was Pericles. When Miletus was destroyed in the rebellion of Ionia Pericles was born. The nephew of Cleisthenes, educated by Damon, the master of music, and by Anaxagoras, the philosopher, he grew up without bias in favor of the past and strove for the Panhellenic empire. The council of the Areopagus lost its actual authority and its reform added the last stone to the building of democracy. Now official positions were open to all classes, because the incumbents were paid, whereas formerly only aristocrats functioned in them.

Pericles stood at the peak of his successes: Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides developed the Greek tragedy; Magnes, Chionides and Cratinas, the comedy; Mnesikles, Alcamenes and Ictinus excelled as architects; while Polygnotus was the greatest painter, as Phidias was the most sublime sculptor. At that time Pericles, the spokesman for the polis, exclaimed: "I say that Athens is the school of Hellas and that the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace."[68]

A notable achievement was the founding of the colony of Thurii on the site of old Sybaris in Southern Italy, not as a tribal, but as a Panhellenic-cosmopolitan colony. It was here that Herodotus, the Dorian, who wrote in the Ionic dialect, joined the colonists, to spend the last two decades of his life, a decision which showed the "father of history" to be a true Pan-Hellene.

Pericles, happily harvesting the fruits of Marathon and Salamis, nevertheless became the most tragic failure at establishing the unity of Hellas. He issued invitations to a Panhellenic conference at Athens, sent out twenty Athenians to bid all Hellenes to participate. But nobody came. The attempt to make Athens the political capital of Hellas failed.

Tragedy followed tragedy! Anaxagoras, Pericles' teacher, was accused of betrayal of the mysteries, was thorwn into prison and,

after an escape, died in exile. Phidias, Pericles' friend, was accused of embezzling part of the money to be used in his statue of Pallas Athena and he fled Athens. Aspasia, Pericles' mistress and the foremost among Athenian women, who represented the most refined type of the hetaera as the expression of cosmopolitan society, was likewise persecuted and accused of impiety. Pericles himself, at the age of sixty-three, saw the peace broken, the Panhellenic unity destroyed, and was finally deprived of his office. Pestilence swept through Athens; the plague entered his house, killed two of his sons and caused him a year's illness before his own death.

The pestilence of Athens became the symbol of a poisoned generation which had abused its young freedom and had forfeited unity through jealousy and envy. More than a third of the Athenian population of 100,000 people died of this disease. It seemed as if everything that had been achieved had fallen to ruin.

There is perhaps no sculpture of this time (about 430 B.C.) more touching than the relief of the Mourning Athena, found on the Acropolis, which shows us the goddess leaning on her spear, gravely reading the names of the fallen Athenians on a slab of stone, and foreseeing that even more evil and chaos would come upon Athens in the upheaval of the Peloponnesian War.

The Peloponnesian War, which could be called from the standpoint of Sparta an Attic campaign, actually was the most terrible of the conflicts which led to the final dissolution of the tribes and phratries. This civil war marked the decisive step in the transition from the consciousness of the Hellenes as members of a polis to their consciousness as independent individuals.[69]

The details of this civil war were less important than the fact that the victories of the Spartans were not won by the conservative spirit of the Spartan citizens but by the unspartan qualities of their king Brasidas, who had completely revolutionized their methods of warfare. Civil war destroyed the empire of Athens and the hope for a Pan-Hellas. The plans of all the *poleis* were frustrated.

After the civil war the Hellene thought of himself, no longer merely as a member of the city-state, but as an entity distinct from

other human beings. The word for conscience appeared between the writing of the tragedies of Aeschylus and those of Euripides.

From now on the agora lived more powerfully than ever before, because now it really began to pulsate as the heart of the individual. It was one of the many tragic victories of the Hellenes that Pericles' goal, "Athens, the school of Greece," could be realized only after the loss of the empire and at the price of so great a dissolution as that which finally deprived Athens of her leadership. Yet Anaxagoras was convinced that "All things were together in confusion and were brought into order by intellect." Just as the seed in the darkness of the soil goes through the night of chaos before producing a new organism, so the greatest hours of the Greek mind still lay beyond the disruption and disintegration of the unity among the *poleis*. For Pericles spoke the truth when he said of the Athenians: "Their glory shall never die; the whole world is their sepulchre. Their epitaphs are written in the hearts of mankind!"[70]

3. *COSMOPOLIS*
The Age of the World Citizen

"The individual citizen no longer looks at the outside world through the medium of his city, but regards it directly, as it were, with his own eyes and its bearings on him individually," said the Oxford historian J. B. Bury, in commenting on the events of that time and confirming a fact which Rudolf Steiner also emphasized, from the standpoint of the change of consciousness of the Greeks.

The epoch which now began we may call the century of the philosophers as we have characterized the Periclean era that of the dramatists and historians. It is classically expressed in the words of the orator, stylist and grammarian, Isocrates: "Athens has so outdistanced the rest of the world in power of thought and speech, that her disciples have become the teachers of all other men. She has brought it to pass that the name of the Greeks should be thought no longer a matter of race but a matter of intelligence; and should be given to the participant in our culture rather than to the sharers of our common origin."

This era can best be characterized by the lives of two Athenians, as different from each other as light and shadow: Socrates and Alcibiades.

Alcibiades abused the forces of the newly born conscience; Socrates lifted them up to the highest level of self-revelation. Alcibiades was initiated into the mysteries of Eleusis in a conventional manner; Socrates stressed the fact: "I know that I know not," indicating that he was no initiate and he did not wish to become one at this time of decline. Mimicking the mysteries, Alcibiades played the role of a hierophant (as Thessalus, Cimon's son, described) and acted as leader in the procession on the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis; while Socrates declared himself a "midwife of thinking", stating profoundly the mission of his life in awakening thought within man's daimon. Alcibiades impiously mocked the old religion, as it is shown by the incident in which he permitted the statues of Hermes to be devastated on the eve before his Sicilian expedition. Socrates prayed to the gods of Attica's landscape and even after the unjust accusation against him he did not dream of fleeing from Athens but died as a martyr, while Alcibiades fled to the hostile Spartans where he remained in voluntary exile for eight years.

From the time of the death of Socrates to the battle of Chaeronea, when Athens was completely deprived of her political independence, there was a marked decline in the character of certain men as in the case of Alcibiades; and, at the same time, a state of perfection in that of others as there had been in the case of Socrates. While the political rights of the polis were declining the mission of its spirit was advancing. As in the beginning Thebes had achieved the leadership and was then followed by Sparta and finally by the empire of Athens, so now there appeared a reverse order; Sparta again received the hegemony and was in turn succeeded by Thebes, where the last two political masters, Epaminondas and Pelopidas, lived. A view of the upheaval of that period revealed that Thebes in her war with Sparta was supported by Argos, in alliance with Athens. Elis was hostile to Arcadia, while the Arca-

dian league was at war with Sparta but in alliance with Athens and Thebes, and had begun to fall into disunion within itself.

It was a tragic spectacle which the decline of the polis presented! But at the same time what a victory of the spirit! The sacrifice of Iphigenia marked the dawn of the individual intellect, the martyrdom of Socrates its climax. Yet history is not a smooth current or a simple arch of rise, zenith and nadir. In its repetition of the past there is always to be found a new fountain of forces. Socrates is the heir to the rise of the intellect following Odysseus, Thales and the Sophists; yet he is unique as the genius of the new method of reasoning, and in his revelation of the daimon of the soul.

The death of Socrates must be understood as belonging to those sacrifices demanded by the culture of the intellect which we have already mentioned in connection with Iphigenia. The self-sacrifice of Socrates marked the beginning of the third and last stage of the unfolding of the city-state on its way to become the cosmopolis. Socrates' death as a martyr glorified his memory. It became the symbol of Hellas' climax and was destined to be preserved as the preeminent gift for the following millenia in the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle.

These two towering figures in the field of philosophy were outstanding personalities in the political history of Greece as well as in the story of her intellectual development. On three occasions Plato went to Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, and urged him to introduce the ideal state of a commonwealth as described in his *Republic*. It was not Athens, nor any of the quarreling *poleis* of Greece that attracted Plato, but a foreign Sicilian city. However, even after his third visit he did not succeed in the realization of his ideal.

Aritotle had a similar destiny which led him to the court of Philip, the king of Macedon at Pella, to become the tutor of his son, Alexander. Aristotle was not only the greatest teacher of antiquity, but also one of those few outstanding personalities who changed the course of Hellenic history. His teaching was, indeed, the most glorious compensation for the loss of freedom by the Hellenic polis.

It was the foundation of a new period of Greek history which we call the era of Hellenism.

Is it not more than accidental that Demosthenes and Aristotle had exactly the same dates of birth and death, although they lived as the greatest polarities of their age? Demosthenes and Aristotle were both representatives of the cosmopolitan age. Demosthenes was not pure Greek, his mother had Scythian blood. Aristotle, born in Stagira on the Peninsula of Chalcidice, lived long abroad and had never received the Athenian citizenship. Yet Demosthenes fanatically preached resistance to the barbarians of Macedonia to whom Aristotle went as teacher and friend. Demosthenes expended his energy on the forms and phrases of the word and failed to prevent disaster to the Hellenic polis. Aristotle awakened responsibilities toward the meaning of the word and unfolded his system of logic. The Athenian world had to choose between the oratory of Demosthenes and the philosophy of Aristotle, between logomachy and logic. History decided for the cosmopolitan Aristotelians against the narrow-minded nationalists around Demosthenes!

In considering Philip of Macedon and Alexander the Great, we reach the third and last chapter of the foreign relations of Hellas. The wars of Alexander once more expressed the conflict between the principles of the East and those of the West. Their final result was the rise of the cosmopolis and the end of the former Greek city-state.

The Delphic amphictyony, the league of Greek city-states, called on Philip, in 338 B.C., to end the state of civil war which continuously existed among the Greek cities. Through the victory of the Macedonians which followed this appeal Hellas lost her independence. Yet her polis lived. The democracy lost its foundation of self-government. Yet the agora taught and developed the individual mind. The polis, again, educated the "polys", the many individualities.

That this could happen was due entirely to the teaching of Aristotle. He certainly had not a less difficult task in educating the Macedonians than Demosthenes had in denouncing them.

In order to picture the moral atmosphere of the Macedonian court it might suffice to recall the incident which followed Philip's divorce of Olympias, the mother of Alexander. Philip married Cleopatra, the niece of his general, Attalus. At the wedding feast Attalus bade the guests pray to the gods for a legitimate heir to the throne. Alexander, at that time a youngster and already a pupil of Aristotle, flung his drinking cup in the face of the general. This made Philip so furious that he lunged at his son to stab him but reeled and the sword glanced aside. Alexander had to withdraw with his mother to Epirus. Later, returning to Pella, Olympias plotted the assassination of Philip who was murdered while entering a theatre.[71]

This was the stepping-stone by which Alexander became king of Macedon and the heir to the throne of his father, Philip. But it was only the outer scenery of the stage. Far more significant is the role which the ancient mysteries and oracles played around the birth and education of Alexander. Plutarch wrote concerning the influence which the mysteries of Samothrace had on the parents of Alexander: "His father, Philip, being in Samothrace when he was quite young, fell in love there with Olympias, in company with whom he was initiated into the religious ceremonies of the country." He tells us of the divinations and dreams which accompanied the birth of Alexander on the "sixth of Hecatombeaon, which month the Macedonians called Lous," the same day that the temple of Diana at Ephesus was burnt. The temple took fire (as Hegesias of Magnesia said) while the goddess Artemis was absent, assisting at the birth of Alexander. The conflagration of the Ephesian mystery-temple marked the decline of cults and rites and the rise of intellect and logic, as taught by Aristotle. Yet the spiritual atmosphere of the mysteries of Ephesus and Samothrace impregnated the teaching of Aristotle and the discipleship of Alexander. Aristotle not only taught at the court of Pella. He abode at the temple of the nymphs near Mieza. Thus the spiritual atmosphere of the mysteries of Samothrace must be conceived as interwoven with all that the greatest of Greek thinkers taught "the noblest of

Greek kings." "It would appear," writes Plutarch, "that Alexander received from him not only his doctrines of Morals and of Politics, but also something of those more profound theories which these philosophers by the very names they gave them, professed to reserve for oral communications to the initiated, and did not allow many to become acquainted with."[72]

The age of Aristotle and Alexander revealed the greatest triumph of the mind of Hellas. "Never were there more wonderful years than these in which the brains of Alexander and Aristotle were ceaselessly working," wrote J. Bury at the end of his large work on Greece. Yet one cannot write a history of Alexander the Great without taking into exact account the spiritual forces of humanity which are higher than mere ambition, human ability and good fortune. Alexander was not only considered a descendant of Achilles and Heracles. This man who succeeded in the ultimate conquest of the East was recognized as being more than mortal, a fact which hints at his initiation into the mysteries. Plutarch wrote that Alexander appeared fully conscious of this extraordinary bond of destiny for "he loved and cherished Aristotle no less, as he was wont to say himself, than if he had been his father; giving this reason for it, that, as he had received life from the one, so the other had taught him to live well." The following sentences from Plutarch shed a special light on the inner and intimate character of the teaching of Aristotle: "When he (Alexander) was in Asia and heard that Aristotle had published some treatises of that kind (which Aristotle gave Alexander in the form of oral-esoteric lectures) and which he now at Athens in the Lyceum finally wrote down, he wrote the following letter to him, using very plain language in behalf of philosophy: 'Alexander to Aristotle, greeting. You have not done well to publish your books of oral doctrines; for what is there now in which we excel others, if those things in which we have been particularly instructed be laid open to all? For my part, I assure you, I had rather excel in the knowledge of what is excellent, than in the extent of my powers and dominion. Farewell.' And Aristotle, soothing his passion for pre-eminence, speaks,

in his excuse for himself, of these doctrines as in fact both published and not published: as, indeed, to say the truth, his books on metaphysics are written in a style which makes them useless for ordinary teaching and instruction only, but rather in the way of memoranda for those who have already been conversant with that sort of learning."

The philosophy of Aristotle was logic and metaphysics couched in exoteric terms about esoteric matters. The time was at hand when the content of the mysteries could become a science of the intellect and an impulse to action through the will. This reveals the mission of the polis as Alexander interpreted it. At the very outset of his conquest, when he became the supreme general of the *poleis* of Hellas, he remained in contact with the mysteries. He sacrificed to Heracles on the Danube, prayed to Achilles in Troy, and dwelt in Ephesus at the place of the Artemision, which he rebuilt with his own money. It is obvious that all these sojourns in mystery places were indications of Alexander's supreme interest in the wisdom and knowledge of the mysteries and in their reform and transformation which was necessary at the time of their final decline. The founding of the city of Alexandria in Lysia and of the city of Alexandria on the Nile-delta (January 331 B.C.), after the siege of Tyre and Gaza and the entry into Egypt, were more important than the battle of Issus.

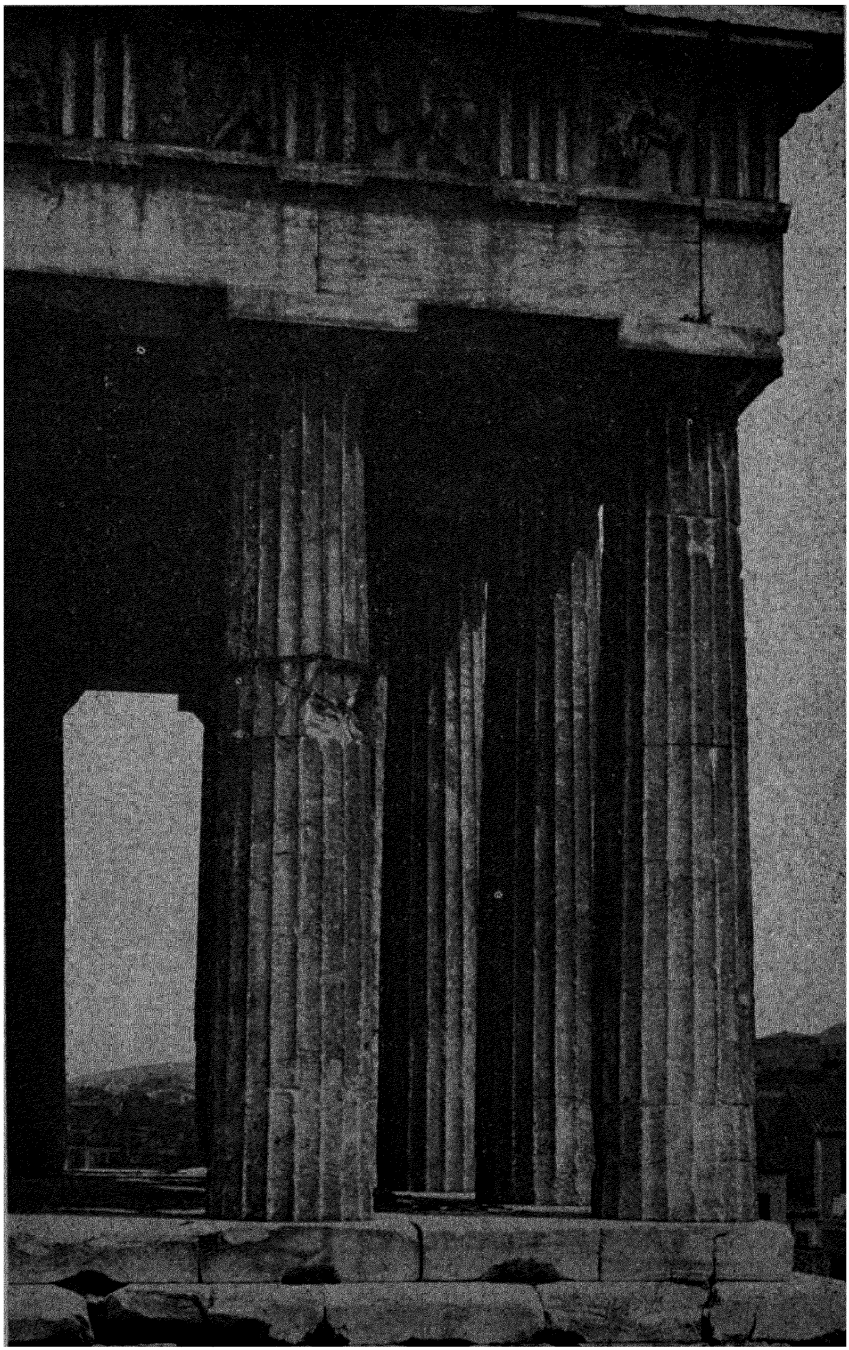
Alexandria, bearing the name of the great king, became the first of all the *cosmopoleis* which Alexander and his successors founded. It soon became the foremost intellectual center of Hellas, succeeding Athens in the leadership of the world. Later it was the second largest city of the empire of Rome. It was the prototype of the cosmopolis of Hellenism. Alexander himself drew the plans for the city. Here the academy and library of the treasures of the mind of Hellas occupied the central place and here Aristotelianism bore the first fruits of its unique connection with the spirit of Christianity.

Immediately associated with the historical foundation of Alexandria was a spiritual event: the journey of Alexander to the desert

ATHENS: THESEUM

Temple of Theseus

(Columns and cornice at east-end)



and his contact with the oracle of Zeus Ammon in the oasis of Siwah. Here he was admitted to the rites of initiation and was declared to be a son of Zeus Ammon, the sun-divinity. This event which undoubtedly connected him with the noblest trends of past evolution marked an epoch in Alexander's life. In declaring him a son of a god, tradition hinted at a certain degree of initiation into the mystery-wisdom of the past. The personality of Alexander was destined to stand on the threshold of a new age. With one foot he stood on the foundation of the Hellenic mysteries and was particularly influenced by Samothrace, Ephesus and the wisdom of the priests of Egypt. With the other foot he entered the school of Aristotle, the founder of logic and the first master of the modern intellect of man. It is clear that the experience of his years with Aristotle, at Samothrace, Ephesus, on the Danube, at Troy, at Gordion and finally in Egypt underlay the fabulous victories which were to follow at Susa, Pasargadae, Ecbatana, Babylon and on the Jaxartes, through which Alexander became the lord of Persia, the ruler of the Orient and the greatest king of the ancient world.

His ultimate goal was the land of the Ganges. He crossed the Indus in 326 B.C. and after the battle of Hydaspes gained the banks of Hyphasis. Here a rebellion occurred. His soldiers for the first time refused to go on. Thus Alexander's march to India was actually of less significance as a historical than as a mystical event. He wished to reach "the center of the earth": which meant that he aimed at ultimate initiation. There are various stories which point to the fact that he was searching for deeper insight, for he was told by Hindu priests that it was in India that the divine world begins. The march to India resembled the journey of Dionysus the Younger with his *thyasis*, his satellites. As Dionysus made possible the cultivation of wine and also brought the message of the intellect to all peoples even in the Far East, so Alexander brought the seed of the harvest of the soul of Hellas to the East. Alexander's march marked a reversal of the cultural epochs from Hellas to Egypt, from Egypt to Persia; and concluded with the passage from Persia to India, the cradle of the history of mankind after the decline of Atlantis.

In Alexander, the descendant of Achilles and Heracles, the myth of Hellas returned from the end to the beginning and revealed in this way its last perfection. He was the genius who completed the mission of the city-state. The polis of the tribe died but the cosmopolis of Hellenism was born. Alexander and his successors, the Seleucidae, were known as the greatest founders of cities in the history of mankind. They encouraged inter-marriage among Persians, Macedonians and Greeks. Alexander himself married daughters of Oriental kings and he resided neither in Greece nor Macedonia, nor in Egypt or India, but in Babylon, the cosmopolis of his empire.

After the march to India he planned to conquer Arabia and to plant there, too, the impulse of Aristotelianism. Had that come about, the history of mankind would have taken another turn. But within the last thirteen years of his life Alexander had used up the energies of many lives and before completing his thirty-third year he died in Babylon (on June 13, 323 B.C.).

In Alexander there appeared a miracle of human personality. He was the summation of Hellas' education as the disciple of the greatest mind of antiquity. It was through him that the deeds of the demigods became realities in political action. Within him Achilles or Heracles seemed to have returned to earth as the impulses of the beginning reappearing at the end of Hellas' history and bringing about the rebirth of its culture. In more than seventy cities were founded academies, libraries and museums wherein the glory of Aristotle's philosophy and the spirit of Hellas became impulses for all future generations.

In Delphi the idea of Pan-Hellas had been planted as a seed more than half a millenium before. In Alexandria it came to its last fruition. Although Mount Parnassus with Apollo's muses was deserted and the Apollo-temple in Delphi had been destroyed by earthquake, the Museum of Alexandria, the world-famous Aristotelian university and its library with more than half a million manuscripts, preserved the priceless legacy of Hellas.

As the cosmopolis of Hellenism Alexandria became not only the

first city of Egypt, she was the womb out of which, later on, Christian philosophy and theology were born. Here, among many others, Clement of Alexandria became the progenitor of the Hellenistic-Christian philosophy. It was he who declared that the mission of the Hebrews and the message of the Hellenes stood on an equal basis in the preparation for the advent of the "Logos that was made flesh."

Alexandria best symbolized the mission of Alexander to bring to fruition the gospel of Hellas. For it was Alexander who prepared the soil of past epochs so that, in the midst of the upheaval which his wars caused, the germ of Hellenism might be sown and cultivated until through the rise of Christianity the Greek polis could flourish anew.

Alexander died at the age of thirty-three. Whatever the cause and circumstances of so early a death may have been, the fact that it occurred at this age is not without deep significance. Rudolf Steiner's historical psychology[73] has shown that the relation between the maturity of consciousness and the growth and vitality of the physical body differ in various epochs of culture. In previous ages the soul could preserve a longer dependence on the growth of the body than it can today. In other words, the human consciousness could learn from the vitality of the body through innate instincts up to the highest age levels. The council of the elders, the *gerousia* of the Spartans, which did not admit men before the age of sixty, shows this fact in its constitutional and political application. However, the more the individual consciousness arose with the growth of the power of personal judgment and logical discrimination, the shorter became the age limit through which the soul was able to learn from the innate and instinctive forces of the growth of the body. The dependence of the consciousness on the physical body grew less and less as the faculties of the soul emancipated themselves from the inherited forces of the body.

In the later Hellenes it was approximately the age of thirty-three which marked the boundary of such a dependence. The death of Christ at that age signified the importance of this fact for all mankind. Alexander, with all his grandeur and all his shortcomings,

represented the symbol of the unfolding of the individuality in the pre-Christian era. He was a pathfinder for an age of mankind which was to come with the rise of the cosmopolitan world of Christianity. It is under this aspect that we must view the fact that Alexander asked the Hellenes to receive him among their deities.

Alexander died as a mortal. Yet his heritage bore the seed of immortality. From Alexandria stemmed the new epoch which flourished in Aristarchus, the father of criticism; Euclid, the mathematician; Archimedes, the physicist; and Eratosthenes, the geographer and astronomer who first measured the circumference of the earth and founded the system of chronology for history. The epics blossomed through Apollonius, the epigrams through Callimachus and pastoral poetry through Theocritus.

One day during the Carthagenian War, Archimedes, the greatest scientist of the era of Hellenism, sat in the courtyard of his house in Syracuse, drawing circles and numbers in the sand and thinking, not of the war which was raging, but only of inventions which might still surpass the lever, the burning glass and the law of gravity. Just then a Roman soldier appeared. The genius of physics shouted: "Do not destroy my circles!" It might have been the outcry of the polis of Hellas!

The soldier's answer was the cold sword, carried in the ignorance and barbarism which killed the scholar of Hellenism. The end of Archimedes and the fall of Syracuse symbolized the fact that the power of the Palladium went to the empire of Rome.

In 480 B.C. the Greeks saved for themselves the power of the "shield of Athena" in their victories over the Persians (at Salamis) and over the Carthagenians (at Himera). Three hundred and thirty-three years later, in 146 B.C., the Roman sword destroyed Carthage and Corinth. In a single year Greece and Macedonia became provinces of the Roman empire.

The "wolf" of Rome's Capitol devoured the power of Athens' Palladium. The legends run that it was now in Rome and kept in the Jupiter temple on the Capitol, guaranteeing the world's empire. In the period of Rome's decline the Palladium was brought to Byzantium, where Constantine founded New-Rome. New-Rome

was supposed to carry on the task of the "wolf" of the Capitol at the very time when Christianity was tolerated and the first Christian churches were built after the days of the catacombs. Jacob Burckhardt[74] tells us all the details of the foundation of New-Rome which the emperor called Constantinople after his own name. The Palladium was brought to a place under a prophyry column on the Forum, a solemn act of consecration in which many priests and hierophants of ancient rites and mysteries participated and assisted. After the empress and the crown prince were executed by Constantine the foundation of the new cosmopolis took place on November 4, 326 B.C., "when the sun was in Sagittarius and Cancer ruled the hour."

Constantinople where, later, Justinian expelled the philosophers of Hellas, was the counterbalance which offset the founding of Alexandria.

The impulse of the polis, however, did not completely die away. Under the Roman sword, cities like Tyrus, Sidon and Tarsus, Ephesus and Jerusalem flourished through the genius of the Hellenic tongue, the Koine, until St. Paul appeared on the agoras of Antioch and Ephesus, Corinth and Athens and sounded a new hour in the life of the polis.

Thus the agora of the cosmopolis became once more the stage for the drama of history, calling on every citizen of the world to become a part of its audience.

V

THE LIPS OF THE GODS

"I descended
To the confines of Death,
I entered Persephone's threshold,
I drove through all the elements
And I came back.
I saw the sun at midnight
Glittering in dazzling light.
The nether gods
And the higher gods
I freely approached and
I worshipped them
In heartfelt nearness!"
APULEIUS (*Metamorphoses*)

1. *THE ORACLES OF APOLLO*

The multitude of gods and goddesses, satyrs and nymphs, muses and maenads vanished with the world of Atlantis, but the memory of their existence and the presence of their shadows were preserved in the oracles and mysteries. Through them the world of Hellas became transparent to our gaze, so that we may look beyond it, as it were, to the sunken Atlantis which the landscape of Greece with all the islands and peninsulas, gulfs and straits markedly resembled.

The oracles differed from the mysteries in that they revealed the gods of the cosmos through the sense-world, in the rustling of the trees or the vapor of the earth, whereas the mysteries had to do with the rites, cults and probations through which the soul could perceive the gods working within her realm. The seers, who received the message of the gods through the oracles, had to lower their consciousness in order that they might become mediums for them. The initiates of the mysteries had to strengthen the faculties of their souls. This distinction leads us to the significant duality of the gods, Apollo and Dionysus. The Apollonian way of clairvoyance and clairaudience reflected the wisdom of the past. The Dionysian way of initiation aimed at the future, at the goal (*telos*)

of perfection; therefore those seeking initiation were called *Telestes.*

Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy* acquainted us with a far greater distinction than had hitherto been understood between the worlds of Apollo and Dionysus. Yet since the rise of social psychology, psychoanalysis and ethnology, and through the thinking of philosophers like Henri Bergson and philologists like Gilbert Murray, we are on the horns of a dilemma, shall we condemn the Olympian gods in favor of the Dionysian religion?

It has become more and more futile to side with the Dionysian gods against the Olympians or vice versa. This argument is the result of a complete misunderstanding of the distinction between the upper gods as cosmic forces and the lower gods as revealing themselves within the soul of man.

The first were perceived by the oracles, the latter were approached through the mysteries. The right understanding of the oracles and mysteries, indeed, can and will "undraw the curtain" which fell upon the stage of the sunken Atlantis and we must not renounce the right to raise this curtain, of which George Grote speaks in the preface of his *History of Hellas.*

One of the most ancient oracles of Hellas was in Olympia. The sanctuary was undoubtedly older than the cults and temples of the eighth century, B.C., from which we derive the earliest fragments of the Greek temple and the first record of history which included the calendar and the dates of the Olympian games. Olympia was an oracle of *Chronos* (Saturn). This is indicated by the name of Cronion, the sacred hill, near which the temples of Zeus and Hera were built and where also a temple of the cult of Demeter stood.

The festivals of Olympia were based upon the myths of Tantalus and his son, Pelops, which expressed the archetypal motif of the divergence between father and son as between Chronos and Zeus or the past and the future of evolution. The myths of Chronos as well as those of Tantalus unfolded the imaginations that the fathers killed and devoured their sons, while later on both sons were recreated and their fathers thrown into Tartarus.

The chariot-race of Pelops by which he won his wife, Hippo-

damia, and in which he ran over and killed the old king, Hippodamia's father, symbolized the conflict between the new world-year and the old one, for the cults of Olympia were connected with Chronos-Saturn, the bringer of time, and undoubtedly reflected the Saturn-oracles of Atlantis.[75]

At the foot of the hill of Chronos, there lay the temple of Zeus and Hera, his children and his successors in the domination of the world. This temple was placed within a triangle formed by the rivers Cladeus and Alpheus. Around the sanctuaries were the gymnasium, palaestra, stadium and hippodrome. It was for this temple, the ruins of which have furnished us with the oldest relics of Greek architecture, that Phidias sculptured his Zeus, most adored of all Greek statues, to which the Hellenes came on pilgrimages as did the Arabs to the Kaaba in Mecca.

At that place of the Chronos-Saturn-Oracles of Hellas, Iphitus set the date for the first Olympiad in 776 B.C. The youth who won the foot race became the hero of the year (a moon-year which began with the new moon after the summer solstice), and received the olive branch, always an earthly symbol of the moon character of the oracles. The victor in the Olympian games was called "Pelops" or "Heracles". Later the horse-race was added to the foot race, which constituted the main part of the games aside from the *pentathlon* — (1) leaping, (2) quoit-throwing, (3) running, (4) spear thrusting and (5) wrestling.[76]

The festivals of Olympia were Panhellenic from the very beginning since the chronology of the Olympiads was generally accepted as the calendar of Pan-Hellas. The ancient oracle and sanctuary of Chronos was closed before the dawn of history. Yet chronology and the calendar came down as its gifts, survivals of those inspirations which had sprung from the fountain of wisdom. From this source, too, there stemmed a deeper insight into the nature of the human body. The Greek gymnastics demonstrated what remained of the knowledge of the cosmic word.

The gymnastics of the Hellenes originated from an insight into the vital or rhythmical forces of the body. This insight was profoundly rooted in the wisdom of Chronos-Saturn, the prototype of

the cosmic forces of time, rhythm and vitality, the etheric or formative forces of man. The knowledge of the formative forces of the human body led the Hellenes on the one hand to their gymnastics and on the other to their sculpture. It was therefore not a fortuitous circumstance that in Olympia, at the foot of the hill of Cronion, the gymnastic games originated and that the oldest remnants of Greek sculpture surrounded the most famous of all, the Zeus statue by Phidias.

An oracle of Zeus was in Dodona in Epirus, northwest of Greece. It was located on that strip of land which was first called Hellas, but which was a lonely outpost, surrounded by the barbarian countries of Thrace, Thessaly and Macedonia. The priestesses of Dodona perceived the words of Zeus through clairaudience in the rustling of the leaves of the holy oak. The oracles always had a macrocosmic character in their revelations. Auguries which were obtained from doves on the branches of the oaktree or by listening to the murmuring of the fountain, indicated recognition of the wide reaches of the world. The priestesses were called doves of Zeus, who was supposed to live within the trunk of the oak. Zeus was always connected with the oak-tree, a fact revealed by many myths around the globe. As Zeus followed Chronos, so had the oracles of Zeus in Dodona followed the oracle of Chronos in Olympia in importance and influence. The Olympian oracle culminated in an epoch which preceded all historical events. But the oracle of Dodona can be found in the records of history. Homer spoke of it in many passages of his Iliad and Odyssey. He described a visit of Odysseus to this sanctuary which became the spiritual center of the Homeric world and its heroes. The bards who sang the epics of Homer had the last clairaudience which sprang from the "doves" of Zeus and the leaves of the oak. The "doves" flew away, the people forgot how to listen to the rustling of the leaves. Dodona was deserted and its sanctuary declined: but the art of the epic poems lived on, the songs of the Homeric bards still reminded men of the impulse of Zeus in Dodona.

According to tradition Homer was blind; a blind seer like Teiresias. This was the Greek way of letting the world know that

Homer was an awakened soul possessed of higher perception. In addition, his hearing was supersensible, he was clairaudient toward the inner music of the world, and he knew how to listen to the "doves" of Zeus in the rustling of the oak tree. Zeus was connected with the soul of man as Chronos was with the life, rhythm and time of his body. Zeus was the god of thunder (*bronte*), lightning (*sterope*) and the smoking thunderbolt (*keraunos*). These three powers of Zeus were the macrocosmic reflections of the human soul in the emotions of feeling, in the light of thinking and in the impulse of willing. *Bronte, sterope and keraunos* thus belong not alone to Zeus but are his gifts to the soul of man. The life of the soul was expressed by the interplay between blood pulsation and breath. The secrets of the relationship between soul and body, as indicated in the intermingling of blood stream and breathing, or of heart and lungs, were enfolded in the hexameter of the poems of Homer and his successors. These connections were still augured at the oracle of Dodona and lived later in the imperishable works of the Hellenic epics.

Just as Zeus followed Chronos, so Apollo, the son of Zeus, appeared with his message following the oracles of his father. The oracle of Olympia had flourished during the pre-historic epoch of Hellas; the oracle of Dodona was mentioned in the earliest records of history. The oracle of Apollo entered the full daylight of the history of Hellas. Chronos was connected with the planetary forces of Saturn, Zeus with those of Jupiter. Apollo was always linked with Helios, the god of the sun. After Chronos had inspired the rhythm, growth and vitality of the formative forces of the body, and Zeus had enlightened the consciousness of the soul of man, Apollo, the god of the sun, was brought into relationship with the impulse of the human ego. Therefore, the oracles of Apollo took their place in the center of the life of the Hellenes.

To the Hellenes the temple of Apollo in Delphi was the heart of Hellas, the oracle itself the mouth-piece of her language. The Greeks went further in their imaginings and declared that Delphi was the navel of the earth, the very location on which the ship of

Deucalion had landed and where the new race of mankind had its beginnings.

Apollo was the god of the sun in the sense that he revealed Helios. He was the face of Helios as Michael was the face of Jehovah to the Hebrews. Just as the moon reflects the sunlight, so the Delphic Apollo, the Logos of Helios and Zeus, echoed the word of the sun in the light of the moon. Plutarch described it in his book, *The Decline of the Oracles.* This interpretation explains why the Pythia received the word of Apollo at midnight, facing the disk of the full moon.

Aeschylus called Apollo the "prophet of Zeus".[77] In the prologue to *The Eumenides,* he described the origin of Delphi, the first prophetess of which was Gaia; the second, Themis; the third, Phoebe. These were followed by a prophet, Phoibus Apollo. After Gaia, the earth, had inspired the physical body of man, Themis his life, and Phoebe his soul, Apollo appeared as the bringer and protector of his selfhood. The Logos of Hellas and the "prophet of Zeus", he revealed his mission as the messenger and forerunner of Him who was to come as the "Logos who was made flesh and dwelt among us". The name, Apollo (derived from *appelazein*—hold together), indicated that this divinity held together the tribes of the Hellenes through the harmony of his word. "Apollo proves to be the god of the fold (*sekos*) but it is a fold of human sheep."[78]

Apollo's slaying of the dragon, Python, was an imagination of a spiritual event which mirrored an occurrence on Atlantis and which was reflected in various legends around the globe. The Egyptians preserved it in their myths of Osiris who was killed by Typhon, the latter being related to Osiris as Python was to Apollo.[79] Among others of these legends are those of St. Michael and St. George in the mediaeval versions. Rudolf Steiner described Apollo as the Hellenic expression of a being whose mission it was to restore the distorted harmony between thinking, feeling and willing. This spiritual being was intimately linked with the impulse of Christ at the end of the epoch of Atlantis in a fore-shadowing of the events of Palestine.[80]

Between the Corinthian gulf and Mount Parnassus the foun-

tain of Castalia was situated in front of the rocks of the Phaedridae, on a soil of limestone mixed with soft layers of slate. A sulphurous vapor steamed through a cleft between the rocks, where Apollo had slain the dragon, Python, and where now the Pythia, seated upon the tripod, facing the full moon, in a state of trance spoke in the form of hexameters the words which came from the lips of the god. Through this shrine of Delphi, Apollo, surrounded by the thrice three muses on Mount Parnassus, offered restoration to the endangered harmony of the human soul in her feeling, thinking and willing, thus guaranteeing the harmony of Hellas.

The Pythian games at Delphi imitated the battle of the god against the Python and the purification of Apollo after the slaughter. These games were held regularly from 586 B.C. on and, in contrast to those at Olympia, were devoted almost entirely to contests in music and poetry, in singing and playing the *kithaera,* flute and lyre under the protection of the Delphic *amphictyony.* In close connection with this cultic experience at Delphi, the flute player (*aulete*), Sakadas, (about 586 B.C.) wrote the first composition of Greek music, the Pythic Nome celebrating Apollo's fight against Python.[81]

We must realize that the first temple of Delphi burned down six years later (580 B.C.) and that after this date the oracle quickly declined and was more and more misunderstood. The new temple, rebuilt in Parian marble and containing the frescoes of Polygnotus, depicting the descent of Odysseus to Hades, was completely destroyed by an earthquake in 373 B.C. The temple was rebuilt for the second time more beautifully than ever, yet the truth no longer came out of Delphi, the lips of the god grew silent and Demosthenes exclaimed to the Athenians who were mourning that Philip of Macedon would preside over the Pythian games: "Absurd to go to war now for the shadow of Delphi."

There were other Apollonian oracles in Klaros near Kolophon, and Didyme near Miletus. Besides the oracles of signs (*semaia*) like those in Dodona and Olympia, and the oracles of voices (*phemai, kledones*) like Delphi, there was a third kind, that of dreams and the dead. Of this last were the oracles of Oropos on the boun-

dary of Attica, the oracle of Trophonius at Lebades in Boeotia and the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus. These oracles were chiefly places of healing through a ritual sleep in the temple. They all revealed the mission of Apollo as the healer of disharmony, but, like their spiritual center in Delphi, they also sooner or later declined.

Olympia, as the result of spiritual transformation after the decline of the oracle, gave the gifts of gymnastics and sculpture. Dodona developed and inspired epic poetry. Delphi with its nine muses bestowed "the gift of music." Music in the sense of Delphi's Apollo was a revelation of the cosmic word, the Logos. It consisted not only of the playing of lyre and flute, kithaera and harp, and of singing but also of lyrical poetry, the hymn and ode, the song and the elegy: in short the arts of the Word. The gift of Apollo was mantic (*mantike*) : the ability to be inspired by the muses, the mediators of the world-word and world-music.

Delphi was not only the center of Apollo but also of Dionysus. This fact contained an important secret for the life of Hellas. Pausanias wrote that of the two peaks of Parnassus, one was devoted to Apollo, the other to Dionysus. Euripides in his Iphigenia mentions that Apollo came from his birthplace, Delos, to Delphi, where Dionysus already was. Delphi was in fact the sanctuary of the two sons of Zeus. The eastern gable of the temple represented Apollo with his nine muses, the western front showed Dionysus with his maenads. The realm of the morning and the day belonged to Apollo, while the evening, the west, led to the mysteries of Dionysus and the night. Early Greek mirrors show paintings in which we see on the left Apollo as *ephebos,* a youth with the laurel, and on the right, Dionysus robed in a feminine *chiton,* a flowing robe. Between them is the disk of the Sun-Head, Helios, designed in such a way that the face looks from Apollo toward Dionysus.[82] Such paintings revealed more than many libraries.

The divine challenge in "Know Thyself" which was inscribed on the *pronaos* of the Delphic temple, sounded from the lips of Apollo and was taken up and fulfilled by Dionysus. For besides the oracle of Apollo there was a mystery-cult of Dionysus in Delphi.

The oracle was an exoteric revelation in which everyone might participate. The mystery of Delphi was an esoteric ceremony permitted only to neophytes.

Apollo and Dionysus were alike only in being sons of Zeus. Apollo, the *musagetes,* the leader of the nine muses, represented day, the light of the sun and the human reason. Dionysus with his *thyasis* of satyrs represented the inner world of dreams and visions. Apollo's instrument was the lyre, Dionysus' the flute. Apollo worked through the nerves and senses, Dionysus through the blood. Apollo gave music and lyrical poetry, Dionysus the dithyramb and the drama.

Delphi could become the true center of Hellas only because it was the place of unity and synthesis between Apollo and Dionysus. The Apollonian clairvoyance could become Dionysian initiation and the Dionysian ecstasy was purified by the harmony of Apollo's music and meter. Delphi was considered the navel of the earth. What did such a concept mean for the early Hellenes? It was a symbol for the fact that in Delphi was the inner axis around which the spirit of Hellas rotated because it was here that the oracles became mysteries and that therefore the revelation of the past could be transformed into a new insight.

2. *THE MYSTERIES OF DIONYSUS*

In contrast to the oracles, there were the centers of the mysteries of Hellas in the temple of Artemis in Ephesus, the Cabiri in Samothrace and the rites of Eleusis.

The way from Apollo's oracles to Dionysus' mysteries led from polytheism to monotheism or from the consciousness of tribal blood-ties to the individuality. Within the soul the oracles aroused piety, awe and devotion towards the gods of the cosmos. The mysteries impelled the spirit of man to unfold the divine within the individuality; in other words to aim at becoming a god.

The personality through whom this transition from the oracles to the mysteries was finally accomplished was Orpheus. He is mentioned neither by Homer nor by Hesiod, yet he was intimately

linked with the guidance of man and instituted the first *telesteria,* the rites of initiation.

Orpheus stood between Apollo and Dionysus, making both their missions known.[83] The myth indicates that Orpheus was a son of Apollo and of the muse Calliope, (the ninth of the muses, who represented the singing voice of man.) Orpheus, as contemporary of Heracles, participated in the voyage of the Argonauts led by Jason in the quest for the golden fleece. It was only through Orpheus that the Argonauts could pass the dangerous sirens. He was declared to be the inventor of the lyre and the bringer of music, which revealed the mission of Apollo, and he also was described as the teacher of medicine, writing and agriculture (connected with the cultivation of wine) which pointed to the message of Dionysus.

Through the song of his lyre Orpheus could move the trees and rocks and tame the beasts. He lost his wife, Eurydice, who was bitten by a snake and in his mourning for her he descended to Hades, where, from Persephone he obtained permission to bring Eurydice back to the upper world on condition that he would not turn to look at her while in the realm of the netherworld. Orpheus, however, failed to keep his promise and lost Eurydice a second time. He died after much suffering and pain, as did Heracles and Dionysus, mutilated like the latter by the maenads or, as another tradition has it, slain by the lightning of Zeus. Yet, like Heracles and Dionysus, Orpheus was glorified as a demigod and in his apotheosis his lyre was carried to heaven by the muses of Apollo.

How can we bring together all these various facts, symbols and hints?

First of all we must clarify the term "son of Apollo" in connection with Orpheus and his Dionysian destiny of death. Edouard Schuré[84] gives a Phoenician derivation of the word Orpheus; *aur* (light) and *rophae* (healing). Light and healing appeared as the main principles of Apollo. Orpheus, who went with the Argo in search of the golden fleece, was more than an ordinary person longing for initiation. Rudolf Steiner describes him as the inaugurator of the rites of religion and the mysteries of Hellas, a leader comparable with India's Buddha or Egypt's Hermes.[85] In the terms of

Hindu-wisdom Orpheus may be called a Bodhistattva. Gautama Buddha gave the impulse of love and compassion to the human soul, so Orpheus implanted there the impulse of music which in later times was to become the foundation of logical thinking. The spiritual principle of Apollo himself appeared reborn in Orpheus. This was the actual meaning of the term, "son of Apollo." In the words of Eratosthenes[86] Orpheus "accounted Helios the greatest of the gods, whom also he called Apollo." We see in this a hint of Apollo acting as the higher ego overshadowing the personality of Orpheus.

Eurydice was one with Orpheus in a mystical sense, as the lower and higher man are unified. The loss of Eurydice revealed the tragedy of the Dark Age in which a split between the higher and lower individuality had to take place. Orpheus descended to the netherworld, the realm of the spirit, yet he remained to a certain degree separated from the principle of the higher self. As the Bodhisattva of Hellas, Orpheus experienced the fullest tragedy of the human ego; and just for this reason he was able to become an inaugurator of the mysteries of Greece.

Orpheus taught the law of reincarnation. To him and his disciples it was evident that the soul of man has to pass through a cycle of many embodiments. This teaching of reincarnation, which was an integral part of the religious insight of the Hindus and Persians, was introduced among the Greeks by Orpheus and penetrated the thought life of the early epoch of Hellas to a far greater extent than modern research is inclined to accept. The Orphic ideas of reincarnation of the human soul appeared as main parts of the world-conception of Pythagoras and his various schools as well as in those of Heraclitus and Empedocles and haunted the imaginations of Pindar and Plato who frequently expressed them, as we shall see in chapter ten.

The origins of the Orphean doctrines and of the rites of initiation are found in the darkness preceding history. Yet their consequences and results within historical evolution subsequent to the sixth century were so manifold and so important that they seemed not only to penetrate, but also completely to reform thinking in

Hellas. These teachings and rites of the Orpheans and Pythagoreans were most closely linked with the cults of Dionysus. First, there existed an exoteric worship of Dionysus in the orgy, the purpose of which was to re-enact the journey of Dionysus the Younger. This journey of Dionysus with his *thyasis* was the symbol of the preparation for the unfolding of the human ego through the loosening of the blood-ties and the developing of the intellect. Then, there was an esoteric teaching of mysteries, the "descent to the netherworld", the immediate contact with the spiritual world. Finally, there was the instruction for the neophyte who would become an itinerant seer, a perfect disciple of Orpheus' teaching, an initiate of the mysteries of Dionysus.

It is clear that the true content of such teaching could never appear in documents of literature because by its very nature it could not be expressed or experienced by means of intellectual writing or discussion. We are reminded of the words of Aristotle that the mysteries were places for experience (*pathein*) and not for intellectual knowledge (*mathein*). In quoting certain passages from classical authors like Diodorus or Plutarch,[87] who were initiated into mysteries, we have to realize always that these authors wrote at a relatively late time when the mysteries were in a state of full decline; on the other hand, they expressed themselves in the manner of Aristotle's metaphysics about which the philosopher declared to Alexander, that its content, although speaking the plain and open language of intellectual discourse, remains nevertheless esoteric for those who are not prepared for a deeper understanding.

Diodorus declared in his book on the mysteries that Samothrace was the place from which Orpheus' teaching first came and he also upheld the tradition which made Orpheus the son of the king of Thrace. It is in such a statement that we begin to decipher mythical hieroglyphs. What did the name of the country, Thrace, mean? Thrace was considered a sacred land, the true home of the muses. Fabre d'Olivet[88] gives the Phoenician derivation from Rakhiwas, which meant the etheric world or the sky. We must therefore understand that Thrace never meant a geographical location when

mentioned as the original country of the mysteries of Orpheus and Dionysus.

The island of Samothrace in the northern Aegean Sea, in the neighborhood of Thrace and Macedonia and not far from Troy and the sanctuaries of Asia Minor, undoubtedly received the first seeds of the great teaching of Orpheus.

Connected with the cults of the three Cabiri was the place where the parents of Alexander the Great met each other, and where in the times of Aristotle and his followers the divine service was still alive.[89] The research of religion and ethnology always returned to this outpost of ancient tradition of the mysteries until the time of Schelling[90] who wrote an outstanding book on this cultic center. The Cabiri, seen from without, appeared as three jars shaped in three different forms, from which a sacred smoke arose while mantric words were spoken by the hierophants. These three jars were linked with the divinities of Apollo, Ares and Hermes. The initiates of Samothrace revealed a knowledge of agriculture, medicine, writing and speech.

The importance of these mysteries for the inner life of Hellas was tremendous. They underlay the history of the Hellenic tribes, the unfolding of Greek sculpture, the origin of the knowledge of medicine and the institutions which led to agricultural rites, customs and rules. They flowed into the instructions for writing, reading, grammar and literary style and culminated in rhetoric, the technique of speech. It might be said that the oratory of Isocrates and Demosthenes traced its source to the Cabiri of Samothrace in the same way as did the medicine of Hippocrates and the canon of the sculptor, Polycleitus, which gave an exoteric description of the proportions of the parts of the human body.

The triad of the divinities of the Cabiri also lived within the triad of the tribes of Hellas. Each of these three tribes was guided and influenced by this divine triad of Apollo, Mars and Mercury. It was evident, for example, that the militant Dorians, especially around Sparta, were strongly affected by the influence of the one-sided forces of Mars, the god of war, although Apollo was considered the godhead of the Dorian tribe. It further appears that the Aeolians, especially around Boeotia, the country of the sober and

conservative peasants, received from Apollo, the sun-god, the impulses of agriculture, while the Ionians through the influence of Mercury became the men of letters because of their refinement of speech and writing. The three Cabiri actually revealed the spiritual forces of the triad of the tribes as the threefold expression of the Hellenic man in his thinking, feeling and willing through his head, heart and limbs.

In Ephesus the mystery of Artemis held sway. Artemis, the sister of Apollo, was linked with the moon as he was with the sun. As the moon reflects the sun, so Artemis reflected the word of Apollo. As Apollo revealed himself esoterically through the three Cabiri of Samothrace, so he found another revelation through the mysteries of Ephesus. The world-creating word disclosed itself again in his cosmic utterance. We may say that the Logos was still more intimately understood at Ephesus, that there it came nearer to the comprehension of the human mind. The cults of Ephesus were in connection with Moon and Earth. The wisdom of the World-Word was perceived and conceived within a narrower range at the temple of Ephesus.

Ephesus was most intimately associated with Athens, her mother city, and with the Ionians of Attica. Tradition said that Androclus, the son of Codrus, conquered Ephesus and that centuries later Heraclitus appeared as his descendant. Because of its location commanding the plain of the Cayster River, the middle of the three fertile river basins of Asia Minor, and because of the temple of Artemis, Ephesus became the queen of the twelve cities of Ionia. The temple was the spiritual backbone of the colonization of the Ephesians on the Pontus as well as on the Nile. The mouth of the Cayster was the oldest harbor and crossroad for the Ionian seafarers. The Phoenicians were the first settlers, and it is clear that through them were introduced the Oriental impulses of the Artemisian cult, as practised in Syrte and Sidon[91] which later became harmonized with the Greek civilization by the Attic-Ionian impulse. The tendency of the sanctuary of Ephesus was from the first to unite Hellenes and non-Hellenes, to hellenize the East, a task which was ultimately carried on by Alexander the Great, whose birth and life were closely interwoven with the mysteries of Ephesus.

These mysteries were in all probability older than the Ionian invasion, since we are told that there was a primeval seat of the temple in pre-Ionian times. Toward the end of the eighth century a small shrine was built on a platform of green rock, called schist, which contained a wooden image of the goddess; about 650 B.C. this shrine was enlarged and raised in level and toward the close of the seventh century it was replaced by a Hellenic temple, the work of the Cnossan, Chersiphron, and his son, Metagenes.

Strabo referred to the fourth temple, enlarged again about 540 B.C. and famous as the Croesus temple. Its cella alone contained the whole of the former shrine and its entire ground plan covered about 80,000 square feet. It took more than four generations to complete this work of art, which was dedicated between 430-420 B.C. Croesus of Lydia donated many columns and increased the treasure. It was burned down by Herostratus, one of the priesthood of the Artemision, who set it afire in October, 356 B.C., on the same night that Alexander was born. The myth is that the goddess, Artemis, was absent assisting at his birth.

The temple of Ephesus, built by donations from the Hellenes as well as from the Oriental kings, so excelled in the style of its Ionic architecture that it was called one of the seven wonders of the world. Its destruction on the night of Alexander's birth has always been considered not only one of the greatest crimes in the history of sacerdotalism and an irreplaceable loss to architecture, but also one of the turning points in the evolution of mankind.

The Hellenes said that the temple of Ephesus was destroyed by the envy of the gods. What did that mean? The temple of Ephesus as mystery center proved the triumph of the human spirit, on its way by means of the mystery-rites, to become a "god". Yet the connection with the divine world had to become looser as abstract and logical thinking opened up for the human soul. The temple was burned down through "the envy of the gods" because Herostratus, a member of the Ephesian priesthood, destroyed his own place of divine service through this sacrilege. He performed this sacrilegious deed that his name might be preserved in the books of history. This fact shows us how the human being on the way to

self-consciousness could be tempted by vanity and how much even the priests of temples were deprived of the guidance of higher beings.

Through the sacrilege of Herostratus the spiritual succession was interrupted. The mystery school at Ephesus lost not only its outer prestige but also its inner value. Nevertheless, a fifth and last temple was erected, a work of fine architecture which Alexander contributed and which stood until the end of the third century A.D. when the Goths burned it down.

The Artemision at Ephesus had an exoteric facade and an esoteric significance. The exoteric appearance, linked with the great statue of Artemis or Diana, was that of the mother principle of earthly fruitfulness. Intermingled with many Oriental influences the Ephesian Diana was represented with many breasts.

In her esoteric delineation she was often called Artemis-Persephone and therefore linked with the Eleusinian mysteries. Among the few columns of the temple which were preserved and are now to be seen in the British Museum, one represents her as being accompanied by Hermes and by a winged youth, the genius of death.

Rudolf Steiner in rediscovering the meaning of the Ephesian rites of initiation pointed out that Artemis appeared with "three heads" before the eyes of the initiate.[92] This means that she revealed herself in the three aspects of the soul's powers, thinking, feeling and willing. She revealed herself as Selene or Luna (*Mene*), the moon in the sky; as Artemis, the huntress on earth; and as Hecate in the region of the netherworld.

It is obvious that this scene on the pillar of the temple of Ephesus (British Museum) signifies an act in the mysteries. The human soul, guided by Hermes, the messenger of the gods, penetrates to the realm of the netherworld and discovers there the true nature of death. The wings of the youth symbolize the freeing of the soul from the gravity of earth so that she may return to the spiritual realm.

A knowledge of the threefold nature of Artemis-Persephone is also revealed by Goethe in the words of the Greek philosopher, Anaxagoras (in the scenes of the classical Walpurgis Night):

"O Thou on high, the same eternally,
In name and form threefold supernally,
By all my people's woe I cry to Thee,
Diana, Luna, Hecate!
Thou breast-expanding One, most deeply pensive One,
Thou peaceful seeming One, mighty intensive One,
Break from the glooms of Thy dark chasm clear,
And without magic let Thine ancient might appear!"[93]

Rudolf Steiner drew attention to the fact that the neophyte of the Ephesian mysteries had to grasp the meaning of the Logos. This world creating Word revealed itself concretely through its threefold intonation of the vowels: I-O-A. These three vowels were the objects of long meditations. The triad of I (Iota) in connection with A (Alpha) and O (Omega), the last letter of the alphabet, brought the disciple into contact with the Logos, that principle of life and spirit, which later on was expressed in the Apocalypse of John – "I Am Alpha and Omega". In the pre-Christian era it was revealed through the name of the Ephesian Artemis as well as by the divine name of the Hebrews in I-eh-O-v-A.[94]

The Ephesian mystery was the place where a special understanding of the Logos was possible. This was the atmosphere in which Heraclitus wrote his philosophy of the Logos. He was a priest of the Artemision, therefore still connected with the rites of initiation, but also one of the first thinkers. Having reached old age he deposited the book of his wisdom on the altar of the temple of Artemis and retreated to the woods where he died. Heraclitus knew that everything originated in accordance with the Logos and that "the Logos dwells within the soul of him who augments himself." Yet in all the fragments of his writings the tragic mood of Heraclitus is reflected; he felt that the human being had lost his understanding of the Logos: "Without an understanding of the Logos, the eternal –the human being is born," he exclaimed. Aristotle quoted this sentence in his *Rhetoric.* The teaching of the Logos at Ephesus became one of the most important influences in the life of Aristotle. It was he who transformed the teaching of the Logos into the

laws of logic. For on the same night when the temple was razed through "the envy of the gods", Alexander the Great was born. And with his birth the logic of Aristotle was assured a forward impulse. For the logic in the teaching of the ten categories became one of the integral parts of Aristotle's instruction of Alexander. Following his sojourn in Ephesus, Alexander embarked upon his conquest of the Orient. His deed fore-shadowed the final union between East and West which was sealed by St. John when he became the bishop of the Christian community of Ephesus and wrote his Gospel, and connected its message with the teaching of the Logos: "In the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with God and the Logos was a god." Thus an evolution of many centuries closed with the fulfillment of Heraclitus' wisdom and of Aristotle's logic.

Ephesus became the spiritual birthplace of philosophy. Music originated in Delphi; epic poetry in Dodona; gymnastics and sculpture with the beginning of chronology; the calendar and history came out of Olympia; agriculture and medicine had their beginnings in the mysteries of Samothrace. So must we look at Ephesus and its spiritual atmosphere as the womb of philosophy and natural science. Here one of the greatest among the early philosophers, Heraclitus, taught; in Miletus, only a few miles from Ephesus, there lived the first scientists and thinkers, Thales of Miletus, Anaximander and Hecataius; and nearby dwelt Pherekydes of Syros. Philosophy and natural science took as their source the Artemision of Ephesus where, on the one hand, were taught an understanding of the human soul, and on the other, a revelation of the wonders of the world. The light of philosophy was enkindled at Ephesus. Its torch was carried by all Ionians in Asia Minor. From here it reached the Western world and entered Athens.

What was the mystery of Athens? Who was the spiritual mother of Attica?

The answer to this question leads us to the last of the Hellenic mysteries, and the most important for the final epoch of Hellas. It was that of Eleusis, only twelve miles from Athens.

It is difficult to point to the true character of the mysteries of Eleusis, although literature about them abounded and in later

times more than 30,000 Greeks sought initiation there yearly. Yet Plato (in his *Phaedon*) reminds us: "Few are the Bacchoi, many bear the wand." Diodorus wrote of the rites, which were panhellenic and open to both sexes and even to slaves, "as the most celebrated of all." And the ancient Eleusinian hymn revealed:

"Bliss has he won who now these things hath seen,
Among all men upon the earth that go;
But they to whom those sights have never been
Unveiled have other dole of weal and woe
Even dead, shut fast within the moldy gloom below."

Even historians writing from the materialistic viewpoint with regard to research have been compelled to admit that Eleusis gave "harder reasoners a certain sense of possibilities into the unknown."[95]

The mysteries of Hellas were connected both with cosmogony and with the secrets of nature and earth. The former were linked with the father-godhead, the principle of Zeus. The latter stood under the influence of the maternal principle, the godhead, Demeter. Considered together they were called the Chtonic Mysteries. Such a mystery was Eleusis, the spiritual background of which were the realms of Zeus and Demeter, whose representatives appeared as their children, Persephone and Dionysus.

The priests of Eleusis called themselves "sons of the moon" or "singers of the healing melodies" and were known as the family of the Eumolpidae. Traditions have it that the Eumolpidae came from Thrace (that is from the origin of the spiritual cults of Dionysus, the etheric world) and conducted the mysteries for more than a thousand years.

In Eleusis the drama of the human soul and the human ego took place when the last stage of clairvoyance had been reached. The Eleusinia were the mysteries of the fall of man, the descent of the soul and her entanglement with matter, which caused her passions and pains, and finally her desire to return to the higher world. The problem of death, always uppermost in Hellenic thought, appeared particularly serious and urgent in the nocturnal rites of Eleusis.

Edouard Schuré wrote a reconstruction of the play of Eleusis which was translated from the French into German and was first performed in Munich in 1907 under the direction of Rudolf Steiner.[96] This reconstruction is a helpful contribution to the rediscovery of the rites of initiation at Eleusis.

Persephone represented the human soul. The myth of Dionysus was connected with the birth, passions, death and resurrection of the human spirit. The mysteries in Eleusis, those of Persephone and Dionysus, were divided into two parts. During the Lesser Mysteries celebrated in February at Agrae, the drama of Persephone was performed. The herald assumed the role of the god, Hermes, and acted as initiator. The Greater Mysteries, those of Dionysus, took place in olden times only every fifth year, in September, and lasted nine days. The Lesser Mysteries introduced and prepared the soul. Those who participated were called *mystes*. Their aim was purification, *katharsis*. The participants of the Greater Mysteries were called *epoptes,* meaning clairvoyant seers, initiates. Katharsis was achieved through the drama of Persephone. Initiation was gained through Dionysus.

The drama of Persephone was the Greek tragedy of the fall of man. In many a way it resembled the Biblical story of Adam and Eve in Paradise and their temptation by the serpent, Lucifer. Through Lucifer, who tempted them to eat of the fruit from the tree of knowledge, their eyes were opened; through him they also experienced, in the loss of Paradise, nakedness and sexuality. The Greek myth of Persephone represented her as the carefree daughter of Zeus and Demeter who was at first peacefully connected with her divine parents. As child of the paternal background of cosmogony and the maternal womb of earthly creation, she typified the human soul before the downfall of man. Her mother, Demeter, asked her to embroider a veil with all the deeds and events of the Olympian gods. This fact indicated the "Atlantean memory" by means of which Persephone could remember happenings bound up with the very outset of mankind's evolution. When the time came for her to depart for a while, Demeter urged her child to continue embroidering the veil and to be wary of the god, Eros, who

with his arrows and his flowers might be fateful for her. By no means was she to pluck the narcissus. After Demeter's departure the very things she had warned against came to pass.

Eros appeared and Persephone, who interrupted her work of embroidering the veil with the deeds of cosmogony, plucked the fateful flower. In other words: she lost her forces of the Atlantean memory and fell a victim to the god of sexuality, through which the soul experienced an individual inner life of passions and desires and the body became entangled with the world of matter. This latter influence came through Hades, who appeared from the depths of the earth and took Persephone away. From now on she had to live as the wife of the god of the netherworld.

Persephone, in the reconstructed play of *Eleusis* by Edouard Schuré, speaks in the netherworld to Triptolemus, who was the bringer of the new rites of initiation and wanted to free the daughter of Demeter.

> *"To break the doors of this realm for me:*
> *It is not allowed to you! To free me*
> *Is only possible to a god.*
> *I call you, Dionysus . . . Dionysus. . . .*[97]

The outcry of Persephone awakened Dionysus. It was the cry for the birth of the Iacchus-child, the reborn god, the son of Semele, Dionysus the Younger. This cry for the divine child, the infant Iacchus or Dionysus, leads us to the center of the cults at Eleusis. Here in Eleusis was enacted a dramatic forecast of the greatest tragedy of the world, showing "that the deity descended into the material world and was buried therein, in order to rise again within man."[98]

On the first day of the Great Mysteries at Eleusis the cry was heard in Athens: "Seaward, oh mystae, to the sea!" This day of purification was called *Halade mystai.* The ritual bath at the seashore was to prepare for the sequence of the following eight days. The second and third days were devoted to offerings and prayers in Athens. On the fourth day the image of Iacchus-Dionysus was taken from his shrine and with it the procession solemnly trod the

Sacred Way to Eleusis. The mystics arrived there late at night. As in Delphi, the act of initiation took place at midnight. The fifth day brought the climax of mystical experience to all the mystics assembled in the hall of initiation. All reports of that which followed were very vague and often misleading. But through Edouard Schuré and Rudolf Steiner the veil which had been drawn over the rites of initiation was lifted.[99] The mystes were led before three statues. The first statue represented Zeus, the father-godhead. The second statue inspired within the mystes an esoteric understanding for the maternal principle, represented by Demeter-Ceres, the goddess Natura, the mother earth and her secrets and wonders. The disciple, now brought before the third statue, could see the Mother with the child, Iacchus. Iacchus-Dionysus became for the mystes the divinity of the ego-consciousness, the inaugurator of individualism. Here, at Eleusis, the greatest and purest anticipation of the mysteries of the Christ-child took place, an anticipation and preparation comparable only with the inspired revelations of the Jewish prophets.

Therefore the mysteries of Iacchus-Dionysus at Eleusis may be regarded as the last in the history of Greek cults and rites which remained open and accessible even in the days of the decline of Hellas and the principle task of which was to prepare the mind of the Hellenes for the advent of Christ.

What offered itself as the medium most fitted for this task after the mystery of Eleusis had sunk into the abyss of degeneration? It was the drama. The drama originated from Eleusis, as did philosophy from Ephesus, music from Delphi, sculpture, dance and gymnastics from Olympia, the epic poetry of the bards from Dodona, medicine and agriculture, rhetoric and politics from Samothrace. Eleusis also produced the first dramatist, the son of the family of the Eumolpidae, the priests of Eleusis: Aeschylus!

But preceding the work of Aeschylus, the car of the priest, Thespis, rolled from Eleusis to Athens. The first plays of Dionysus were celebrated at the foot of the Acropolis in Athens, inaugurating the theatre of Dionysus as the first stage of the world.

Following our journey through the various centers of the oracles and mysteries, we now come to Athens. Athens was surrounded by

the oracles of Dodona, Olympia and Delphi (north and southwest of her) and by the mysteries of Samothrace and Ephesus (northeast and east of her). Eleusis, near the bay of Salamis, was only twelve miles from Athens, yet distinctly separated from it. Athens was encircled by oracles and mysteries like the sun by the planets, yet it was neither her destiny nor her task to develop a sanctuary of her own.

Athens became the city of Dionysus who brought man the impulse of individuality. Here was built his temple and here, at the foot of the Acropolis, his theatre. Athens not only provided the stage for his dramas but she became the outstanding center of intellectual activity in Greece where the last of the mysteries of Dionysus flowed together and reappeared as drama and philosophy. In Athens, Dionysus — the god — became man.

The myth of Dionysus was linked with the history of Athens from the very outset. Although Apollo was the most adored divinity as far as the spiritual origin of the tribes was concerned, the story of Dionysus connected the son of Zeus most closely with Pallas Athena. She it was who, after the Titans had mutilated Dionysus, rescued his heart and brought it to Zeus who created him anew. The myth described Dionysus as the son of Zeus and Demeter, then later as Dionysus the Younger, the son of Zeus and the mortal woman, Semele, of Thebes. Hera, the principle of conserving the past state of divine consciousness, inspired the Titans to dismember Dionysus. Athena, representing the progressive principle, saved his heart, his immortal part, his individuality and, together with Zeus, brought about his rebirth as Dionysus the Younger who served as the bringer of wine, the master of individualization, the teacher who introduced the first glimmer of the intellect.

The mission of wine was to break down the ties of blood on which clairvoyance was based; the wine helped to dim the faculty of clairvoyance. Wine in those ages helped to develop the individuality, the personal ego in man. Its use resulted in the dismemberment of families, tribes and clans, and loosened the ties which connected the individual with his polis. When Athens became the city of Dionysus she took her place as the first cosmopolis of all Hellas

Plato in his *Cratylus* gives the etymology of Dionysus' name as derived from *didous oinon* (*oistai*—to think); the bringer of thinking, a word which is also linked with *oinon-vinum*-wine.

The Platonic etymology may not suffice for modern philologists, but it contains far more than our "schoolmasters dream of." Dionysus served as the bringer of wine which enkindled the first feeling of individualization with the first glimmer of the intellect. He freed the human soul gradually from the ties of blood on which atavistic clairvoyance was based. Rudolf Steiner emphasized this characteristic of Dionysus when he pointed out that the Dionysian principle worked on the construction of the brain.

The journey of Dionysus the Younger to the East took place prior to all historical records. The followers of Dionysus were the satyrs and fauns, the last stragglers from among the Atlanteans according to the view of Greek fantasy as Plato gives it. In continuation of the Platonic viewpoint Rudolf Steiner recognized, in Pan and his satyrs, fauns and nymphs, beings whose bodies were still typical of the decadent forms of the last times of Atlantis. To these beings Dionysus became the teacher of the ego. The circuitous route on which, with his *thyasis*, he traveled from Egypt to India and on which he appeared as the bringer of wine and agriculture, anticipated the historical conquest of Alexander the Great. As the latter brought the maturest fruit of the intellect through the logic of Aristotle and founded the world cities of Hellenism, so, in inaugurating his mysteries, Dionysus planted the first seed of the Greek intellect.

Dionysus is supposed to have resided in Delphi even before Apollo came. He returned to Delphi after his journey around the world. His mysteries extended their influence to the limits of his travels. Thus, while the Apollonian oracle had a purely Hellenic character, the Dionysian mysteries were always cosmopolitan, combining the wisdom of the Orient with that of the Occident.

The mysteries of Hellas in general and of Eleusis in particular taught the eternal presence of Dionysus. Exoterically Dionysus was pictured as an old and ugly man. Within the mysteries he was seen in his etheric form as a beautiful youth. The mystic neophyte could

become "a son of Dionysus". In mentioning Dionysus as returning from Thrace which, in the mysteries, as we have already seen, indicated the etheric world, the neophyte emphasized that in him the principle of individualization came from the spiritual world; that he returned to Delphi, becoming the true "brother of Apollo" in revealing the profounder aspects of the Apollonian spirit; that he reached Eleusis and, finally, placed himself among the masks of Thespis in the theatre at Athens.

Pisistratus rebuilt the temple of Dionysus at the foot of the Acropolis. After the battle of Salamis, which was fought in sight of the priests of Eleusis and of the praying procession along the Sacred Way to Athens, the drama was born! The lips of the gods were closed, the mysteries had declined. Nevertheless, they continued in another sense in the theatre which now became the dwelling place of Dionysus. The goat-skinned actors of the chorus of his theatre who entered Athens in the car of Thespis brought the divinity to his last abode. Here he was considered to be present in the person of his priest who sat in the first row of the spectators. When Dionysus entered the theatre and inspired the chorus he was, in fact, the only god now remaining with the Hellenes.

In Plato's *Symposium,* which "contains more than any commentator ever dreamed of", as Benjamin Jowett remarked, the character of Alcibiades, who had been initiated into the Eleusinia, reveals the fact that mankind was beginning to rely on its own inner powers rather than upon the gods. He discloses this in discussing the true nature of Socrates: "I speak not to make fun of him but only for the truth's sake. I say that he is exactly like the busts of Silenus . . . the flute players (satyrs and fauns) reveal the wants of those who have need of gods and mysteries . . . but you, Socrates, produce the same effect with your words only and do not require the flute; that is the difference between you and him." Thus, Alcibiades describes Socrates as the satyr without and the god within.

Rudolf Steiner stated that it was known by the neophytes in the mysteries and passed on from one to another generation, that everything that Dionysus and his teacher, Silenus, had done for the earliest stage of life in Hellas was done again, later, by Socrates and

Plato.[100] When the mysteries of Dionysus reached the stage of deepest decline, when Dionysus became invisible even to the clairvoyants, he reappeared in the form of the master of dialectic and was adored in Athens as the divine Plato. Even in his lifetime Athenians wished to call him a "son of Apollo". Behind such names lay more than exaggerated praise.

When Socrates and Plato appeared, the terms of the legacy of Orpheus and Dionysus were finally fulfilled. Orpheus transformed the Apollonian oracles, which were exoterically accessible to all, into the Dionysian mysteries which were esoterically open to the individual. In the thought of Orpheus the way of Hellas led from Apollo to Dionysus; they were in their spiritual archetype one and the same godhead. To mortals on the physical plane they appeared as a duality, whereas to mystical insight they became one divinity.

When Plato was born in Athens, Protagoras wrote his word, "Man — the measure of all", and Anaxagoras unveiled the truth that the moonlight is the reflection of the sun, for which revelation he was accused of betraying the mysteries. It was the time when the Persian, Mardonius, destroyed the hall of initiation at Eleusis, when the sanctuary of Delphi was ruined by an earthquake and when the temple of Ephesus was burned. At that time Socrates refused to be initiated into the mysteries and boasted about it. And Pindar sang, partly mournful and partly triumphant: "O, Man, seek not thou to become a god."

VI

THE LYRE OF ORPHEUS

"MAN—*the Measure of All*" PROTAGORAS

1. *THE GENIUS OF THE GREEK LANGUAGE*

The genius of any people invests its language with life, breathing soul into its organism, pulsing in the images of its consonants, the gestures of its vowels, the structure of its grammar.

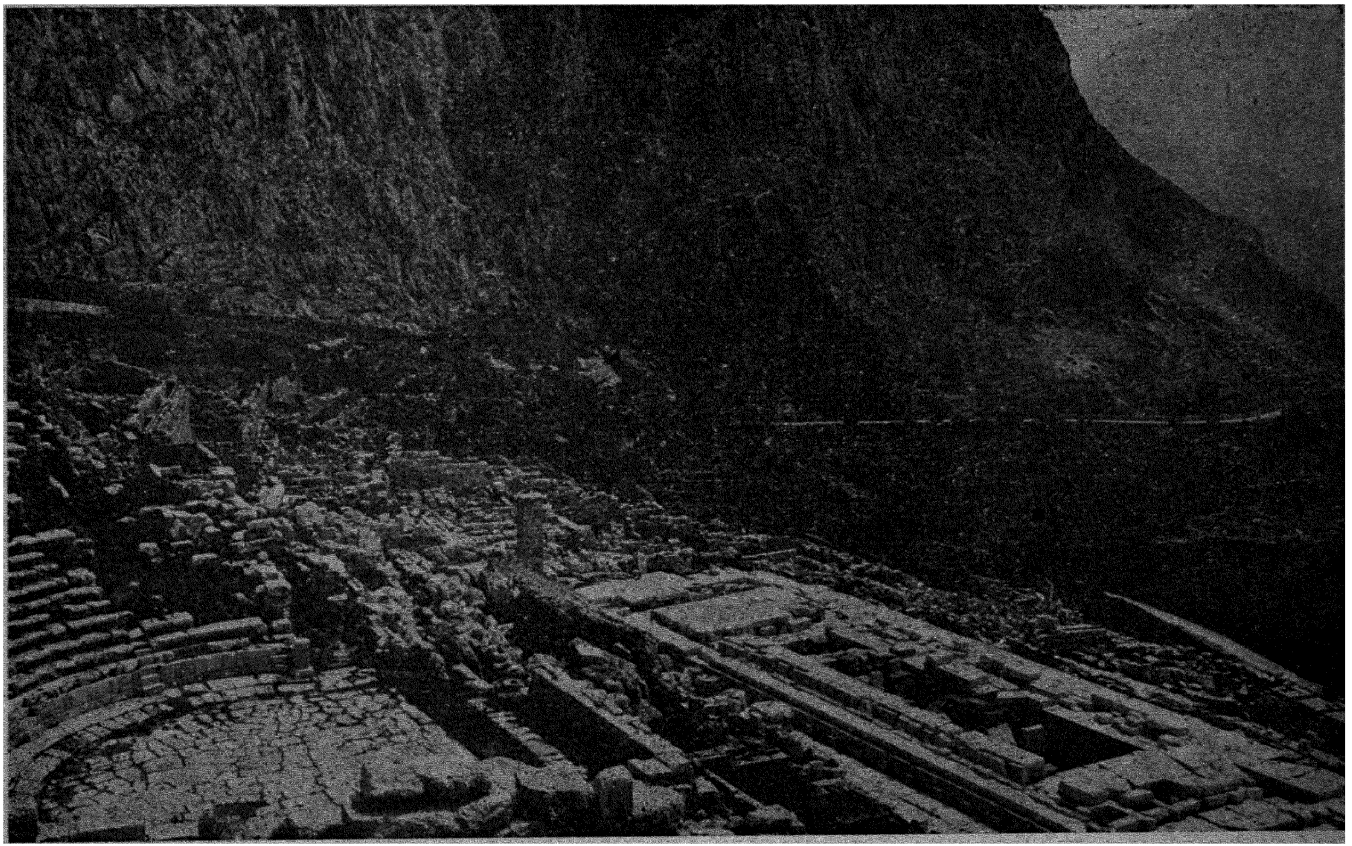
But he who penetrates the inner life of the Greek word finds such genius expressing itself with peculiar force and vividness, disclosing, through its signs and symbols, its plan as a divine work of art.

In the matter of language, as in so many aspects of their civilization, the Egyptians differed from the Greeks. Whereas the Greek tongue achieved the highest expression of the power of thought, the Egyptians lived instinctively in the rhythms and melodies of their language which had life and the power of growth like an organism; they perceived, as in a dreamlike vision, the imaginations which lay behind the consonants and vowels. Writing was not knowledge taught children at school; to learn it was the exclusive privilege attendant upon becoming a priest, the reward of one who approached initiation. The letters, the hieroglyphs, were the sacred signs of the hierophants.

Language in succeeding epochs of civilization varies with the consciousness of the human soul. Modern man experiences vowels and consonants, not instinctively through those dreams and visions which in early ages poured soul and life into language. He experiences them today largely as practical means to a material end. The instinctive life of gesture, motion and mood no longer breathes in our words which have become as dead as minerals, detached from the impulses which created them. Connected mainly with the substantial manifestation of measure, number and weight, our words

DELPHI

View of ruins from hillside showing Theatre, exterior: side W. and Temple of Apollo at right



express little more than the automatic reaction of our nerves and senses. The modern word, intellectualized, dies constantly within us. Subjected to all manner of abuse, become the hasty, abbreviated tool of the advertiser, the propagandist and the press, it has lost all connection with its inner essence and meaning. Book print, typewriter, phonograph and radio produce the corpse of a corpse!

If, as many feel, a profound study of the Greek language in all its living form and classic beauty could rescue us from the threatening death of our own speech, even so brief a summary of its characteristics as is comprised in this chapter may serve to suggest how we may express ourselves without falling back into dreams and visions or pitching forward into the grave of the mineralized word. For it was during the epoch of Hellenic life in which the Greek language became the medium of highest expression of the intellect in dialectic, logic and metaphysics that the whole alphabet of our modern way of thinking was born.

The Hellenes thought speaking and spoke thinking. The mind was constantly inspired by the life of the word; the word in its breathing molded the mind. The Greek language gives the experience of an equilibrium between nature and man, between the realms of without and within, above and below. It is unique among all languages known to man.

The Greek alphabet has twenty-four letters, seven vowels and seventeen consonants. Let us at first consider the life and gestures of the seven vowels; for the vowels reveal the soul and heart of the words, while the consonants appear as the spirit and brain. The vowels are like the players whose instruments the consonants build; they act like the fingers which touch the strings of the lyre while the consonants vibrate as the strings themselves. The vowels, therefore, reveal the soul's inner world, the consonants disclose the outer.

During the era of the Hellenes the sequence of the seven vowels of their language was always seen in relation to the planets of our solar system. To the Greeks the sounds were gods and the gods were stars, as Plato later expressed it. The seven vowels represent the secrets of the seven-stringed lyre of Orpheus which "the muses carried to heaven."[101]

Alpha—A A Ω O—*Omega*
MOON SATURN
Epsilon—E E Y Y—*Ypsilon*
MERCURY JUPITER
Eta—E H O O—*Omicron*
VENUS MARS
I
Iota
SUN

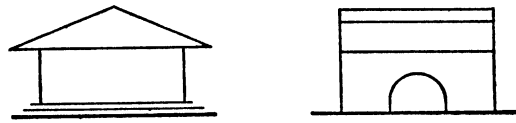
The first and last of these seven vowels mark the beginning and the end of the Greek alphabet. The gestures and values which they disclose are those of the utmost polarity. *Alpha* and *Omega* may be compared to the feeling of evening and morning. Alpha is the vowel of awe. In Alpha the soul, unfolding admiration and gratitude, devotes herself to the vastness of the world. *Omega* is the force which the soul experiences in the feeling of potency and domination. In the Alpha-feeling the soul widens herself to receive the last glimpse of light. In *Omega* she is forced to close herself, to stand on her own.[102]

In the middle of the seven vowels stands (I) *Iota*. It represents equilibrium between the mood of *Alpha* and that of *Omega*. One can feel such a balance in words like *harmonia, ambrosia, Aphrodite, kalokagathia* and *tragodia,* all words which were intimately connected with the impulses of art and beauty, ideals of self-education of the Hellenes. The *Alpha* sways to the *Omega,* finds its balance in the middle sound of *Iota* and ends as it began.[103]

The polarities between *Alpha* and *Omega* express themselves even more profoundly when taken as a basis for understanding the difference between the character of Greek and that of Latin.[104]

The gesture of A signifies receiving with open arms through awe and astonishment. The character of O indicates conquering through force with closing arms. These sound-gestures can be seen in the forms of the Greek letters *Alpha* and *Omega*. These forms reappear in the most characteristic designs of Greek and Roman architecture. The pediment of the Greek temple forms the capital letter of an

Alpha; the Roman arch traces the gesture of a capital letter of *Omega.*



A Ω

There is an Alpha in Athens (derived from Pallas Athena) and an *Omega* in Roma (Rome, derived from the Greek *rhome* which means force and power, underlying the name of the founder Romulus). The word for man sounds in Greek as *anthropos* and in Latin as *homo.* Anthropos means the being capable of the erect walk. Homo is close to humus, the black earth that results from decay of organic matter. In anthropos are emphasized the forces of walking and talking. Homo points to the body which becomes part of the dust and soil as a corpse.

This emphasis on the A sound in Greek and the O sound in Latin can be further illustrated as follows: *aristos,* the best, in Greek, is *optimus* in Latin. *Kalos,* beauty, is *forma* to the Romans. *Kalos* is a quality of the self, an achievement of the soul, while *forma* is a facade, an exterior decoration. *Pan* means all in Greek, *omnis, omnia* the same in Latin; and *algos,* Greek for pain, becomes *dolor* in Latin; *kardia,* heart becomes Latin *cor.* Greek *arche,* Latin *origo* (origin); Greek *kratos,* power, in Latin *dominatio.* Such a word as death reveals this fact again: *Hades* and *thanatos* were the Greek names for the god of the netherworld and for death, while the Romans formed it into *orcus* and *mors.* Thus human beings in Hellas were called *thanatoi,* in Rome *mortales,* from which our mortals derived.[105]

It is impossible to declare that these examples which could easily be increased are just accidental. They show us phenomena of two different worlds. Turning to the over-all impression made upon us by the Greek language itself in comparison with Latin, we always feel in it life and light, whereas in Latin there is might and splendor. Greek streams and breathes, Latin forms and compels. Greek words

manifest awe and admiration and even in political speech or highly intellectual discourse they never lose enthusiasm and devotion. Latin discloses forces of domination and will power, and its logical thought turns to aggression and argument.

The impulse of the triad as it came to expression in the harmonious structure of the temple and became an ever recurrent phenomenon of Hellenic life can also be traced back in Greek grammar. Nouns occur in three numbers: singular, plural and dual. There are three tenses of the past: imperfect, perfect and aorist, and three modes of the verb: indicative, subjunctive and optative. We can observe a medium principle between the polarities as the dual between singular and plural, or the aorist between the two other past tenses.

Most characteristic of the balance and equilibrium of the Greek language is the use of *men — de,* partly — partly, which occurs in prose of any length in almost every Greek period. The whole structure of the Greek language aims at the equilibrium between the two polarities which we have characterized so often in pointing to Apollo and Dionyus. Through the influence of Apollo and Dionysus who lived together in their sanctuary in Delphi the language of the Hellenes reflected perfect equilibrium, the inspiration of Apollo giving it weight and steadiness, that of Dionysus movement, making it dynamic.

This polarity between Apollo and Dionysus is especially well illustrated by the character of the verb which is the origin of growth and change. The verb is of twofold origin, resulting in two classes: the first, ending with omega in the first person of the present tense; the second ending with mi. The verbs of the O and Mi conjugations point to the polarities between Apollo and Dionysus.

The verbs ending with o (*omega*) were of Apollonian origin. Their archetype is the word: *Echo*— "I have". Having was felt as a gift from the world of without. By far the greater number of all Greek verbs belong to this Apollonian group, ending with the omega in the first person of the present tense. The verbs of the *mi* class are far less numerous; actually hardly more than a dozen belonged to the current of the spoken stream; but their use was most

frequent in the life of the Hellenes and their meaning was clearly associated with Dionysus. The center of all these verbs ending with *mi* was the verb, "I am" — *eimi*. It is characteristic that *eimi* was the word for "I am" when the accent rested on the second syllable, yet the same word, *eimi*, was the expression for walking when the accent was on the first syllable. In both meanings of the word, "I am" and "I walk", there can be found evidence of Dionysian inspiration. The impulse of Dionysus lived within the activity of the limbs, it inspired the will. Therefore all the words which express the Dionysian side of man appeared with the ending, *mi;* as *phemi,* "I speak"; *histemi,* "I put down;" *tithemi,* "I place; *didomi,* "I give"; *deiknymi,* "I show"; *pimpremi,* "I burn"; and *dynami,* "I can."

The Apollonian class of verbs as experienced by the senses and nerves of the head centers in the consciousness of receiving from the world, as the verb, "I have", in *"Echo". Echo* is a trochaic word, *eimi* an *iambic.* This distinction will lead us to observe further differences between the Apollonian and Dionysian nature of the Greek language.

First of all: the vowels appeared between these two polarities. Alpha and omega were the vowels of Apollo, as his name indicates, while epsilon, eta, iota and ypsilon were Dionysian vowels. In the same way also the consonants were divided into pushing sounds which were earth bound; D, T, B, P, G, K, M, N were of Apollonian character, while the fire sounds; F (PH) S, SH, X (CH), W, J, were Dionysian.[106]

The highest revelation of the genius of the Greek language was in its poetry. Not only is the word poetry of Greek derivation (*poeio*—"I do, make") but practically all our words in connection with poetic art are from Hellas: poetry, epic, lyric, drama, tragedy, comedy, theatre, orchestra, music, ode, hymn, mimics, mask, rhythm, melody, harmony.

The verses were really walked and spoken as a number of syllables and not according to the accent. The verse consisted of the *thesis* (putting down the foot) and the *arsis* (raising the foot). The Dionysian element contained *rhythmos* and movement and ap-

peared in the *thesis.* The Apollonian attitude lived in *melos* and quietness and revealed itself in the arsis.

The same divergence was disclosed in the Greek meter. The *iambus* (∪ —) consisting of one short and one long syllable and the *anapest* (∪ ∪ —) consisting of two short and one long are Dionysian and emphasize the will impulse. To these was later added the *iambic trimeter,* the verse of the drama whose god was Dionysus.

The *trochee* (— ∪) and the *dactylus* (— ∪ ∪), on the other hand, stressed thought life. They lived in the *hexameter,* the meter of epic poetry, the protector of which was Apollo.

The *spondeus* (— —), *choriambus* — ∪ ∪ —) and *amphilbrachus* (∪ — — ∪) stood between these poles.

Let us finally consider the physiognomy of the Greek language by looking at some examples. The word on the pronaos of the Delphic temple was "Know Thyself", *Gnothi s' auton. Gnonai* (Latin *gnosco, gnosis,* to know, cognition) contains the root of growth, genesis, fructification. Knowledge was a process of fructifying the soul with the content of the world. Autos is the word for self, "I". The Greeks like the Romans, did not yet use the word, "I", as a personal pronoun. Yet in *autos* we have the objective nature of the I, as revealed by the cosmos from without, not yet the inner voice of the daimon or conscience within the soul. "Know thyself" was an Apollonian challenge and the double vowel au which is in the word *autos* was considered in the mysteries as corresponding to the sun. Thus *Gnothi s' auton,* this Delphic word of the sun-god, Apollo, helped to enkindle the light of self-knowledge.

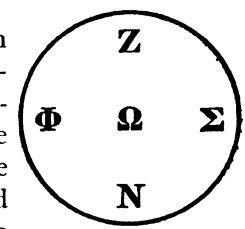
"Ariston metron" — "the best of all is measure" — was a saying of Kleobulus, one of the seven sages of Hellas. *Aristos* means the best in the sense of beautiful and good. The vowels themselves reveal harmony, following as they do the sequence of the alphabet -a-i-o. In *aristokratos* (*aristos*-best, *kratos*-force) the ideal of balance and equilibrium is revealed.

This sentence, *"Ariston metron"*, "The best of all is measure", may be said to express the character of the whole of the Greek tongue. For the desire for measure lived within those who spoke thinking and thought speaking, a desire for equilibrium and mod-

eration so fundamental that these qualities became embodied in the language itself.

Thus, Greek was peculiarly well adapted to express the interplay between spirit and nature, which accounts for the fact that most of the New Testament was originally written in this tongue. The cosmopolitan language of Hellenism, the *Koine,* was the most suitable seedbed for that spirituality through which the sacredness of the events of Palestine could be expressed in words without losing the life and the soul of their content.

In no other language, for instance, was the saying of Christ more apparent from the wording itself than in the Greek original: "I am the resurrection and the life" (*"Ego eimi he anastasis kai he zoe"*, St. John 2:25). *Anastasis* (resurrection) is derived from *anistemi* (to get up), a word of the Dionysian class of verbs emphasizing the will in rising, raising. *Anastasis* is full of the Alpha vowel of awe and wonder, those portals of the soul to the higher world. *Zoe* is life and light. There was an ancient inscription in which the words, *Zon* (life) and *Phos* (light) were encircled by the omega which the words equally shared.



Zoe as life and light revealed the Apollonian gifts to the world. *Anastasis* was the gift of Dionysus, through whom we have the erect walking and moving, speaking and thinking. The divine "I am" of Christ appears here as the principle between the polarities of Apollo and Dionysus. The writers of the gospels wished to emphasize that fact even still more profoundly when for the saying of Christ "I am" the Greek words *"ego eimi"* were always chosen. *Eimi* is the archetype of the Dionysian verbs. *Ego* has the ending omega common to all Apollonian verbs. *Ego Eimi* came to be an expression for the reconciliation of the polarities, Apollo and Dionysus, through the advent of the Word who became flesh.

The myth which refers to the fight between Apollo and Dionysus for the tripod in Delphi points to the importance of these two sons of Zeus in connection with their abode at Delphi. The legend tells that Dionysus left the tripod to his brother, Apollo, and retired to the heights of Mount Parnassus. According to Edouard Schuré this meant that "Dionysus and the Orphic initiation became

the privilege of the initiates while Apollo announced his oracle to the external world."[107]

The individuality who brought about the transition from the Apollonian oracle to the Dionysian mysteries, was Orpheus, the "son of Apollo", and the bringer of the cults of Dionysus.

The lyre of Orpheus was the instrument, as the legend runs, through which wild beasts were tamed and trees in the forest moved. The lyre of Orpheus, having the power of Greek poetry in which the harmony of the language reached its final goal, symbolized the fact that the Apollonian and Dionysian forces were brought to reconciliation. It anticipated the fact that the Greek language in its vitality and spirituality could later become the purest vessel for the documents of the New Testament.

Dionysus		*Apollo*
Emphasis on Rhythm		Emphasis on Melody
	Verse	
Thesis		Arsis
Dionysian Meter:		Apollonian Meter:
Iambus		Trochee
Anapest		Dactylus
Iambic trimeter		Dactylic hexameter
	Lyric poetry	
Drama		Epic
Musical Pole		Plastic Pole
Dionysian Verbs with ending of *Mi*		Apollonian Verbs with ending of *O*
Eimi — I am		Echo — I have
		Ego — I
	Synthesis	
	Ego eimi	
	I AM	

2. *THE MIRACLE OF POETRY*

The survey of the Greek vowels and consonants, of meters and poetical expressions, which we have just been considering, gives a picture of the Hellenic soul. Throughout its many crises the Greek tongue retained its pristine purity. It was still an image of the world, where man was a part of nature, and where nature had become man.

Throughout the Greek language there is the interplay between the two polarities, the breath and heartbeat in which harmony comes to expression. We can observe this principle at work even in the three accents. The acute (´) and the grave (`) correspond to the trochaic-Apollonian and iambic-Dionysian principles. We find the midpoint of harmony in the circumflex (~) like a crown on the head of long, full syllables.

The spiritus lenis (the unpronounced sign above vowels which were the initial letters of words (ἀ) acted like the inhaling breath, while the spiritus asper (ἁ) appeared as the sound H in the quality of exhaling.

Among the meters which the Greek invented and introduced into the world's literature the most important were the iambic trimeter and the hexameter. The first became exclusively the meter of the drama; the latter was the stream bed of the epics of Homer.

The hexameter, the oldest of all Greek meters, was recited by the bards of the Homeric age, and Homer's Iliad and Odyssey were embodied in the forms of this meter. Therefore we should turn to the hexameter first.

In the hexameter (*Hex*=six meter) we observe, as the name reveals, six metrical feet. Yet we must take into consideration that the origin of the Greek hexameter, the verse of the Homeric epics, is unknown. Before we offer our own explanation of its nature and origin let us recall the principal facts about this verse-meter.

The hexameter consists of six (in Greek *hex* is six) dactylic feet or measures, the last or sixth of which is incomplete and appears either as a spondee (— —) or a trochee (— ∪). In every dactyl

(— ∪ ∪) the two short syllables (∪∪) can be replaced by one long (—) syllable with the exception of the fifth foot. When the fifth foot has one long syllable instead of two short ones we call this verse a spondiacus or spondee.

The caesura is the pause which comes in the middle of the line and again at its end in order to allow the bard who speaks the lines to inhale a new breath. The principal caesura appears most frequently in the third foot, either after the second syllable as the so-called feminine caesura, as in the following passage from the beginning of the Odyssey:

Andra moi | ennepe, | Musa, | | po | lytropon, | hos mala | polla |

or after the first syllable, as the so-called masculine caesura, as in the following passage from the beginning of the Iliad:

Menin a | eide, the | a | | Pe | leiad | eo Achi | leos |

The caesura occurs sometimes after the first syllable of the fourth foot. For instance, in the Iliad XVI, verse 760:

Patro | klos te Me | noitia | des | | kai | phaidimos | Hector |

The following is an example of English hexameter from Longfellow's *Evangeline*:

This is the | forest prim | eval. | | The | murmuring | pines and the | hemlocks |

In considering the Homeric hexameter we must recall the fact that the poems were not originally written in order to be read with the eye, but to be spoken in the recitals of the bards. In other words, the hexameter was to be spoken and heard, not to be written and read. It was an experience of rhythm within the breath and the pulse-beat. The caesura divides the hexameter into two parts. Each part consists of three feet or measures plus the caesura, the pause for the purpose of inhaling which takes the time of one foot when we realize that the Homeric bard sang these measures far more slowly than we take them when reading or reciting from a printed text.

Thus we see that each hexameter consists of three spoken feet plus the caesura in the middle, and again of three spoken feet plus the caesura at the end of the line, the necessary pause for inhaling before the bard started with the following line. These three feet

plus the time of the caesura were spoken within one whole breath (exhaling breath while the three feet were spoken, inhaling breath during the caesura) or within the time of four pulse-beats. We know that the normal adult draws one whole breath during four pulse-beats, or eighteen breaths with seventy-two pulse-beats during one minute.

This proportion of one breath to four pulse-beats is revealed by the Homeric hexameter. The origin of this verse lies in human nature itself. It is the archetypal rhythm of the human respiratory system. Homer did not invent it with his intellect. Nor did he experiment with it as a new artistic expression. In his undisturbed naiveté as the true mouthpiece of nature, he received it as it was revealed to him by the human breathing rhythm.

The hexameter is the verse which is in closest concordance with the human rhythmical system, a fact which might explain to us why the so-called "Homeric memory" was possible, why, throughout more than three hundred years, the Greeks could memorize these epics before the grammarians began to write them down.

Since the consciousness of the modern human being has entirely changed, we find the use of the hexameter in our modern languages archaic and monotonous. In any case, the hexameter which was primarily the expression of the bard who recited it does not appeal to our age in which poetry is largely read from the printed word.

The proportion 1:4 is significant for the relationship between breath and blood pulsation, because during one breath (inhaling and exhaling) the human heart has four beats. Thus the ancient bards sang and recited these verses in full accordance with the measures of their rhythmical system, their own hearts and lungs. The first records of Greek history and poetry, the Homeric poems, disclosed this very fact, that the Greek meters were neither artificial expressions of style nor detached from the processes of nature. On the contrary, the hexameter of Homer seemed to show from the very outset that man as the prototype of the rhythms of the world "is the measure of all."

It is obvious that the Hellenes did not arbitrarily fashion such measures, numbers and proportions in any kind of sophistication,

and it is unthinkable that speculations on proportions ever influenced the mind of the author of the Iliad and the Odyssey. Man at the Hellenic stage of development was a living measure of the cosmos, a mirror of nature's law; and the laws of cosmic rhythms themselves played, as it were, on the lyre of man's rhythmical organism and created the world of Hellas' meters. It was for this reason that Antipater of Sidon called Homer the "imperishable mouth of the cosmos."

The hexameter revealed the rhythmical system of man on which, at the time of the Homeric poems, memory was still based. Therefore it seems understandable that the bard and his disciples and finally everybody in Hellas could memorize the cantos from beginning to end.

The iambic trimeter became the verse of the drama and therefore dominated the poetry of the late evolution of the Greek language as the hexameter did that of the earlier. It is a verse which consists of twice three measures, followed by a caesura, thus built up like the hexameter, on the breath and heartbeat relationship.

"Outoi syneichthein, alla symphilein ephyn"

"I am not here to hate, to love is all my task."

(Sophocles, Antigone, 523)

The elements of primitive lyric poetry were rhythm (*rhythmos*) and melody (*melos*). The folk-songs of anonymous authors point to the dance and the movement of people at work as the source of the rhythms. Music and words were inseparably connected, for instance in the anonymous Dancing Song:

First group (asking): *Pou moi ta roda, pou moi ta ia, pou moi ta kala selina?*

Where are my roses, where are my violets, where is my beautiful ivy?

Second group (answering): *Tadi ta roda, tadi ta ia, tadi ta kala selina!*

Here are the roses, here are the violets, here is the beautiful ivy!

One notices the sevenfold structure of the meter, the simplicity of the words in the interplay of questioning and answering. The dark

pou moi as shadow, the answering *tadi* as gesture of light, the passing of the main vowels from omicron in *roda* over iota in *ia* to alpha in *kala selina.* It provides the perfect vowel harmony for expressing the dance gestures of taking and giving.

Another example is the Miller's Song of Eresos on Lesbos:

Alei myla, alei
Kai gar Pittakos alei megalas
Mytilenas basileuon.

Grind, miller, grind,
for also Pittakos grinds, many
of the Mytilenes ruling.

The verses are full of humor, their brevity and spontaneity are like a bit of nature; their rhythms work like muscles and sinews; there is nothing too much or too little. This tiny symphony of vowels sways between the A (alpha) of light and strength and the Y (ypsilon) of shadow.

The images of such verses were full of naive perceptions which, however, disclose a higher symbolic meaning. One of the most charming examples of pictures which were humorously given as a chain of metamorphoses is the Drinking Song, an anonymous poem in the Anacreontic style.

The black earth drinks
The trees drink it
The ocean drinks the streams
The sun drinks the ocean,
The moon the sun.
Why should we not, oh friend,
Also enjoy drinking?

This poem belonged to the true *melik,* poetry accompanied by the lyre. It emphasized the melody in word and thought, it started from the head and heart and not from the rhythms of the limbs.

The Tortoise-game out of the treasure of anonymous folksongs in iambic trimeter, is a work of art springing from the depths of human nature:

A: *Chelichelone to poieis en to meso?*
Tortoise-tortoise, what do you do so early and so late?
B: *Maryon eria kai krokan Milesian*
I have to weave woolen yarn, wool of Miletus.

A: *Hod egkonos sou to poion apoleto?*
Your child died: how did it happen?
B: *Leukan aph hippon eis thalassan halato.*
He jumped from a white horse in the midst of the sea!

The rhythms in the folksongs were mostly accompanied by the flutes. The lyre was the Apollonian, the flute the Dionysian instrument, a fact that stood out in the contest between Apollo and Marsyas. The Apollonian *melik* was the medium in which the first personalities expressed their mood, temper, and world conception in meter.

The first among these singers was Archilochus of Paros (about 650 B.C.), the offspring of an aristocrat and a slave-mother, the expression of broken blood ties. He became a "son of Apollo", wandering as a homeless poet in Euboea, in southern Italy, a knight and a soldier, searching for gold, colonizing on Thasos and finally dying in one of his hundred adventures of warfare. He was the first of the lyricists whose favorite form of expression was the elegy (*elegeion*), the mournful song, the lamentation over the dead. The meter of the elegy was the *distichon*, one line of a hexameter alternating with another line of a pentameter, still resembling the form of the Homeric epics, but breaking out with a personal feeling. "To the Gods intrust thou all things," he warns in one of his elegies, "and when we have walked in pride, trip us up and throw us prostrate. Then all evils throng our side, and we fare forth lacking substance, outcast and of wits bereft." Yet his aim is "equanimity", which he expressed thus:

Tossed on a sea of troubles, soul, my soul,
Thyself do thou control;
And to the weapon of advancing foes
A stubborn breast oppose:
Undaunted 'mid the hostile might
Of squadrons burning for the fight.

This "Thyself do thou control," how personal and how modern it seems to us! The elegy gave this impulse of Apollonian equilibrium:

Thine be no boasting when the victor's crown
Wins thee deserved renown;
Thine no dejected sorrow, when defeat
Would urge a base retreat. . . .
Rejoice in joyous things — nor overmuch
Let grief thy bosom touch. . . .

(Translated by A. Rushton Fairclough)

Archilochus was followed by a host of elegists. Among them the greatest personalities were Tyrtaius, Mimnermos, Hipponax of Ephesus, Xenophanes of Colophon, Theognis of Megara and Solon of Athens. The elegists in their songs to the dead were true followers of Orpheus, they descended in his spirit to the netherworld and desired reunion with Eurydice.

The life of Xenophanes is perhaps the best example of the destiny of a Greek knight and minnesinger of that epoch. In order to remain free he left his native land at the age of twenty-five because his country came under the subjugation of the Persians. Homelessness was the price he paid for freedom. After sixty-seven years of wandering he finally found rest in Elea, in southern Italy. So he was one of the first who brought the Ionic poetry to the Western World. Xenophanes opposed the old conception of the Homeric gods and fought for a new world-conception which aimed at monotheism.

Solon stood upon the stage of world history as the lawgiver and archon of Athens. The fact that he was also one of the foremost poets showed that the true ideal of an Athenian was to be both *poetikos* and *philosophos*. To be a poet included a true sense for politics and to be a philosopher was only possible for a poet.

I gave the people freedom clear
But neither flattery nor fear;
I told the rich and noble race
To crown their state with modest grace,
And placed a shield in either's hand,
Wherewith in safety both might stand.

(Translated by H. N. Coleridge)

Solon, the aristocratic Old-Athenian, introduced the beginning of the age of Michael-Apollo (around 600 B.C.), in an attempt to give equal rights to all classes. "My laws have arm'd the crowd with

useful might, have banished honors and unequal right." From Solon's archonship (594 B.C.) the path leads straight to Salamis (480 B.C.), the second birthday of Hellas, when Theognis of Megara sings to Phoebus Apollo in praise of the victory over the Persians: "But, you, O Phoibus, protect watchfully our city!" And in one of his elegies, *The Wisdom of the Muses,* he pointed to the Apollonian rule: *"Hoti kalon philon esti; to d' ou kalon ou philon esti*: The beautiful is good, lovable; that which is not beautiful, must not be loved."

This desire for *kalokagathia* reached the highest point of personal expression in the *melik,* which was accompanied by the lyre. This was the lyric poetry linked with the immortal names of Sappho, Alkaius, Anakreon, Alkman and Pindar.

Plato called Sappho the tenth muse in one of his distichons less than three centuries after the first poetess' death. Thus did posterity place her in a rank almost as high in her time as that of Homer in his. Like many Aeolian singers from the island of Lesbos she had been temporarily expelled from her native country. Later she returned; yet this break with tradition and security, this shake-up of the blood-ties, which characterized the seventh and sixth centuries, did not fail to stir Sappho's soul to the awakening which was necessary to call forth her songs. After her return to Lesbos she lived in the house of one of her daughters and became a leading teacher of young girls.

Her fragment, *Moon-Night,* full of awe and calmness, is hardly translatable in its gleam of A-sounds, interwoven with the e, i, and y: a perfect symphony of Apollonian harmonies:

Asteres men amphi kalan selanan,
Aph apykryptoisi phaennon eidos,
Oppota plethoisa malista lampe
gan epi paisan
argyrea. . . .

"The stars around the beautiful moon hide their bright shining when the disk of the full-moon pours its silvery light over all the earth" . . . .

Or this passionate expression of ego-consciousness which in four

lines of great profundity reveals the loneliness of soul, and leads on to the closing cry: "Alone I lie!" (*Ego de mona kateudo*).

The moon is gone
And the Pleiads set, midnight is nigh.
Time passes on, and passes; yet
Alone I lie.

(Translated by J. M. Edmonds)

What anguish of the spirit, what suffering, and yet what triumph withal in this struggle for the rise of the ego!

Tender Adonis stricken is lying
What, Cytherea, now can we do?
Beat your breast, maidens, Adonis is dying,
Rending your garments. (The white fragments strew).

(Translated by H. De Vere Stagpoole)

Death and resurrection were ever the main elements of Sappho's songs; she knew the dusk of the gods who left her alone in her womanhood. This feeling of the awakening of the ego, this breaking away from dependence upon the godhead, is shown in her hymn to Aphrodite, the only ode which is not a fragment:

Glittering-throned, undying Aphrodite,
Wile-weaving daughter of high Zeus, I pray thee,
Tame not my soul with heavy woe, dread mistress,
Nay, nor with anguish!
But hither come, if ever erst of old time
Thou didst incline, and listenedst to my crying,
And from thy father's palace down descending,
Camest with golden
Chariot yoked. . . .
Come to me now, too, and from tyrannous sorrow
Free me, and all things that my soul desires to
Have done, do for me, queen, and let thyself, too,
Be my great ally!

(Translated by J. Addington Symonds)

"*Symmachos esso*": be my companion in the battle of life — this word expressed the new relationship between the self and the Godhead. This hymn to Aphrodite marked the supreme expression of music as far as the sounds and the rhythms of poetry were concerned.

The peak of all lyrical poetry and the culmination of the de-

velopment from the mystery-cults to an individual feeling and judgment came with Pindar of Thebes. Pindar originated from Theban aristocracy, he studied music in Athens and early came in contact with the priesthood of Delphi. He traveled to Sicily and after the victory over the Carthagenians lived under Hieron of Syracuse. Pindar, who was the priest of Apollo in Delphi, became the new Orpheus in the age of individualism. When he addressed the golden lyre of Apollo in his first Pythian ode, he was fully aware of the true origin of music and poetry which sprang from the Apollonian fight for harmony against the dragon of chaos.

O lyre of gold, Apollo's
Treasure, shared with the violet-wreathed muses,
The light foot hears you, and the brightness begins:
Your notes compel the singer
When to lead out the dance.
The prelude is sounded on your trembling strings.
You quench the warrior Thunderbolt's everlasting flame:
On Zeus' sceptre the Eagle sleeps
Drooping his swift wings on either side,
The king of birds. . . .
Your quivering song has conquered him.
Even Ares, the violent,
Leaving aside his harsh and pointed spears
Comforts his heart in drowsiness. . . .
And he is afraid who lies in the horrors of Tartarus,
The enemy of the gods,
Thyphos, the hundred-headed.

(Translated by Wade-Gery and Bowra)

Typhos, or Typhon, the Egyptian adversary of Osiris, is related to the dragon, Python, of Delphi.

Pindar is the last of the Delphian singers of Apollonian wisdom. In his praise of Asclepius, the god of healing and the "son of Apollo", he sings: "Nor man nor god, in thought nor deed, Apollo's guileless mind can e'er by guile mislead." One of the celebrated oracles was the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus, with which Pindar undoubtedly had connection. It is significant to see that Pindar was conscious of the end of ancient initiation when he pointed to the death of Asclepius in these words:

Yet wisdom too is thrall to gain;
And even he, beguiled by glittering gold,
To work forbidden arts his knowledge sold,
And raised from death, a man already slain.
But Zeus with thunderblast of fire
Struck through them both in sudden ire
From both their bosoms drove the breath
And with bright lightning wrought their death.
O mortals, seek no more from heaven
Than Zeus to mortal man hath given!

(Translated by C. J. Billson)

This "Seek not to become a god" expressed an inner resignation in regard to the attainment of higher knowledge; on the other hand it shows the new attitude of the intellectual self-consciousness of the poet who was recognized by the whole of Hellas. When Philip of Macedon a hundred years later destroyed the city of Thebes he spared only the house of Pindar as that of a Panhellenic cosmopolitan.

3. *THE MISSION OF MUSIC*

To the Hellenes the human being was a musical instrument, sounding with his creative impulse the many melodies of the arts. The Greek sensed no separation between word and music, poetry and song, meter and tone. Together with gymnastics, music was the foundation of all his education—reading, writing, grammar, dancing, oratory, arithmetic, astronomy and philosophy. The experience of music surrounded him just as the nine muses surrounded Apollo. Indeed, the word music was derived from the muses, indicating that no less than all the arts were meant.

At first all nine of the muses were associated with music. Only in the later, more intellectual times of the Alexandrian grammarians did they divide their patronage. *Clio* then presided over song, *Melpomene* dancing, *Terpsichore* rhythm, *Polyhymnia* the hymn, *Thalia* the festivals, *Urania* praise of the gods, *Euterpe* gaiety in song, *Erato* desire and *Calliope* the singing voice of man.

Calliope, the ninth muse, who gave to man the supreme musical instrument, his singing voice, became the "mother of Orpheus." The story of Orpheus and Eurydice is the beautiful myth which

relates the origin and the mission of music to profound realities of the spirit. Orpheus, by emancipating himself from nature, could bring back to man that harmony of soul which had been distorted and endangered by the approach of materialism. Orpheus and Eurydice were seen as one being in the mystical sense. Like prince and princess in fairy tales, we must understand these mythical persons to be expressions of a higher world of imagination. They make use of human words and terrestrial experiences merely as masks behind which reality is concealed.

Orpheus, the archetype of all bards, musicians and poets, was united with the nymph, Eurydice, who was in reality his higher self. The legend makes it clear that Eurydice as a nymph was a protecting or guardian angel; and her name Eurydice (*eu*—well; *dike* —word, justice) indicated the presence of the well-informed word, the lawful logos. Disregarding the command of Hades, god of the netherworld, Orpheus looked back at Eurydice while still in the realm of shades. This deed closed the door upon the domain of the dead, making it impossible thenceforth for human beings to perceive the world of the spirits and plunging them into the Dark Age.

This story of the separation of Orpheus from Eurydice is an allegory of the fall of man and his entanglement with matter. But into the darkness of the age when the soul became blind to heaven, the development of music came as a precious compensation, as the gift of the light of the cosmos. This is the mission and the message of Orpheus, bringer of the lyre. He implanted in the souls of men, who still lived within the feeling forces of clairvoyance and clairaudience, in a state between dreaming at night and remembering the content in a picture-consciousness by day, the first seed of a faculty which, later on, could germinate and flower as logical thinking, as the power of intellectual discrimination. The musical measures and meters, the scales and intervals, the keys and the moods were perceived by the sentient soul in such a way that the forces from the world of mathematics, the laws of acoustics and rhythmics unconsciously taught the soul, molded the mind and gradually brought about the awakening of the intellect.

Thus, the further mankind descended into the darkness of the

Iron Age, the more music, having originated in the mysteries and being associated with Orpheus, became for man the revelation of the spiritual world. Thus at an early period in man's development, Orpheus, acting as the Greek "Buddha", implanted in human consciousness the faculty of abstract thought and logical reasoning, just as Gautama, the Buddha of India, introduced the teaching of compassion.[108]

Orpheus' loss of Eurydice was the expression of the Age of Darkness, of the curse of the soul's loneliness and separation from its higher self. On the other hand, Orpheus regained Eurydice, invoked union with her through the songs of his lyre. This imagination of the Hellenic mind expresses vividly the change of consciousness which occurs with the production and the hearing of music. By listening to the world of tone, we become aware that our spirit dives down into the depths of our soul. The spirit of our head descends part way into the realm of the rhythms of heartbeat and breath and our consciousness becomes dreamy. In mythological terms the human spirit was always imagined as the paternal or male quality, the soul as the maternal or female quality. The spirit and soul of man, listening to music, are eternally acting as Orpheus and Eurydice. From the early days of Greece the whole purpose of music was to achieve an inner union, a mystical marriage, between spirit and soul. This has always been understood as one of the ways to initiation into the mysteries.

In those early times the soul had inner experiences on the way of initiation which comprised the following stages: at first, a certain stupefaction and grief at the loss of an existence which was dear to her: then a feeling as though she was being shattered to bits. In this state, free of the body, she learned the answer to the riddles of death and birth or resurrection on her way to the netherworld along the yawning abyss, the abode of the three-headed hellhound representing the evil antithesis of her own forces. Finally, she found herself in reunion with the spirit and felt herself becoming an instrument through which the divine world could speak.

These were genuine soul experiences of those who were to be initiated and were symbolized by the myth of Orpheus and Eury-

dice. Music in its highest expression is the image of these soul processes, its true mission being to purify the soul for a higher union with the spirit.

We have definite proof that the music of the Greeks originated from this cultic experience of initiation. The first recording took place about 586 B.C. when Sakadas, the *aulete,* the fluteplayer, composed the Pythic Nome to which the grammarian, Pollux, referred in the second century A.D.[109] He called this composition a *deloma* —a demonstration of the fight of Apollo against the dragon, Python. It consisted of five parts: 1) preparation; 2) challenge; 3) iambic part, the fight as turning point; 4) song of praise and 5) victory dance. We may imagine that this composition was a true symphony, leading from thoughtful meditation to the forces of the heart and breath and concluding with the will impulses of the limbs: a symphony of Apollo which revealed the very mission of music, to heal the evil and to harmonize the chaos, to lead to katharsis and finally to the mystical union with the spirit.

To be sure, there was an experience of music which was older than that of Hellas. Relics of previous tone experiences are to be found in the schools of Pythagoras in which the teaching concerning the harmony of the spheres went back to still earlier traditions of musical insight. The Atlanteans could have expressed their feeling for music thus: "The cosmos in its divine creation is an instrument of music" and the Pythagoreans might describe their feelings thus: "The gods in the planetary spheres and in the order of the fixed stars are the musicians, playing in the ears of my clairaudient soul."[110]

The Greek song was the personal mood and expression of an individual soul, borne by the words of lyric poetry and the meter of the verse-rhythms. Through an inner experience of the interval of the third, the Greeks invented the major and minor modes, the origin of all modern music and an expression of the balance and equilibrium so characteristic of the Greek genius. Here again is the drama and interplay as between Orpheus and Eurydice which ultimately led to the revelation of the masculine major and the feminine minor third.

The theory of Greek music originated with the lyra. The Homeric bards had a three-four stringed lyre. Terpander, who invented musical notation and joined the Aeolian and Dorian tetrachords, used a seven-stringed lyre. The five-tone scale, the pentatonik, which was the heritage of Egypt whence Pythagoras brought the knowledge of initiation, was developed by the Hellenes to the seven-tone scale. The seven principal modes or scales were the Dorian, Hypodorian, Phrygian, Hypophrygian, Lydian, Hypolydian and Mixolydian, which were sung and played from the highest to the lowest tone. As Orpheus descended to the netherworld, the tones of the scales also descended from the higher to the lower. This fact reflected the general descent of the human race toward entanglement with matter. It is, however, revealing to know that within the mysteries the scales were sung from below upward, overcoming the gravity and materialization of earth.[111]

The Greek scales were tetrachords, consisting of twice four tones. Here again we meet the same principle which underlay the hexameter or iambic trimeter as the reflection of the proportion of one to four between breath and heartbeat. The seven strings of the lyre were called:

D *Nete — lowest string, but highest tone*
C *Paranete — next to Nete*
B *Trite — third string*
A *Mese — middle string*
G *Lichanos — first finger string*
F *Partypate — next to the highest string*
E *Hypate — highest string, but lowest tone.*

The middle tone, the Mese, was called the Sun, thus leaving the other six tones to be linked with the planets of the solar system, the last heritage of Pythagorean wisdom.

The monodic songs, for one voice, were the favorites of the Aeolians; the choral songs, for several voices, were developed by the Dorians. The last word in musical refinement was developed in Ionia. Among the Ionians in Ephesus, under the immediate influence of the Logos-Mystery of the Artemision, Callinus created the elegy, the truly Orphic song for the dead. This was, indeed, inspired by the descent to Hades to invoke the hidden Persephone

and the enchanted Eurydice. The Ionian elegy became the foremost expression of the Greek musician as an individual singer, minstrel and mystic; he sang it with the hope of bridging the abyss which the Dark Age built between the world of the living and the world of the dead.

How should we look upon the blissful consolation which came from the lyre of Orpheus? What was its real meaning?

The Hellenes still divined that the human body as an entity of head, heart and limbs is the instrument of all music in the world. Just as they distinguished the forces of the head from those of the heart and lungs and from those of the limbs, so they perceived in music *melos* (melody), *harmonia* (harmony) and *rhythmos* (rhythm). *Melos* was experienced by the thinking of the head, *rhythmos* was carried out by the limbs. Between *melos* and *rhythmos, harmonia* played as the heart pulses played between head and limbs.

The stringed instruments were the Apollonian lyra and kithara, whose first master was the Lycian Olen. The wind instruments are attributed to Dionysus. The first master of the flute was the Phrygian Olympos. One can say that the stringed instruments stress harmony, the wind instruments emphasize melody, while the percussion instruments reveal rhythm.

The Apollonian string instruments were in constant contest with the Dionysian wind-and-percussion instruments as revealed in many works of literature and sculpture (for instance, Myron's plastic representation of Athena who rejects the flute of Marsyas).

The lyre of Orpheus was the most precious gift of Apollo. By its laws and its wonders and the beauty it evoked, the Hellenes lived, learned and developed. Music lived on in Hellas and Apollo continued as her teacher throughout the Greek era. The myth which related that, after the death of Orpheus, the muses of Apollo carried his lyre to heaven, indicated that the harmony which it poured into the soul of man belongs neither to the past nor to the present but to eternity.

VII

THE WORLD OF HOMER

"Thou second sun in the life of Hellas,
Light of the Muses,
Immortal tongue of the whole
cosmos . . . "

ANTIPATER OF SIDON

1. *THE WRATH OF ACHILLES*

Homer stood guardian at the portal of the world of Greek history. The places and dates of his birth and of his death, the authenticity of the authorship of his poems belong among the riddles of historic research. Yet his name is forever linked with the birth of a new era for man and although, as research believes, his two epics may have later been changed, enlarged and revised, we can be sure that only this master of the word and this genius of narration could have pictured the wrath of Achilles and the adventures of Odysseus.

Jacob Burckhardt says in his *History of Hellenic Culture*: *"He,* who understood how to keep alive and raise Achilles and Odysseus to such a high degree, must have been a poet of supremest rank. One ought to free oneself from the idea that this is a work of art composed of a multitude of different parts finally put together. Such perfection does not occur by itself; in the light of all millenia it needs an individuality of mightiest originality."[112]

Homer was one of the last seers in the age of transition from clairvoyance to intellect, supposedly sightless, but with inner ears listening to the wonders of the world. The poet, Antipater of Sidon, praised him in his *distichon, On Homer's Grave,* as "herald of heroes"; then, as "harbinger of the dead"; furthermore, as "the second sun in the life of Hellas"; fourthly, as the "light of the muses"; and, finally, in revealing his name, he calls him the

"imperishable mouth of the cosmos". The first two tributes emphasize Homer as the seer of the mythical deities and the prophet of the dead. The two following praise him as the Apollonian poet. The last discloses him as the mouthpiece of the cosmos, revealing the soul of man and the secrets of nature.

Both the form of his verses and the composition of his songs reveal the pulse of his own blood and the rhythm of his individual breath. The hexameter, the meter of Homer's epics, derived from mystery-wisdom. The myths pointed out that the origin of the hexameter goes back to an age when the first prophet and priest of Delphi, the Hyperborean Olen, invented the new meter and when Phemonnoe, the first sibyl of Delphi, used it.

The hexameter in its interplay between the heartbeat and breath of man, which Aristotle called the noblest and most steadfast of all meters, reveals a part of human nature and is in itself the "mouthpiece of the cosmos". Homer in using it employed the heritage of the oracle of Apollo in Delphi.

The *Iliad* is always called the first recording of Greek history. Its value for our knowledge of Greek civilization and for mythology is inestimable. The content of the *Iliad,* however, does not tell us anything about the cause, outbreak and conduct of the Trojan war, nor about the end of Troy and the victory of the Hellenes. It confines itself to the narration of the wrath of Achilles, the demigod, which is the prelude to the awakening of personality.

Achilles appeared, like the gods of Homer's epics, without the faculties of awe, compassion and conscience. Yet his wrath discloses a meaning which Rudolf Steiner describes in his psychological analysis of the mission of anger[113] and through which we can find one of the keys which will unlock for us the secrets of the *Iliad.*

In consciousness, Achilles stands between the state of clairvoyance and the awakening of the personality freeing itself from the blood-ties. He experiences selfhood in the state of its early beginning. His ego lives within the soul of the emotions—passions, desires and sufferings. Wrath is a dull and veiled judgment of this sentient or feeling soul, within which it is an educator; its mission is to raise the selfhood from the chaotic state of the emotions.

Through the overcoming of wrath the soul gains the capacity for unselfish love. Wrath works like a poison within the egotism of the soul but in its transformation introduces the selfhood to pity and compassion.

Love and compassion, however, are attributes of the soul which the Olympians lacked. The wrath of Achilles is beyond the good and evil of human measure and morality. It is like a spectacle of nature; it is the break-through of the selfhood from the emotions and passions bound to the physical body. The actual causes of the wrath of Achilles, which burst forth during the tenth year of the siege of Troy through a quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon on account of the maiden, Briseis, lie within the nature of the sentient soul on her way to the awakening of the ego.

Achilles, the demigod, marks the end of a characteristic state of consciousness, Odysseus, the hero, the beginning of a new one. In fact, the stories of the *Iliad* are centered around the wrath of the demigod, yet they already point to the hero, who later on was to conquer Troy, not through his courage of divine might, but through the cunning of his human intellect.

The outcome of the Trojan War can be laid neither to the sword nor to the wrath of Achilles, nor to the counsel of oracles and gods. The decision came through Odysseus, who at first stole the Palladium from Troy when with Diomedes he went in disguise to the Trojans (*Iliad* X) and then built the wooden horse (as recorded by later authors).

The story of the *Iliad* is that of the threefold wrath of Achilles: the rage caused by the quarrels with Agamemnon because of Briseis; the anger which followed the mourning over the death of his friend, Patroclus; and, finally, the fury which made him fight and kill Hector who had slain his friend. The fight between Achilles and Hector symbolized the struggle between two ages representing different states of consciousness. Achilles fought as an individual, Hector as a member of the royal clan. Beyond Achilles beckoned the awakening of the personality and intellect. Behind Hector stood the remnants of the Oriental mysteries of priest-families. Achilles in representing the Greeks fought for the ideal of the

new polis; Troy was the last outpost of the Oriental trading places and the castles of royal priest-families.

With the death of Hector the unindividualized consciousness passed away. With the triumph of Achilles, that of the human individuality came to the fore. And with the cunning demonstrated by Odysseus, the new power, that of the human intellect, heralded the day of the further unfoldment of consciousness. The dawn of that day came in Hellas whose bard, seer and builder Homer was. And Odysseus was the central figure of Homer's world.

2. *THE WONDERS OF THE ODYSSEY*

The *Iliad* pictured the forefathers of Hellas as a linear fresco. The *Odyssey,* appearing as the first narrative poem centering around a single personality, added depth to the picture. Both epics were brought forth through the insight of a seer whose vision reached back to the reality of ancient Atlantis.

It is interesting to note how modern philology and ethnology are more and more inclined to recognize the background of Atlantis as it existed behind the world of Homer. Alexander Bessmertny and Albert Herrman[114] refer to Ogygia, the island of Calypso, where Odysseus dwelt with the nymph for seven years and which Homer called the Atlas-island. The Phaeacians were said to be descended from Atlantis and their king, Alkinous, was described as a grandson of Poseidon, while Calypso appeared as a daughter of Atlas. Atlas and Poseidon were the rulers of Atlantis and the name of the first is derived from the word for the sunken continent. "The wanderings of Ulysses, as detailed in the *Odyssey* of Homer, are strangely connected with the Atlantic Ocean", declares Ignatius Donelly in his book on Atlantis. "The islands of the Phaeacians were apparently in mid-Ocean. The description seems like a recollection of Atlantis. It would be of interest to inquire how far the poems of Homer are Atlantean in their relations and inspiration. Ulysses' wanderings were a prolonged struggle with Poseidon, the founder and god of Atlantis".[115]

It is obvious that these connections and names hint at a common background, Atlantis, which is reflected in the life and myth-

ology of Hellas in a most colorful way. Yet the stories of Achilles and Odysseus were more than reflections of the past. The adventures of Odysseus were undoubtedly the narrations of a great personality on his path to the awakening of his ego and to the initiation of his spirit. The *Odyssey* became the archetype of all sagas and tales dealing with the inner development of the human being, of his self-education, if one considers the word education in its original meaning as the awakening of the spirit of man through initiation.

A remark made by Rudolf Steiner in his *Christianity as Mystical Fact*[116] may enable us to discover the thread of the poem's composition. In connection with the legend of Heracles, he observes that the hero's descent to Hades in order to tame the hellhound, Cerberus, and to bring him to the upper world, was the last test on the path to initiation. At the end of the eleventh canto of the *Odyssey,* Odysseus descended to Hades and, at his journey's end, encountered the shade of Heracles. This event gives us the key to the composition. In the ninth canto, whilst relating the tale of his wanderings to the king of the Phaeacians, Odysseus made himself known by saying: "I am Odysseus, the son of Laertes, known among men for my mind; my fame reaches heaven."

The composition of this poem points to the character of an initiation from its very outset. No matter whence certain individual parts of the poem may have come, one thing is certain — that the single hand of a supreme artist held the threads and wove them into one garment.

The *Odyssey* falls into two parts, each consisting of twelve cantos. Twelve is the number connected with the passage of the year, the closed circle in which occurs all that can be experienced in the earthly realm of space. The number twelve always expresses the relationship of man with the universe.

In the first part Odysseus experiences the wonders of the outer world; the second part brings form to his inner being. "Look about thee on every side," is the character of the first twelve cantos; "Look into thyself" that of the second twelve. The warrior, who once set out from Ithaca, and fought ten years before the walls of Troy; the wanderer, who returned after another ten years, in the twenty-

first year of his absence from home, is not the same man that he was before his descent to Hades: now, in a higher sense, he has come of age.

Let us study what the composition itself reveals to us. Every canto describes several adventures, and the eleventh deals exclusively with Odysseus' descent into Hades. In the midst of the long description of his many adventures, while he is telling of the shades in the netherworld, and before he begins to speak of his encounter with Heracles, Odysseus asks Alkinous, the king of the Phaeacians, whether he may interrupt his tale. It is the hour of midnight. The hour always signifies a culminating experience of initiation. To see the "sun at midnight" meant for the neophyte that he was able to perceive the spiritual light. In this connection we might also be reminded of the fact that the Pythia of Apollo in Delphi revealed the oracle at midnight of the full moon.

On the island of the Phaeacians, Odysseus reaches the last of the twelve steps of his probation. After relating the eleven preceding stages of his experience, and after disclosing his identity, he faces the king as an individual human being, as an ego-man.

Another motif, leading us through the composition to a comprehension of the whole, is Odysseus' relationship with his companions. At the beginning, Odysseus sails away from Troy with a large group of men. This company dwindles considerably during the trials and dangers of the journey and after being shipwrecked, Odysseus, the sole survivor, reaches the nymph, Calypso. He spends the first three years of his travels with his men, losing them one after another. During the last seven years he is the only disciple of the nymph, being the only one capable of going on to self-realization and initiation at the end. When he finally sails away from Calypso, deprived even of his garments by his shipwreck, he reaches the Phaeacian shores.

The arrival there marks the real turning point of his experiences: homeless, disinherited and "naked" he may now hope to reach home.

The adventures which follow must also be interpreted in the light of their inner significance. The first adventure on Odysseus'

homeward journey is his battle against the Ciconians. It should be noted that this battle takes place at night, a fact which indicates the soul-spiritual character of the events. They are pictures of imaginations in the consciousness of the seer. The companions of Odysseus become drunk and fight one another. Some "die", some are taken away "into slavery" during this "night" experience. Only on the third day are the survivors who have stood the test able to continue their journey. That the battle continued for three nights again points to the fact that these experiences were part of Odysseus' initiation. The significance of three days and nights in connection with the old initiation which reached its culmination with a sacred temple-sleep of three and a half days is clearly presented by Rudolf Steiner.[116]

The second adventure is among the Lotus-Eaters. Those who eat the fruit of the lotus tree lose their memory. Had Odysseus not recognized this danger and resisted the temptation to eat the fruit he would never have returned to his home.

The third soul-probation takes place on the island of the Cyclops, a race of one-eyed giants who represent an atavistic and decadent consciousness. In this case, also, the decisive events are enacted on the third "night". Leaving other companions to guard the ship, Odysseus steps ashore with twelve chosen men. They bear with them twelve jars of wine with which they make Polyphemus, the leader of the Cyclops, drunk. Odysseus then overcomes him through a ruse, using the same cleverness with which he earlier conquered Troy. He burns out the giant's one and only eye.

Whenever Odysseus utters his own name, it means that he has reached a new stage along the path of his ego-development. This motif of pronouncing his name runs through the whole epic like a golden thread, until finally his individuality as a whole is disclosed. In the presence of the Cyclops, Odysseus, after having blinded the giant, speaks of himself. But because he is not yet quite ready in development fully to disclose his identity, instead of giving his real name, he tells Polyphemus that his name is "nobody". Odysseus must pass through the "nobody" state of consciousness, before he becomes "somebody" in a higher sense.

On the fourth day (that is, again after three and a half days) the journey is continued. The fourth adventure leads to Aeolus, god of the winds and the seasons, who guides the course of the year. Aeolus has six sons and as many daughters, representing the six winter and the six summer months. He gives Odysseus a bag in which all the contrary winds are imprisoned. It is a gift which ensures him a safe homeward journey. But he gives it on one condition: no one must open the bag. After nine days, Ithaca's shores are in sight. Overcome by curiosity and envy, Odysseus' companions open the bag while he is asleep. A fearful storm at sea, sent by the gods in revenge, destroys the only hope of reaching Ithaca, the friendly island where his home and wife are, and throws the travelers upon the land of the Lastrygones. Odysseus' slumber, not the curiosity of his immature companions, is actually the cause of the misfortune. Sleep always symbolizes failure in a test of consciousness. The journey must therefore be continued where further probations await him. Odysseus and his men who passed through the trials in the country of the Lastrygones now reach the magic realm of Circe, but not before two of them have been devoured by the king.

In Circe's realm Odysseus must face the most important of all his decisions. The magic of Circe is twofold. She transforms all those who come to her in a state of impurity and immaturity into swine. Odysseus' companions succumb to her enchantments, drink the draught of forgetfulness and are changed into swine. But Circe tries to tempt Odysseus in vain. He then meets Hermes, who gives him the magic flower, Mopi. Thus he learns to know the other nature of Circe, that of the teacher of mysteries. Finally she changes his men back into human beings, and then under the guidance of Hermes and the magic flower, Mopi, he becomes her pupil for a year. It is she who gives him the advice, which afterwards proves to be most significant: to descend into Hades and to speak with the shades of the dead. Odysseus must become initiated into the mysteries of the dead, for only then will it be possible for him to reach his "home" and see his wife, Penelope, again.

Circe particularly refers him to the seer, Tiresias, who can explain to him the past and foretell the future — that is, reveal the

mysteries of birth and death, both fundamental problems of the epoch of the Greeks and Romans. Odysseus is the representative of this epoch at the very outset of its development. He must try to solve the riddle of birth and death. Circe announces that Tiresias will awaken him to his higher self. She points to the initiation which Odysseus now has to experience while descending to the netherworld. Circe herself can only guide and advise him; she prepares the way to Hades and Persephone. As a daughter of Okeanus she is descended from the ruler of Atlantis. She appears in the Homeric poem as priestess and magician of the remnants of Atlantean wisdom, therefore she is unable to initiate Odysseus into the mysteries through which he can attain a purely Hellenic experience.

But Circe has knowledge of the drama of the human soul in Hellas. She has knowledge of Persephone, the daughter of Demeter, and the consort of Hades. Her wish for Odysseus is that he may meet Persephone in the netherworld. She arms him for his journey to Hades with everything that a knowledge of the external world can offer. Where the two streams, Pyryphlegeton and Cocytus, flow into the Acheron lies a region named Ocean-stream. This is the spiritual portal which leads Odysseus back to the world of ancient Atlantis. Here he touches the etheric world of the past, the living memory of the earth. Into this streaming element Odysseus must pour a sacrificial gift of honey, water and white flour.

The descent to Hades, in the seventh step of Odysseus' travels, consists of two stages. In the first he encounters the Mothers. The journey to the Mothers represents the way to the realm of archetypal ideas which reveal the mysteries of birth and the prenatal life. Goethe drew from sources of Greek mystery-traditions when he described Faust's journey to the Mothers, in the second part of his tragedy.

Odysseus first meets the shade of Elpenor, one of his companions who died on Circe's island. Then he meets his own mother. Now he is ready to encounter Tiresias, the seer who reveals to him the meaning of his destiny, the reason for his wanderings and the goal of his initiation. In remarking that Tiresias foretells the future,

it should be borne in mind that in the Greek language, the words, future and goal (*telos*), were mystery-words. Goal is the term for perfection and initiation, and the initiates were named *telestes* after *telos* – goal.

After Odysseus has learned from the seer the origin and the condition of his existence in the spiritual world, he again meets his mother, who tells him the meaning of death. Then he meets the "Mothers". Fourteen names are given, four of which are in pairs so that the number again in evidence is twelve in these encounters. Odysseus meets the mothers of Heracles and Oedipus, of Castor and Polyneikes, of Laius and Neleus and so forth.

After the description of the meeting with the Mothers, Odysseus at midnight — as already related — interrupts his long tale to the king of the Phaeacians. Here recurs a high point that marks the epic as a profound work of art: a borderline separates the world of the past and of the Mothers from the world of the future and initiation. After midnight, and at the request of king Alkinous, Odysseus relates his encounter with the Fathers. His tale is a retrospective one. It leads from the most recent to the more distant past, beginning with his encounters with Agamemnon, Achilles and Ajax, the recently fallen heroes of the Trojan War. Achilles pronounces the significant words which run like a fundamental motif through the whole epic: "It is better to be a slave of a stranger and to serve a poor man on a miserable farm than to be a ruler over all the dead!"

After his meeting with Achilles, Odysseus relates his encounters with the other heroes, the Fathers of the legendary past: Minos, Orion, Tytius, Tantalus, Sisyphus and Heracles. These meetings point the way back to the secrets of Atlantis and her demi-gods and sanctuaries. Heracles tells Odysseus of the last of his twelve labors for king Eurystheus, the taming of the hellhound, Cerberus: how he brought him into the upperworld, and how he was able to accomplish this deed with the help of Hermes and Pallas Athena. Heracles' words and the journey to Hades close with an allusion to these two divine powers.

Odysseus has a Heraclean destiny. Indeed, he is destined to be-

come not only an initiate and a seer but a demi-god. Hermes and Athena are also his guides throughout his travels. Hermes is the divinity who kindles the will; Athena the one who inspires thought. Hermes guides the neophyte down into the netherworld; Athena illuminates his path to Olympus. Hermes reveals the wonders of the inner world and points beyond death into the future. Athena discloses the wonders of the sense world through thoughts born out of the realm of prenatal life; she looks back to the past. Athena and Hermes together help to inaugurate the Greek epoch. Odysseus is the first representative of this civilization. In Hades he encounters eleven heroes and demi-gods. He, himself, will become the twelfth; although a mortal, he gains immortality.

After his descent to Hades, Odysseus returns to Circe. Now she is able to foretell his future, "because he has passed through death twice, whereas other men pass through it only once". She predicts the future to Odysseus who then passes through a new stage on the path to initiation. Finally she directs him to Ithaca on a journey again fraught with danger. He must literally experience his goal of which danger forms a part. This is the higher meaning underlying the tests and probations of his travels.

The eighth stage is the overcoming of the deluding power of the spiritual forms, the Sirens. Then follows the ninth test, the journey through Scylla and Charybdis, the two opposing powers, of attraction and repulsion. Odysseus passes through his tenth test among the cattle of Helios. When Circe spoke to him of the trials which awaited him, she warned him against taking or killing any of Helios' oxen. But Odysseus falls asleep as he did when his companions opened the bag in which Aeolus had imprisoned the winds. His companions, violating Circe's command, kill one of Helios' oxen. Whereupon the gods avenge themselves by unchaining a fearful storm which kills all of Odysseus' companions.

Odysseus, the sole survivor, awakened from his sleep, is still too immature to find his home. After this shipwreck he reaches the shore of the island of the nymph, Calypso, with whom, as we have already learned, he remains for seven years as her disciple. The test of this mystical discipleship consists in his not giving way to the

nymph's wooing; he remains on the island of Ogygia as her pupil, but not as her consort, never forgetting his aim and his wife, Penelope.

It has been indicated above that Ogygia in connection with the nymph Calypso, daughter of Atlas, means ancient Atlantis, which Homer called the Atlas-island. It is certain that the teaching of Calypso during the seven years was an initiation into the mysteries of Atlantis. But since Odysseus must not continue to look back to Atlantis, he has to leave the daughter of Atlas-Atlantis, for she is not able to reveal the future, the goal (*telos*) to him. He himself can only become a *telestes,* a *mystes,* through the will within himself. The twelfth adventure, the parting from Calypso and another shipwreck, is described in the fifth canto of the epic. The storm casts Odysseus ashore upon the island of the Phaeacians where the king's daughter, Nausicaa, discovers him naked in the bushes. The test of this twelfth and last stage consists in his rejection of the proposed union with her which would have made him king of the island. His marriage with Nausicaa would have meant the same as his union with Calypso: initiation into the mysteries of Atlantis. Now more ardent than ever before is Odysseus' desire to reach home, to meet Penelope again, his higher self, his spirit's future on the path of a new initiation which would lead him into the secrets and mysteries of the present epoch.

The king of the Phaeacians gives him a safe escort, and Odysseus reaches Ithaca, his native land.

Odysseus has found himself in the world. This is the meaning of the twelve cantos forming the first part of the mighty Homeric epic. The twelve cantos of the second part are the answers to the question: How can Odysseus discover the world within himself? How can he find again the union with his higher Self?

A study of the second part reveals the same stages and turning points as are to be found in the preceding twelve adventures of his travels. The only difference is that everything is now turned inwards. Instead of the magic of space and the power of transformation, the magic of time and the power of memory are active in this second half of the epic.

Odysseus as victor in all trials and dangers is inwardly on the way to the kinghood of the spirit. Seen from the external aspect of the earth, he sets out as an old beggar, and passes through the deepest stage of humility. Everyone who would become a king in the spirit, an initiate, must first become a beggar for the spirit in the same sense in which the first beatitude of the Sermon on the Mount is to be interpreted: "Blessed are the beggars for the spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." (St. Matthew 5:3).

In the guise of the old beggar Odysseus meets the swineherd, Emaeus, as is told in the fourteenth canto. Odysseus enters Ithaca not as a king but as a beggar. He arrives at the shores of his native island not as the renowned hero of the Trojan war, but as an unknown stranger; he is clothed not in brilliant armour but in ragged dress. This passage is highly suggestive of an inner experience which the true seeker for the spirit must undergo. It is the passage through a void. Odysseus must start with nothingness before he can come into his own.

In the following, the fifteenth canto, Odysseus meets his own son, Telemachus, who gradually recognizes his father. One must designate this meeting and recognition between father and son not only as a physical but as a mystical encounter. It is an event both symbolical and real. The reality is that Telemachus, who was born at the time when Odysseus set out for Troy, is now about twenty-one years old: he has just come of age. The symbolic fact lies in the motif that Odysseus, while returning to his own kingdom after all his trials and probations, experiences this coming of age in a higher sense. In other words, in Odysseus the higher individuality has stirred to life within him, as in Telemachus the lower individuality has come of age.

Thus is the dialogue between son and father to be understood. Telemachus cannot believe that Odysseus is his father in the ordinary meaning of the word. He realizes that there is something behind the words of the man he meets, that Odysseus, has, indeed, become a different person, quite different from the one who set out for Troy. In this meaning of a mystical coming of age we should read the passage of the sixteenth canto, in which Telemachus ex-

claims: "No, thou art not Odysseus, not my father, thou art now like unto the gods, who dwell in heaven" (XVIth canto, verse 183 f). Odysseus replies, however, with highly significant words, that he is not a god but Telemachus' father. Telemachus still doubts this fact, "for no mortal man is able to perform all that out of his own self". Odysseus answers: "It is I, who stand in front of you, after many trials and wanderings. I return in the twentieth year to the land of my fathers, but this is the work of Pallas Athena who transforms me as she wants to do it." In other words: Odysseus confesses that his destiny is under the guidance of the gods. A higher divine order determined the return of Odysseus and the recognition of his son Telemachus. This is the wonderful scene at the beginning of the sixteenth canto, when Pallas Athena touches Odysseus with the golden staff and changes him from the appearance of a dirty and aged beggar into his real stature, richly clothed in the dark beard of the prime of manhood.

The returning Odysseus finds the son he thought he had lost. In a mystical sense, he himself is that son, with whom he must be reunited. The motif of the son suggests the ego which is newly born and is now allowed to return into the house of his fathers on a higher level.

This real and symbolical recognition between father and son must precede the mystical union of Odysseus with his wife, Penelope. The whole truth concerning him may not at once be revealed to Penelope. Further stages of self-control, purification and humility must first be endured by Odysseus. The magic of the poetical description of the second part lies in the gradual approach of Odysseus, who little by little reveals his identity.

The seventeenth canto tells us the touching story of how Odysseus now draws nigh to his own house, again in the disguise of an old beggar, clothed with dirty rags, accompanied by the swineherd, Emaeus, and insulted by the goat-herd, Nealthius. Argus, Odysseus' dog, dies of joy at seeing his master again. What a wonderful motif of Homeric art is drawn in the simple creature, which appears so intimately for the great scene of reunion.

Now Odysseus sits at the threshold of his own house; meaning

that he pauses before crossing the threshold which will reveal his true self, when the strange beggar will be recognized as the king of Ithaca. Odysseus must pass through another test of humiliation in his encounter with the beggar, Irus. It is at this stage that Penelope and Odysseus first meet again; but Penelope may not recognize him yet, whereas the servant, Euryclea, the old maid, discovers the birth-mark on Odysseus' foot while washing it.

The following events signify the crisis, the test of the depth of his humility. The wooers filling his house urge Penelope to choose a new consort. Odysseus decides to compete with the suitors. This stage corresponds to the first part of the poem in which Odysseus has to face the danger of being transformed into a pig, as were his companions, and in which, with Hermes's help, he becomes the disciple of Circe. We must recall that the most important of all advice given to Odysseus by Circe was to descend to the nether-world where he would see Persephone. Persephone is the archetype of the human soul in Hellas. Persephone, taken away by Hades from the upper world and now united with the god of matter in the netherworld, represents the tragic state of the human soul since the beginning of the age of Iron or Darkness. Odysseus has to experience this archetype of the soul as the "Eternal Feminine" before he comes back to his own and meets Penelope again.

The decision to fight the suitors comes about, the fight rages and the suitors fail, fall and die. Now, the most intimate event may take place in the narrow confines of Odysseus' inmost soul. The fruit which was gathered when passing through Hades may ripen at last. Just as Odysseus descended to the Mothers in the seventh stage of the first part, and learned to know the mystery of birth and death by contemplating the "Eternal Feminine", so the seventh canto of the second part (nineteenth canto) describes the unique scene of Penelope's rediscovery of her husband.

In this connection it is therefore of utmost significance to notice that Odysseus who is gradually drawing nigh to Penelope relates to her the tales of his travels and his descent to Hades. In a mystical sense, Odysseus and Penelope are now one. Their reunion marks the stage of Odysseus' initiation. Immortality is found in the mortal.

The Hades-experience in the *Odyssey* is the inner axis on which the whole narrative seems to rotate. When Odysseus, in telling Penelope of his descent to the netherworld, repeats the words of the seer, Tiresias, who reveals the future, it seems to us as if here at the end, the epic had once more reached its starting point, the prototypal experience, when death becomes the portal of resurrection.

Finally we see Odysseus meeting with his father, Laertes. It is the necessary finale of the Prodigal Son's Return and at the same time a certain reflection of the occurrences in the netherworld, coinciding with Odysseus' encounter with the Fathers.

Hermes and Athena, the two divine guides of Odysseus, leading him by calling forth reverence, and kindling wisdom, now, in the twenty third and twenty fourth cantos of the epic conclude the human destiny of the spiritually crowned king of Ithaca. Hermes is connected with the challenge: *"Look into Thyself."* Athena guides to the wonders of the world: *"Look around Thyself."* Both gods work together continuously within the soul of Odysseus, the representative of man in Hellas, the human being who reaches initiation at the dawn of the intellect. The significance of his initiation is that his knowledge of the world is transmuted into self-knowledge.

The work of Homer fulfills the behest of Apollo in Delphi: "Know Thyself. Know the god." Homer, the "second sun of Hellas, the light of the muses, the imperishable mouth of the cosmos," appeared as the blind seer and became the patriarch of the Hellenes at the very outset of their history.

He was one of the last seers at the turning point of consciousness. The golden treasure of the old clairvoyance was then transmuted into the substance and forms of art. The soul grew blind within. The eyes of the forehead opened. Man beheld the outer world.

The *Odyssey* is the archetypal document of the human individuality on the path to self-knowledge which at last becomes knowledge of the divine world.

VIII

THE SONG OF STONE

"Supreme works of art, like the most sublime products of Nature, are created by men in conformity with true and natural law. All that is arbitrary, all that is invented, falls apart; here is Necessity, here is God."

GOETHE (*Italian Journey*)

1. *THE GREEK TEMPLE*

The temple mirrored the spirit of the Hellenes so faithfully that its very appearance at once disclosed their originality. It became a symbol of their epoch and continued to retain its purity of inspiration through many transformations.

The Greek word for temple is *hieron*. The house where the gods dwelt was *naos*. Hieron was the sacred place with its landscape on which the temple stood, naos was the dwelling place itself.

The Hellenes felt a special connection with the spirit of the landscape. When they built their temples they knew that the spirits of nature lived in their midst. The divine rites and those connected with the cultivation of the earth were not yet separate from one another — they were one and the same — as "cult", the common root in "culture" and "cultivation" (agriculture) indicates. The founder of the Eleusinian mysteries, Triptolemus, was considered equally important as an agriculturist. This close connection the Greeks felt between the temple and its landscape is important to a true understanding of their architecture.

Although the Greek temple was a wholly original creation, the Greeks inherited knowledge of Egyptian and Oriental ornament and followed these patterns on the capitals and columns of their earliest structures. But their genius soon freed itself from such influences and created new forms out of its own dynamic force.

The origin of Greek architecture is shrouded in prehistoric darkness but we know that the earliest temples were built of wood and were therefore soon destroyed. The remnants of the oldest preserved temples built of stone are parts of the Heraeum in Olympia, the Apollo-temple at Thermos, the capital of Aetolia, and a sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. None of these remains go further back than the eighth century B. C.

The time of the appearance of the first stone temples coincided with that of several outstanding discoveries in those early days. The awakening of a new and keener sense of number, measure and time was one of these. In 776 B. C. the Greeks began with their calendar, dating it from the first Olympiad. The beginning of this chronology took place almost exactly at the time when the sun began to rise in the vernal equinox under the sign of Aries. And it was during this epoch, too, that Pythagoras taught the laws of mathematics, particularly of geometry, and his disciples experienced the "harmony and music of the spheres".

Thus from the earliest years the Greeks were geometricians, not alone by means of their intellect but also through their powers of divination and insight. The impulse out of which the first architects built and shaped their forms sprang from inspiration evoked by geometry and music. The architect was a geometrician in the use of his eyes and hands, a musician in the use of his ears and feet. He lived in a sphere of Dionysian meter and Apollonian melody. Thus, while the Egyptian temple was the place of initiation into the mysteries of death and of reunion with the divinities, the temple of Hellas was the expression of a new experience of music and geometry.

This early geometrical trend of Greek thought, later reflected in the architecture, is to be found in the paintings and drawings of the first ceramic periods. Early Aegean pottery reveals a geometrical style in the use of the cross, the swastika, the triangle, the chessboard design, the circle and the vertical and horizontal line.

But geometry and music were not the only sources of the architect's inspiration. The profound feeling of the Greeks for the architectonic character of the human form and its measurements

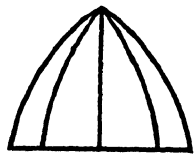
was carried over into their creations in architecture. This point is made clear by Percy Gardner in his *Principles of Greek Art*: "No two buildings are quite alike in the height and diameter of their columns, the height of the architrave, the intercolumniations. But the unit of measurement seems to have been the diameter of the column: the dimensions of all parts were worked out on this basis, as the proportions of the human body were worked out on the basis of the palm, or breadth of the hand."[117]

And when the Greeks placed a statue of the god in the cella of the temple, they felt that this deed spoke for the fact that the divine spirit dwells within the human mind and body.

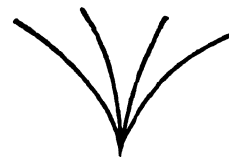
The sacred dance was another feature of Greek life which had influence upon the forms of its art and architecture. In his *Ways to a New Architecture*,[118] Rudolf Steiner points to the fact that the sacred dance, connected with the divine service and far older than the most ancient temples and sculptures, was performed at a time when the human being still saw the forces of the elements active in the earth, and when he felt the rhythms of nature with his blood and breath alone, undisturbed by any intellectual reflection. In the sacred processions and in the rhythmical dances the human being showed, on the one hand, his relationship to gravity and, on the other, to the uplifting, sustaining forces of the world. It was an interplay between the terrestrial and cosmic forces. Steiner hints that out of this experience of the two forces — the downward pull of gravity and its counter force, sustaining and uplifting — came the impulse to employ the palmate and lotus flower ornaments.[119]

In the Orient and in the architecture of ancient Egypt we find columns with either a palmate or a lotus ornament. Such columns originated in the time of pharaoh Cheops, the most ancient epoch of Egyptian history. Similar palmate and lotus motifs are to be found in Oriental architecture. It is obvious that these must belong to a common experience of the human spirit. The use of the palmate and lotus flower forms was among the earliest attempts to transform the experience of the dancer into sculpture.

The forces of the earth and its gravity as the dancer experienced them appear in architecture as the lotus motif.



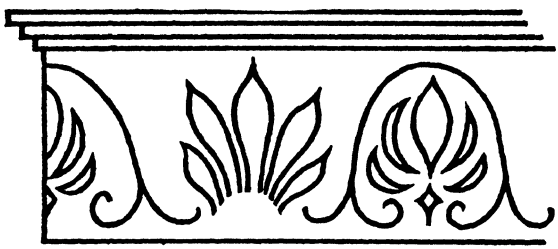
Lotus motif (earth, gravity)

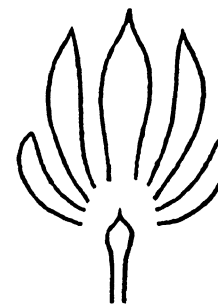


Palmate motif (sun, carrying, sustaining)

The forces of the sun converging upon the earth as rays from a center find their architectural expression in the palmate motif.

The Oriental palmate and lotus flower motifs, stylized at the very beginning of Greek architecture, were painted on the under surfaces of the capitals of the earliest Doric columns. Later they were varied and transformed.





The fundamental feeling of the Greek architect was in the experience of carrying and weighing. The carrying force was connected with the earthbound feeling. The weighing force was experienced with breathing and the feeling of equilibrium in connection with the surroundings. These forces of the human body, carrying and weighing, were particularly experienced in the early dance of the divine cults. The temple as an architectural structure derived from these dance-movements became fixed in a solid form. It was singing-dance and dancing-song in stone, frozen music and meter, mathematics made visible.

This fact has been often acknowledged. Goethe expressed it in the words of the astrologer in his *Faust,* second part:

"The pillar'd shaft, the triglyph, even, rings:
I think indeed, the whole bright temple sings."[120]

The development of the Greek temple unfolded through the struggle and play between the vertical and horizontal forces. The architects emphasized these two counter forces when painting on surfaces, using the red color for the horizontal lines and dark blue for the vertical lines.

The abacus, metopes, cornice and pediment, the horizontal features, were painted in red. The echinus, the triglyphs and the vertical lines in the shaft of the column were painted in blue (which was experienced as black by the Greek eye). The red-painted features of the horizontal lines represented the forces of weighing which seek equilibrium. The blue-black painted features of the vertical lines suggested the forces of supporting, carrying and standing erect. The red horizontal lines resembled the forces of the sun, the blue vertical lines those of the earth's gravity.

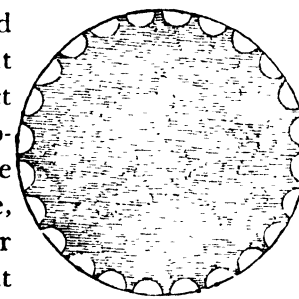
Let us now consider the Greek temple in its details. First of all, there were three steps which usually formed the base. These were proportioned "for feet of superhuman beings", for gods, as Jacob Burckhardt remarked in his *Cicerone*.[121]

The columns rested on a stepped base, the *crepidoma,* the uppermost step of which was called the *stylobate*. They represented the vertical principle. No mere mechanical device to support the superstructure, the Greek columns had life and motion of their own. The so-called *entasis,* for example, a slight out-curving of the column's shaft, from base to neck, was created to prevent the shaft of the column from appearing to curve inward. Through exact measurements modern archeologists have discovered many other subtle refinements in the column. "The Parthenon", writes Thomas Roger Smith in his *Architecture, Classic and Early Christian,*[122] "presents examples of the most extraordinary refinement in order to correct optical illusions. The delicacy and subtlety of these are extreme, but there can be no manner of doubt that they existed. The best known correction is the diminution in diameter or taper, the entasis or convex curve of the shaft of the column. Without this taper, which is perceptible enough in this building, and much more

marked in the earlier buildings, the columns would look top-heavy; but the entasis is an additional optical correction to prevent their outline from appearing hollowed, which would have been the case had there been no curve . . . a second correction is intended to overcome the apparent tendency of a building to spread outwards towards the top. This is met by inclining the columns slightly inwards."[123]

Another interesting fact was the distance between columns, the intercolumniation, which has become the subject of modern research. H. L. Warren, in his *Foundation of Classical Architecture,* writes: "The distance of the columns apart on centres or the spacing of the columns is called the intercolumniation. The space between each pair of columns is called an intercolumn. The intercolumniation of the Doric order is absolutely dependent upon the spacing at the corners; this brings the inner edge of the corner triglyph very nearly over the line of the centre of the corner column: but all the other columns are so placed that the center of each column is vertically on a line with the centre of a triglyph, usually of each alternate triglyph. This brings the intercolumns next to the corner less than all the others by about half the width of a triglyph. This has the advantage of strengthening the corner and seeming to close the rhythm of the colonnade. Still further to emphasize this strengthening of the angle, the Greeks usually made the angle column of slightly greater diameter than all the others."[124]

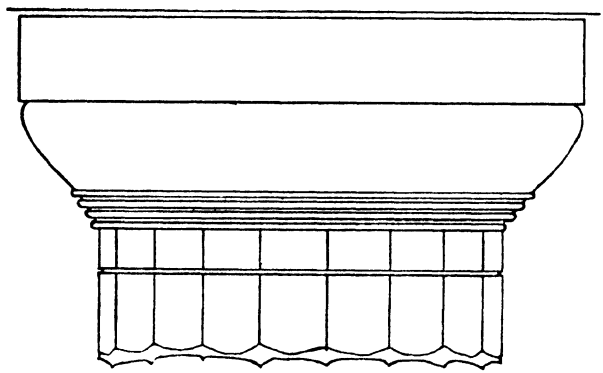
These subtle features, such as the diminution in the diameter and the entasis of the column, disclosed the fact that the column was worked out according to living concepts. The architect of the Ionian temple revealed even deliberately the secret of the column, when he transformed it sometimes into a caryatide, a virgin, able in her erect posture to bear the burden of the pediment, such as that of the Erectheum on the Acropolis or that of the treasury in Delphi.



The shaft of the column was fluted or channeled with sixteen, twenty or twenty-four channels.

The older temples were not as high as those built later. The column grew more graceful and slender from century to century.

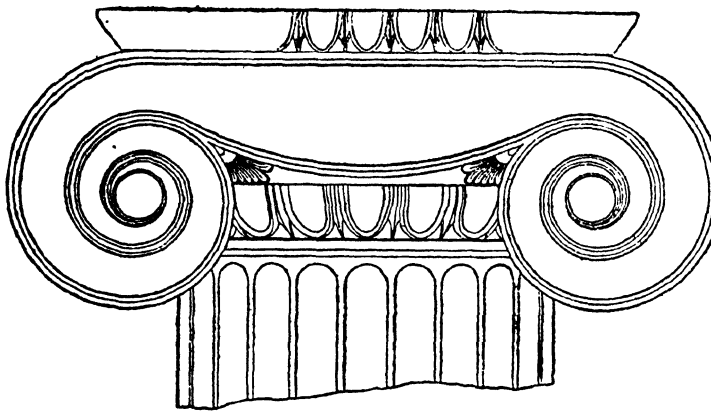
The most characteristic feature of the column was its capital or head and it actually took the form of the head in the caryatide. In the Doric column, the capital consists of *necking, echinus* (cushion-shaped) and *abacus* (square slab).



Through the metamorphosis of the capital another triad appeared; that of the three main Hellenic orders: the Doric, the Ionic and the Corinthian.

Inspired by Olympia and its games the Doric temple was the sanctuary of the gymnast. Its column revealed simplicity and strength of will. Its capital was the expression of the utmost balance —power, quiet and controlled. It was dignified without being heavy, solemn without being sanctimonious. Here was beauty at once earnest and reposeful.

The Ionic temple, on the other hand, expressed the mood of the poet. With its feminine caryatide, its column had the quality of virginal grace. The loveliness of its capital sprang from easeful, flowing lines, the curves and spirals of its volutes. As the Doric capital suggested force under control, so the Ionic capital intimated action in full, though consciously guided movement. Here was beauty at once felicitous and rhythmical.

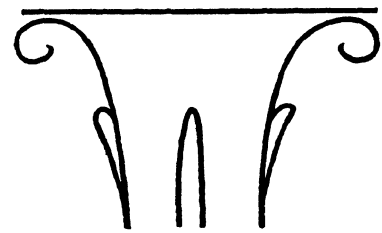


Between the echinus and the abacus of the Ionic capital was its most characteristic feature, the double spiral or the volutes. These have been likened to cushions which express the gesture of tension and relaxation. But they may be better compared with the vital human forces. Like lungs they seem to contract and expand, to breathe.

It is clear that the Ionic style, especially the capital, was strongly influenced by the Orient and we must distinguish between the Asiatic-Ionic and the Attic-Ionic capitals. Both are the expression of a cosmopolitan, pan-Hellenic amalgamation. If we may say that the Doric column grew out of the soil, we may add, figuratively speaking, that the Ionic column was carried by vessels of the Aegean between Attica and Asia Minor. It arose out of the pan-Hellenic colonization of the Ionians on both sides of that sea as well as in southern Italy.

The ancestry of the Ionic capital had Egypt and Assyria as its home. Volutes which lead upward are seen in the composite column of the eighteenth dynasty, in Al-Amarna. And a capital with a horizontal ribbon of volutes can be observed on a building of Chorsabad in Assyria. The palmate capital of the column at Abusir in Egypt shows us the ever-recurrent motif of the lotus and palmate design, symbolizing the earth-sun forces as above described. Through the principle of weight-bearing represented by the volute we take the next step, toward the Corinthian capital.

Volutes on Ionic Capital



Volutes, metamorphosis, on the Corinthian Capital.

The main feature of the Corinthian capital is the trend toward a perfect volute. It reveals that which the volutes of the Ionic capital omitted, the ornamental palmate motif. Whereas on the Doric column this motif was painted, on the Corinthian column it appeared as a plastic ornament. The acanthus leaf originated through the plastic transformation of the palmate. It was not, as generally supposed, a mere imitation of a leaf of the plant, acanthus spinosus or bear's breech (Brank Ursine).

Callimachus of Corinth was the architect who created the first Corinthian capital. Vitruvius, the Roman architect, describes how, in a last flash of clairvoyance, Callimachus beheld, in an imagination above the grave of a virgin, the sun-motif in struggle with the earth-motif in the form of a basket surrounded by leaves similar in appearance to the acanthus. This insight of Callimachus coincided with the general development of the Ionic capital and volute. Therefore we must take into consideration two possibilities as to its origin — that Callimachus designed the Corinthian capital; and that the Corinthian order sprang naturally from earlier stages of architectural unfoldment. Whichever source may have been responsible for its inception, the Corinthian order "retains a feature resembling the Ionic volute", writes T. R. Smith in his *Architecture, Classic and Early Christian,* "but reduced to a very small size, set obliquely and appearing to spring from the sides of a kind of long bell-shaped termination to the column. This bell is clothed with foliage, symmetrically arranged, and much of it studied, but in a conventional manner, from the graceful foliage of the acanthus."[125]

H. H. Statham in *A Short Critical History of Architecture* states:

"Why the Corinthian order, with its foliated capital, should be so called, is not very apparent. Vitruvius indeed asserts that it was invented by Callimachus of Corinth, but we know that important

architectural features have seldom or never been actually invented by one man; there are always prior stages leading up to them."[126]

It is significant that Callimachus made a single acanthus column for Delphi as a special work by itself, which still more emphasized the cultic character and meaning of its type.

The story to which Vitruvius refers, that Callimachus had a vision as he stood at the grave of a maiden, may reveal a profound meaning. Was the time when Callimachus designed his new column not also the period when the Ionic column, which appeared finally as the caryatide, the maiden, had begun to decline? Under the influence of the death of the caryatides figuratively speaking, Callimachus created the new capital in a form which was to be preserved and used in the time to come.

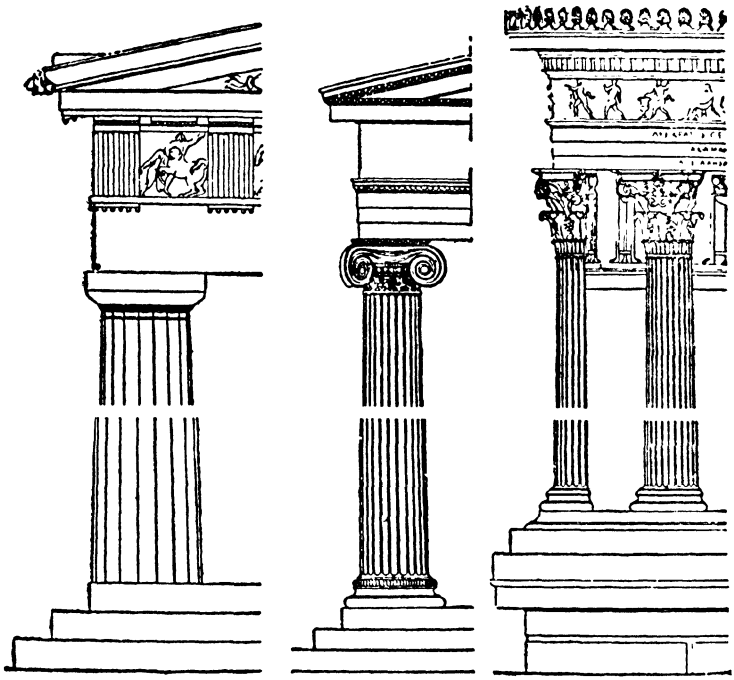
While the Doric column revealed rhythm and the Ionic column harmony, the Corinthian style appeared rich in melody. The Doric temple in its simplicity and strength, representing the power of the will, was the temple of the gymnast; the Ionic, the temple of the artist and rhetor; the Corinthian, the temple of the philosopher. The acanthus capital of the Corinthian order appeared at the time of the climax of Attic philosophy with Plato and Aristotle.

The transition from the Doric to the Ionic and later to the Corinthian order was like the passage from the movement of the will power to the feeling forces in the heart and to the thought life in the head.

From the capital of the column we come to the architrave, frieze and cornice in which the horizontal lines appear in full strength. This is the triad of the entablature.

The architrave in the Ionic temple, in its threefold linear structure, corresponds exactly to the three steps of the base. Yet the so-called steps of the architrave have the opposite tendency, they diminish slightly from above to below. Within the triad of the entablature, the middle part is the most important — the frieze with its incised triglyphs and metopes.

The triglyphs are so named from the triple vertical channeling of this form. The metopes are the nearly square spaces between the triglyphs in the Ionic order, usually ornamented with sculptured figures: the Doric temple had no sculptures within the spaces of the metopes. The height of the triglyph is nearly twice its width and the panels between the triglyphs are nearly as wide as they are high.



It was mentioned above that the intercolumniation depended upon the spacing of the triglyphs in the frieze. The exact measurements made by Penrose[127] established the fact that the third triglyph from the left or right corner triglyph is not exactly centered on the

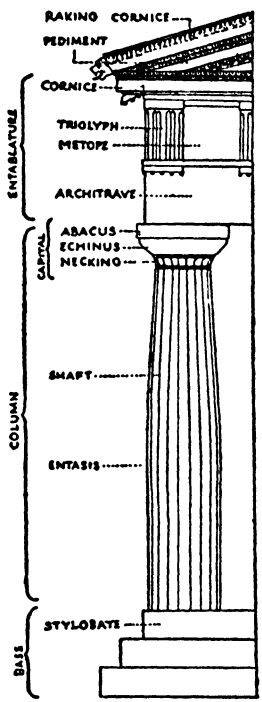
column as in the case of the other triglyphs. It is clear that the Greek architect did not measure mechanically. In the same way in which the entasis prevented the shaft of the column from appearing to curve inward, T. R. Smith points out in his *Architecture Classic and Early Christian,* a second correction is intended to overcome the apparent tendency of a building to spread outwards towards the top. This is met by inclining the columns slightly inwards (toward the center of the building). So slight, however, is the inclination, that were the axes of the columns on opposite sides of the Parthenon continued upwards till they met, the meeting-point would be 1952 yards, or, in other words, more than one mile from the ground."[128]

Such refinements were only possible in the peripteral type of temple such as the Parthenon.

The last of these optical corrections was applied to the horizontal lines of the architrave which are all curved slightly upward.

The cornice tas the third element of the entablature consisted of the *geison* (the cornice-block or corona) and the *sima* or *cymatrum* (a gutter to catch the roof water, usually wave-like in shape). The cornice not only crowned the wall but also protected it from the weather.

The triad of the steps, the triad of the base, the triad of the capital (in necking, echinus and abacus) and the triad of the entablature (in architrave, frieze and cornice, each of them subdivided into three parts)—this series is crowned by the pediment.

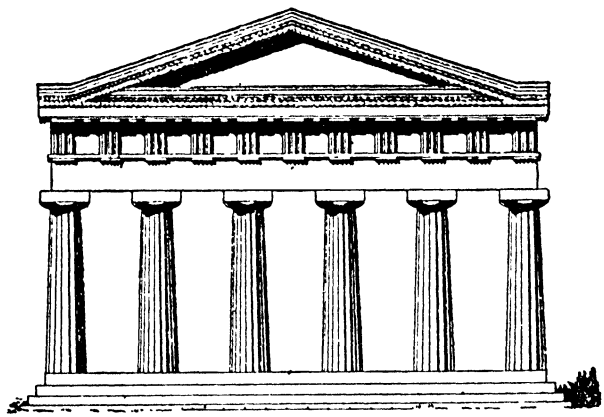


The pediment has the form of an isosceles triangle representing the equilibrium between the verticle and the horizontal forces. It typified the reconciliation of the struggle between earth and sun. It was the forehead of the temple and was called the eagle, *aetos,* as Pindar wrote. This eagle, the pediment, was considered a gift of Zeus and Apollo.

The triangular space between the pediment and the cornice beneath was called the *tympanum.* It was filled with sculpture. The immortal works of Phidias and his school were represented in the tympanum of the Parthenon and the Zeus temple in Olympia. One feels that the Greek considered the tympanum as the crown of the temple façade.

With what profundity was the triangle connected with the cultural life of the Hellenes! The discovery of the geometrical properties of the triangle was among the greatest contributions of Pythagoras and his schools to the science of mathematics. The comprehension of its laws was peculiarly characteristic of the Hellenes. Not only geometrically, but also philosophically did the triangle become the expression of that harmony at which the soul aimed. The Platonic ideal of virtue was the triangle of wisdom (*sophia*), temperance (*sophrosyne*) and courage. The triangular tympanum symbolized this triumph of Greek harmony.

Crowning the end facades of the temple were two pediments, one facing the east, the other the west. In Delphi, for instance, the east pediment was dedicated to Apollo, the west to Dionysus. The main entrance faced the east, the light of the Apollonian day. The west front led to the mysteries, to the cella, the chamber which enclosed the image of the god. The east front revealed the temple as the house of the divinity in connection with the whole landscape.

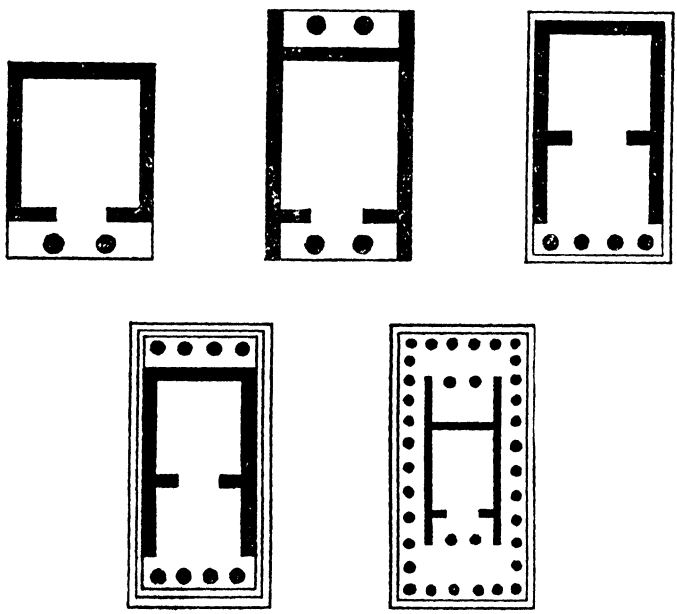


It is customary to designate Greek temples by the number and

the position of their columns. The temple *in antis* had two columns in front, (*distyle*). It was called *amphidistyle* if, besides the two columns in front, it also had two in the rear. A temple with a portico at the front only was called *prostyle;* one with porticos at both front and rear was called *amphiprostyle. Peripteral* was a temple with columns on all sides. These were the four main features characterizing the arrangements of the columns.

H. Heathcote Statham,[129] however, indicated twelve arrangements of columns. To the four above mentioned he added *pseudoperipteral,* side columns attached to the wall, not standing free; *dipteral,* a double range of columns at the side; *pseudodipteral,* giving the appearance of being dipteral from the front view but actually not continuing the inner row of columns; *tetrastyle,* four columns at the front; *hexastyle,* six at the front; *heptastyle,* seven, *octastyle,* eight; and *decastyle,* with ten columns at the front.

The question of the various designs of temple ground plans is handled differently in almost every book on Greek architecture. It is a minor matter which has little to do with the style of the order.



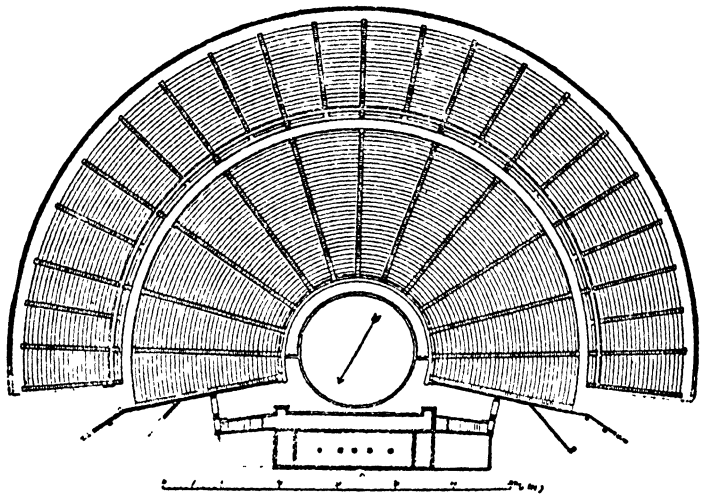
Like their language the temple was the common possession of all the tribes of Hellas. The three racial characteristics derived from the Zeus, Hermes and satyr types were amalgamated in the temple as they were in the Greek tongue. The strength and majesty of the Doric order were mostly inspired by the northern Olympian types, Zeus and Apollo. The Ionic order was definitely linked with the Oriental and Egyptian cults. Its versatility and grace were influenced by the swift-footed Hermes from the east and south. The Corinthian order appeared as the last sublimation of clairvoyance by its creator, Callimachus, in the era of dialectic and sophistry, when the Silenus-faced Socrates and his disciples walked and debated in the agora of Athens, bringing to birth the intellect in the Greek soul.

It was first in Athens which harbored all three styles in their utmost refinement that the influence of the temple waned and was then revived in a quite different form. The gods deserted the cella of their temples because human beings no longer perceived and adored their presence. But as the temple declined the theatre sprang into being and became its natural successor.

Just as the temple may be called the eyebrows of the gods, so did the theatre of Dionysus which now arose become the ear of that god who wished to penetrate the depths of the human soul. His theatre resembled a seashell in form. And just as the murmur of the waves on the shore resound in the seashell, so did reverberations of the word of the god within resound from the orchestra.

Any consideration of the Greek temple must, therefore, necessarily include the theatre, for the theatre of Dionysus originated from the same source as the temple, that of the sacred dance — the dance of the satyrs. The circular space at the center of the theatre was filled by the orchestra (the word orchestra is derived from the Greek verb (*orcheomai*) —to dance—) surrounding the altar of Dionysus. In front, in the first row of the spectators, stood the seat of the god's high priest. The theatre was divided into two parts; the larger being given over to the spectators with fourteen (twice seven) sections or *kerkis,* formed into a sloping hollow in the shape of a horseshoe curve. At this point it is of interest to observe, in

passing, that in today's theatre the number of seats legally permitted to a row is still seven!



When, on the southern slope of the Acropolis at Athens, the theatre of Dionysus was built as the first stage in the world, the gods of Apollo leaving the cella of the temple disappeared into the twilight and Dionysus with a mask entered the theatre as the herald of the One who was to arrive with dawn. The temple of the Hellenes aroused the feelings of awe and devotion toward the wonders of the world. The theatre awakened fear and compassion in the soul.

2. *THE SCULPTOR'S MESSAGE OF IMMORTALITY*

To become a sophos, a politikos and a poietes was the threefold ideal which stirred the soul of every Greek. As a philosopher he strove for sophos, wisdom, pursuing thought, the activity of the head. As a man of social action, a politikos, he took his place as a member of the polis. As a poietes, he carried on his endeavors in all three realms of philosophy, politics and the arts. He was concerned with more than singing his verses to the accompaniment of his lyre. His impulse arose from the region of the heart and lungs

where creativeness was achieved through the interplay between head and hands.

Gymnastics and music were the two paths of education in Hellas which aimed at developing the poietes, the artist. His task it was to become aware of the formative forces in man and the universe. The quintessence of Greek pedagogy was to lead the pupil to an experience of the forces of form. Form (*morphe*) was idea in its purity, idea which was thought as perception and perceived as concept, the *typos*.[130]

The typos or archetype as the form or idea was not an abstraction of the mind but a propelling force in the life, growth and metamorphosis of the artist. It was, in the Aristotelian sense, the idea itself in reality, the entelechy, that which has as its aim the achieving of perfection within itself. The Greeks saw the idea literally with the eyes of the soul.

One of the greatest triumphs of this consciousness was the sculpture of Hellas.

A fundamental feeling for the living, weaving and active formative or etheric forces underlay the creations of every sculptor. Thus the Hellenes found within the mortal matter of the body and its immortal form—morphe or typos—the spiritual entity as the living idea. The human body which was formed by the chisel became the appearance of that which is divine and immortal. The Hellenes never used a model. They created from within, aware of the typos, the etheric or vital body.

The unfolding of sculpture, so supremely successful among the Greeks, did not occur suddenly. It came about slowly as the result of the transformation of the consciousness of mystical insight into that of the awakening intellect. The ancient seers, mystics and augurs could still "touch" the gods; they came in contact with the formative forces of divinities and saw within the vital forces the divine, immortal element. Through such mysteries as those at Samothrace the Greek mystics gradually gained an insight into the spiritual forces of physiology.

The formative forces within our vital-body are "the sculptor" within ourselves. This sculptor bears the divine type and reveals

the immortal idea. The sculptors of Hellas who still preserved a feeling for and a knowledge of these formative forces, created something which really represented the divine and immortal, regardless of its resemblance to a god or goddess, whose being and cult the Hellenes by degrees forgot or neglected. Even fragments of sculptured statues which represented an unknown warrior on the *metopes* of Olympia, or a victorious charioteer in Delphi appeared as divine as the statues of gods, because in them were incorporated the formative forces of vitality.

The Hellene whose thinking penetrated the vital forces and came to an exact fantasy was a sculptor by nature. There was, in fact, no more vivid expression than the language which the chisel spoke and the marble echoed. Goethe standing before fragments of Hellenic art (Roman copies) in Italy could only exclaim in observation: "Supreme works of art, like the most sublime products of Nature, are created by man in conformity with true and natural Law. All that is arbitrary, all that is invented, collapses: here is Necessity, here is God."[131]

The statues of Apollo which were found in Delphi, Boetia, Aktion and Tenea near Corinth are the oldest examples of Greek sculpture. Evidently the sculptors came from the island of Crete and brought with them the tradition of Egypt. Scholars refer to these ancient statues as the "Egyptian type of Apollo" and hint at the mysteries of Egypt which underlay them.[132] The most important fact, however, seems to be that the Apollo of Tenea and the other statues of that time and fashion represented a youth on a grave, the youth seen in the tomb after the Crucifixion. This fact reminds us, of course, of the insight of Callimachus in regard to the maiden, through which the last refinement of the palmate-motif was embodied in the form of the acanthus capital of the Corinthian column.

What was the statue of the Apollo of Tenea? Was it really an Apollo or only a youth? It was the representation of the formative forces of man. From a grave it rose as the immortal body of vitality, the typos of an Hellenic man, the archetype of youthful manhood. Apollo? A youth? Regardless of how the question is answered, the

fact remains that the statue was an image of something immortal, indestructible, and therefore divine. It was a god. It was Apollo for all those who saw and felt with the eyes and hands of the sculptor who chiseled him.

The Apollo of Tenea and the other creations of the same type still showed a static quality in body and limbs; no differentiation, no movement, no breath. The Apollos appeared with an archaic style of hair and a round face which was neither male nor female. In this respect they resemble the statues of the Indian Buddha. Although the early Greek sculptor had not the attitude of mind of the Oriental meditant who looked within, his Apollo might be called a "Buddha of Hellas". This Apollo was the bringer of beauty and the god of the sun; he looked forth with open eyes, and his most characteristic feature was his smile, the element of animation which Egyptian sculpture failed to show. Once established as a type, the Apollo was copied a hundred times, often varied and transformed. The same formative principle which lies in the Apollos was incorporated into the charioteer of Delphi whose arms hold the bridle near his heart, and whose *chithon,* the garment worn next the skin, is girdled by a belt.

Whether this charioteer or the youth on the western pediment of Olympia or the bronze statue which was found in the sea near Piombono, now in the Louvre, with inscriptions devoted to Athena, was Apollo in the form of a *kouros,* a youth, and whether this kouros was as divine as Apollo is of little significance.

Far more important is it to observe that the Greek sculptures, with very few exceptions, show us male or female bodies no older than thirty to thirty-five years. Rudolf Steiner emphasized this observation as evidence that the Hellenic artist himself felt consciously connected with the formative-vital forces of the body as they work during the first half of human life. The Greeks experienced the inner maturity of the soul and the outer growth of the body as developing together harmoniously until the middle thirties. After that age the Greek did not feel the formative forces of his own body in connection with his soul and consciousness. Therefore, we rarely find representations of men or women of greater age. Even

the classical image of Zeus in Olympia, as Phidias chiseled him, was the figure of a man of about thirty, and the Zeus of Otricoli does not look like the father of all gods and men, he does not appear aged. How are we to understand this? Was it that the Hellenes could not imagine the gods in Olympus as old, particularly Zeus, the father of so many gods and goddesses?

We must realize that the Greek sculptor was not a portraitist. He did not venture to picture the gods as actual human beings. He represented their life or etheric bodies, their forms, their typos, their being as living idea. Rudolf Steiner pointed out that insight into the vital body reveals it as the true opposite of the physical body as far as growth and age are concerned. The representations of the youthful gods and goddesses of Hellas reveal their etheric, not their physical bodies, their immortal, not their corporeal existence.

The archaic statues of Apollo — the Greek Buddha — marked the first chapter of sculpture. In the Amazon (Rome, Vatican), in the enthroned goddess (Berlin, Altes Museum) and, finally, in the caryatides from the Erectheum on the Acropolis a new chapter was introduced with an element resembling breathing. It is a breathing, as it were, with the limbs, especially with the arms. The caryatide supporting the architrave of the temple on her head seems to reinforce this support with the breath of her breast and larynx.

And now, from this point, we step into the art of the fifth century, B.C., the era of the climax of Greek sculpture. From smiling to breathing, from breathing to the motion of the limbs — we stand before the Discubol of Myron.

Although Myron is one of the earliest names which have come down to us in the history of Greek sculpture, he and his younger contemporary, Phidias, were creatively active at the peak of the evolution of this art. The road from Apollo of Tenea to the Disk-thrower, the Discubol of Myron, covered a period of not more than four generations; yet it revealed a development in vision and a perfection in skill which would have taken any artists but the Hellenes a millenium to acquire.

Myron could "touch" the gods! He knew the type of the forces which underlay the racial structure of the Hellenes. He knew the types of Zeus, of Hermes and of the satyr. The Zeus type was that of the Northern and Western man. It represented all the Olympians: Apollo and Athena, Hera, Aphrodite and Artemis. The emphasis in this racial type appeared in the forces of the head with its senses and nerves and in their harmonious union with the heart. In its quiet balance this type represents the quality of Olympian calmness.

In contrast to the Zeus typos was that of Hermes in which emphasis was placed on the activity of the limbs. In this messenger of the gods, the great runner, one notices especially the winged heels. Closely related to the Hermes conception was that of Dionysus, the originator of movement and the dance. In its dynamics it was in complete contrast to the statics of the Olympians.

Definitely different from both the Zeus and Hermes types, and we may also say from the types of Apollo and Dionysus, was a third—the satyr. It was represented as Marsyas, Pan, Silenus and all the satyrs, nymphs and maenads which mythology revealed and the chisel of the sculptor worked out. The satyrs often appeared with a tail, a goat's foot and hairy skin. Their most characteristic features were their sensual lips, their snub noses and the horns on their heads. The typos of the satyr revealed an amalgamation between the forces of the head and those of the limbs, but animal-like and decadent in character. With its horns which signified clairvoyant vision it suggested a straggler from ancient Atlantis.

The higher union between the head-forces of the Zeus type and the rhythmical limb-forces of the Hermes-type was the ideal typos of the Hellene. In the later days of Greek art the three types were more and more fused, became less and less distinct. Hermes and Dionysus became as Apollonian as a representative of Zeus and even the satyrs lost their tails, goats' feet and horns and appeared with noses formerly found only on "sons of Zeus". (For example, the satyr pouring wine, marble, Dresden.)

The Discus-Thrower (about 450 B.C.) is a meditation in marble on the movements of the human body as it stands poised to

throw the discus. Here, if ever there was one, is a revelation of Dionysian dynamics of the limbs! The young athlete is of the Hermes type with curled hair, a long skull and the back of his head especially strongly developed. At the same time that Dionysus entered the theatre, the Discubol of Myron incorporated the Dionysian principle in marble. Once embodied, it was followed by countless copies and imitations throughout the centuries.

What did this repeated copying mean? Was it an indication that the Hellenes lacked in wealth of fantasy, that they could find no other motifs? Impossible! No student of the period could question that the fountain of Hellenic imagination was inexhaustible. The explanation lies in the fact that the sculptor was less interested in representing various portraits of human individuals than in revealing the typos, the archetypal or vital idea which was conceived as immortal, as a god. If one opened the eyes of the soul toward such a typos, one was confronted with a divine entelechy. Upon such a typos, whether it be an Olympian, a hero or an Athenian athlete, the Greek would desire to meditate countless times by creating it again and again in marble much as the worshiper prays the same prayers to the same divinity each day.

Myron also vividly contrasted the satyr type with the image of Pallas Athena. His Athena in her fight against Marsyas (Frankfurt a. M.) is a dramatic sculpture; it is the old conflict between the Apollonian lyre and the Dionysian flute presented as a drama in marble. Athena has thrown away the flute which distorted her features; the Zeus and satyr types in their contest between temperance and sensuality are here presented in full contrast and tension! And here, looking at Athena's garment, we are reminded of Goethe's words: "The garment is the thousandfold echo of the figure!"

The master who immortalized the types of the Olympians in unsurpassable refinement at the time when the gods had "died", was the sculptor, Phidias. Posterity could sustain no greater loss than it has by virtue of the fact that there remains not even a fragment of the work of his chisel. Yet there could be no greater tri-

umph for this genius than the acknowledgment of centuries of apprentices and copyists.

Phidias was the vessel for the sublimest vision of the formative forces. Neither his superb Athena Parthenos, the sacred center of the Acropolis at Athens, nor his Zeus in Olympia can ever come before our eyes. The only remains which serve to suggest what his genius must have been are coins in Elis (with the Zeus statue) and small copies, of doubtful authenticity, of the Athena, the original of which was forty feet high.

Dio Chrysostomus wrote of the Zeus statue; "If a man burdened with sorrow whom sweet sleep no longer visits should stand before this statue, I believe he would forget all his sorrows and recover . . . our Zeus is peaceful and mild, as it were, the guardian of Hellas when she is of one mind and not distraught with factions." And E. v. Mach, a modern scholar of Harvard University, in writing about the Athena Lemnia, expressed the same ideas which underlie Rudolf Steiner's conception of Greek sculpture: "The statues of Phidias, never carved from models, were truly the expressions of his mental conceptions . . . rarely, if ever, has a single body conveyed better than hers the conviction of the artist that a spark of the divine does live in man and that it possesses the power to transform what is mortal into the image of God."[133]

While Myron was the gymnast among the sculptors, pouring his will power into the movement of the limbs, and Phidias appeared as a priest, expressing his deep feeling for the sanctity of Zeus and the dignity of Athena, Polycleitus, the master of the school of Argo, placed emphasis on the reasoning of the intellect. He was the dialectician among the sculptors. His most noted work was the *Doryphoros,* the Spear-bearer. This work was the standard expression of his rule, his *Canon* for the proportions of the human body, a book which he was supposed to have published. The Spear-bearer has often been characterized as a "soulless automaton". Indeed, in this creation, Polycleitus stepped down to the human sphere, his intellect grasped the formative forces in their most realistic and least divine aspect. Besides his Hera type and his Amazon, he excelled in the representation of another realistic

motif, the *Diadoumenos,* the athlete who cleanses his skin of oil.

What a long way from the early Apollo statues of Delphi and Tenea to the *Doryphoros* or the *Diadoumenos* of Polycleitus! Here is a full representation of the muscles of the legs, the anatomy of the stomach and chest, the muscles and sinews of the arms; and here, too, is a vivid expression of the head of a youth who moves, breathes, perceives and thinks!

At this time, also, were created the throne or altar piece representing the birth of Aphrodite (Rome, Thermae Museum), the relief of the Mourning Athena (Athens, Museum of the Acropolis), and the relief of Orpheus and Eurydice (Naples, National Museum).

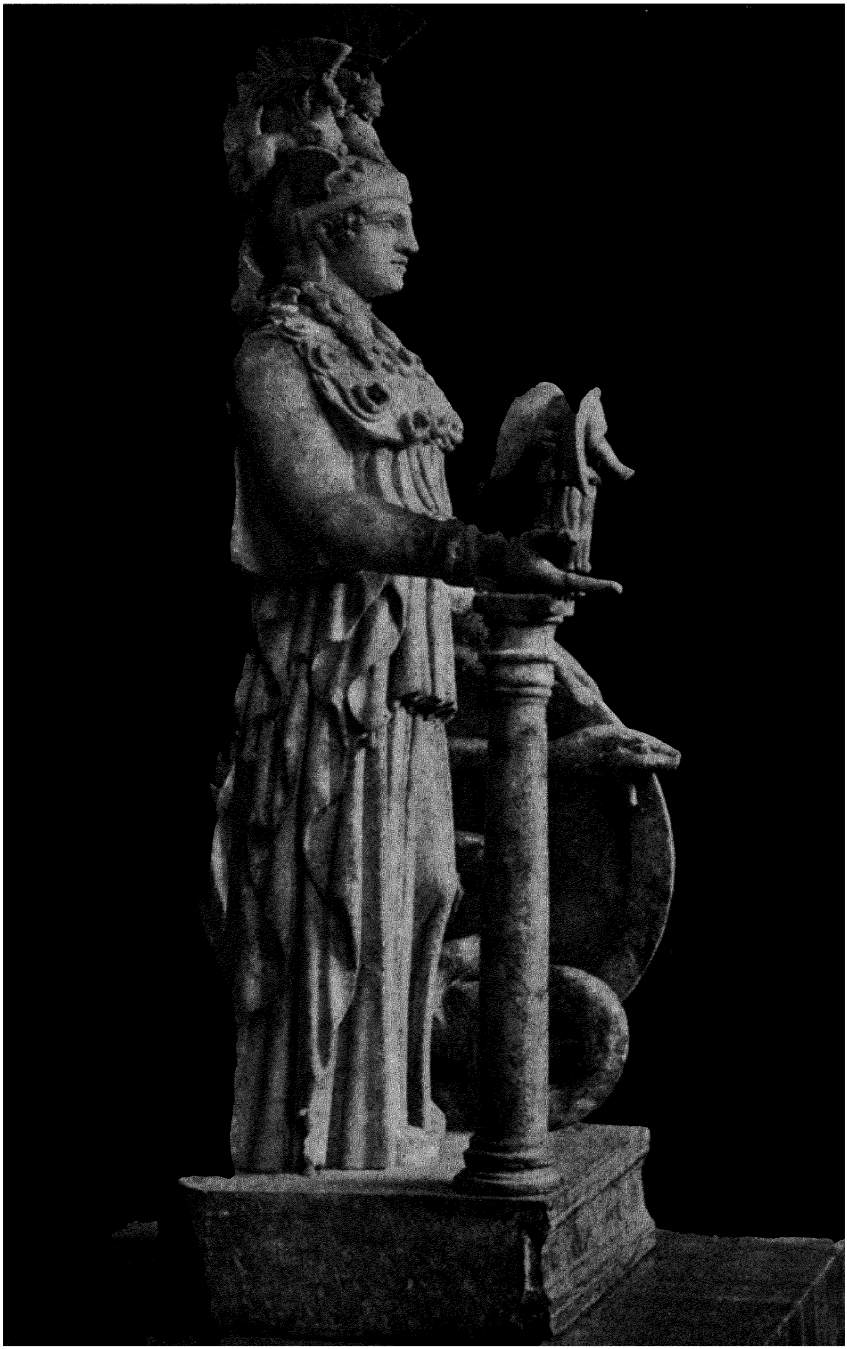
Following the greatest masters of the fifth century — Myron, Phidias and Polycleitus — we reach, in the fourth century, the Dionysian extreme in the sculptures of Praxiteles, Scopas and Lysippus. This era undoubtedly showed a preference for the Hermes and satyr types and even many of the Apollos took on feminine Dionysian features, such as the *Apollo Auroktonos* or the Apollo with the *kithaira.* One of the most characteristic sculptures of Praxiteles and his school was that of Hermes with the infant Dionysus. The Jacchus child is carried by the messenger of the gods as he comes along the sacred way from Eleusis. The arms of the child reach out in the gesture of a savior, one of the rare figures of a child in Hellenic sculpturing and a blessed masterpiece, anticipating the Holy Child in the paintings of the Madonnas at a later period.

Hermes, the soul-guide with the winged staff, returned again and again to Praxiteles' workshop. The Aphrodite type of his school gave us the last refinement of form in the sweetness and graciousness of a being who was still divine, typical in the world of immortal life-forces and at the same time earthly-human. But the following creations, such as the Apollo of Belvedere or the Artemis of Versailles, showed features which were too perfect to be true types. Rudolf Steiner called these figures pictures from a fashion journal and he always stressed the fact that the most archaic works represented the highest and purest revelations of Greek sculpture.

ATHENA PARTHENOS

Athens: National Museum School of Phidias

Zeus-type, *see* Chapter III.



Myron and Phidias were the greatest masters because they remained entirely in the sphere of portraying the type — and excelled in it. Scopas and Praxiteles were also Greeks in the full sense of the word, yet they gradually stepped over from sculpturing the typos to creating human characterizations. Lysippus became the first portraitist among the sculptors. He and his school, however, did not aim at a mere resemblance to the individual, but deified and immortalized him as a typos as was shown by their Alexander busts. Lysippus became the court sculptor of Alexander the Great. Who better than the Macedonian king could stand before Lysippus, who better than the disciple of Aristotle whose mission it was to introduce the age of individualism and who was himself the ripest perfection of a world-mighty personality?

The later sculptors became the biographers of Hellas, creating sculptures of Homer, Sophocles, Socrates, Plato, Demosthenes and Aristotle, Pericles and Alcibiades, but still not so much portraits as expressions of that age of cosmopolitan individualism brought to flower by Aristotle and Alexander.

There is, of course, within the limitations of the task of this book no possibility of even hinting at the fragments of the plastic reliefs of Olympia and Athens, the paintings on vases — to discuss, which would be a separate task — the remnants of copies or the stories about them which referred to the painter-triad, Polygnotus, Zeuxis and Parrhasius. There is, perhaps, no greater loss to the treasure-house of art than the fall, caused by an earthquake, of the hall of initiation at Delphi, where Polygnotus' frescoes told of the descent of Odysseus to the netherworld! The Greeks worked, as we know, however, within the limits of the active colors— red, orange, yellow, gold and dark yellow-green — a fact which determined their painting as a whole. As much as we regret the loss of these paintings, there cannot be any doubt that they were by no means an achievement of such classical perfection as the sculpture, architecture and drama which determined the development of the art of future millenia.

As the epilogue of the sculpture of Hellas, stood a work which represented the symbol of its decline, the group of Laocoon. With

the statue of the dying priest of Troy we return to the beginning of Greek history. When, at the fall of Troy, the clairvoyant wisdom of the priesthood was overcome by the serpent of the intellect, Laocoon died. When, similarly, towards the end of the Hellenic sculpture the insight into the formative forces of the typos began to die away, three Rhodesian artists represented the death of Laocoon with his two sons.

The group of Laocoon displays the moribund body in a motif unheard of up to this time. The dying body reveals the withdrawal of the etheric or formative forces, the disappearance or the death of the typos. Yet this death of the typos is portrayed in a genuinely Hellenic manner, in a threefold way: the father in the center, the sons to the left and right. The three types of soul force — heart, breath and limbs — stand before us, each succumbing in its own way. Laocoon is struck by the snake below the heart. At his right stands the son who suffocates, for the serpent has encircled his right arm, touched his neck and taken his breath. The son to the left struggles with the serpent which encircles his left foot.

When the artists of Rhodus created this group, they chiseled the decline and death of Hellas, dying in heart, breath and limbs!

IX

THE ORIGIN OF DRAMA

"The feeblest myth is better than the strongest theory."

JOHN RUSKIN

In dramatic form the Greek myths portrayed not only the twilight of the gods but at the same time man's dawning consciousness. In this archetypal form of dramatic presentation the beholders were gradually initiated into the mysteries of Dionysus.

A sentence ascribed to Heraclitus of Ephesus, who lived at the time of the origin of the drama, said: "Hades and Dionysus are the same". These words lead us to the profundity of the origin and mission of the drama. They have meaning only from the way the mysteries at Eleusis were presented. In the ritual drama of Persephone, the initiate became aware that the descent into the netherworld brought the soul to a new birth. The mystic knew that Persephone was united with dark Hades until the child, Jacchus, was born as the liberator of the soul. Hades and Dionysus were, indeed, opposite aspects of the same being; Hades, as the god of suffering, matter and death, representing the dark side of the being's nature; Dionysus, as the god of light and life, representing that being's gayer and more spiritual side. This dual nature of the being, Hades-Dionysus, became clear through the transformation which was presented to the soul who was to be initiated. For this reason Pindar sang of the Eleusinia: "Happy is he who has seen these things before leaving the world. He realizes the end and the beginning of life."

The drama of Persephone, as it was enacted in the lesser Mysteries[134], was the archetypal Greek tragedy of the fall of man and his entanglement with matter. Persephone was the Greek Eve. John Ruskin once stated that the "feeblest myth is better than the strongest theory . . . Persephone and Deucalion are at least as true as

Eve or Noah and all four together incomparably truer than the Darwinian theory."[135]

The descent to Hades was the decisive experience for the mystic as it was the turning point in the tests, labors and adventures of Heracles and Odysseus. The history of the Greek drama is, in truth, a narration of the bringing to the upperworld the three-headed Cerberus who stood at the portal leading to the dead and the three Erinys. It is the story of the taming of the hellhound and the disenchanting of the Erinys. It is the representation of the birth of conscience.

The chariot of the priest Thespis, which came from Eleusis and was driven to Athens, served as the first known theatrical stage. From this stage (about 534 B.C.), Thespis revealed certain parts of the sacred Eleusinian spring festival referring to the passions of the god which the chorus of Dionysus with his satyrs recited in odes to the public. These odes of the goat-skin-clad satyrs (*tragoi*) were the first *trag-odia.*

The actual rise of the Hellenic theatre, however, is inseparably connected with the victory over the Persians. The date of the sea battle of Salamis (480 B.C.) ushers in the generations of the three great dramatists. Aeschylus fought against the Persians at the age of forty-five, while Sophocles, a youth of sixteen, was present at the victory procession, and Euripides had just been born.

In Edouard Schuré's *The Genesis of Tragedy*[136] we find a thorough study of the origin of drama which often refers to G. F. Creuzer's *Symbolism and Mythology of the Ancient Peoples,* particularly the Greeks: "Aeschylus was the son of Euphorion, one of the Eupatridae of Athens who lived in the district of Eleusis. Euphorion was a friend of the Eumolpides and his son was their disciple. The name of Eumolpides, the family of which for over a thousand years retained control of the mysteries of Eleusis, comes from a word signifying healing melody . . . from childhood Aeschylus had seen going down from Daphni, along the Sacred Way, a long procession of mystae . . . he had taken part in the Lesser and the Greater Mysteries, in their ceremonies and symbolic performances. The sacred drama of Demeter and Persephone had made a deep

impression upon him . . . and so it was Persephone who initiated Aeschylus into the secrets of the inner world."

Aeschylus developed the art of the drama from the cults of Eleusis. Since this event took place at the time of the first written history, it occurred, so to speak, before the open eyes of the world. "The Areopagus accused him of holding subversive ideas on religion that were dangerous to the security of the State. The Eumolpides were indignant with him for betraying one of the profoundest secrets of Eleusinian initiation, namely, that the nature of the gods may to some extent be modified by human will and that it might be possible for Zeus himself to be replaced by another god or constrained to undergo transformation. The poet was summoned before the chief judges of Athens and severely reprimanded . . . he would have been forced as was Socrates to drink the hemlock, had not the Eumolpides, in order to save him, resorted to lying, and asserted that he was not an initiate. However it be, from that day onward he was stamped with an indelible sign, alike glorious and formidable. He had become the Titan-hearted Initiate."[137]

What brought about the rise of the Greek drama out of the civilizations of antiquity in such a sudden and unique way? It was the Dionysian principle, the only divine leadership of Hellas after the departure of the gods, which left the temple with its esotericism and entered the exoteric life of the soul of every man. The drama, primarily an interplay between chorus and monologue, reflected the dialogue between the human soul and the world's spirit.

When the soul of man became sufficiently individualized to be able to listen to the voice from within, to the daimon, human consciousness became aware of what had hitherto been a mystical fact, the marriage of Dionysus with Persephone. This realization developed a capacity within the soul to shape itself into a spiritual organ of perception, a sense organ of the spirit.

The theatre now took the place of the temple; in fact, it became a new species of sanctuary. Between actor and spectator lay a threshold similar to that previously confronting the statue of the god in the cella. Originating from the temple and from the afterglow of the rites of initiation, the drama appeared as a synthesis

of the gifts of the Apollonian muses. It united all the arts. The seven-stringed lyre of Orpheus with its music for the dance, poetry and recitation, was linked on the stage of the theatre — itself a new expression of the art of architecture — with mimicry, painting (of the masks) and sculpture.

The twelve members of the chorus, introduced into the orchestra by Aeschylus, were reminiscent of the universal forces manifest in the twelve Titans around Uranus and Gaia. (Later on this number was increased to fifteen.) Just as the temple had its beginnings in the sacred dance, so did the orchestra, as the stage, with the chorus as the background of the dramatic action, take its meaning and form from the dance (in Greek, *orcheisthai*). And just as the triad of the activities of the human soul, thinking, feeling and willing, appeared in the structure of the Greek temple, so they reappeared in the three principles of the drama, prologue, episode and exodus (the basis upon which the five-act drama was later built up).

Prometheus Bound,[138] the middle part of Aeschylus' great trilogy, and the only part of it preserved for us, grew out of the dramatist's contact with the mysteries of fire and with Hephaistus. Accused by the Areopagus of betraying the Eleusinia, Aeschylus fled to the altar of Dionysus for refuge and later to Hieron of Syracuse whence he drew the inspiration for the tragedy. Now an exile, and under the influence of these mysteries, he wrote the mighty drama in which the human ego is first given artistic form. Prometheus, the bestower of fire and the arts, is here portrayed as the bringer of individuality to man. This son of Gaia, brother of Kronus and helper of Zeus, now became the friend of man.

The wrath of Prometheus aroused by the envy of Zeus and the jealousy of Hera signifies the transitory stage of the soul on its way to development into compassion and love.[139] Indeed, love and compassion for mortals was the impulse which impelled Prometheus to bring the gifts of fire and of the arts to the human race.

The story of Prometheus expresses the drama of the enkindling of the human ego. When Oceanus speaks to Prometheus (316ff.): "learn to know thyself . . . put away thy moody wrath . . . thou hast

not learned humility, thou art wiser to think for others than for thyself . . ." we feel that the whole tragedy of the ego cries out to heaven and we realize that the development of the drama grew out of this fundamental experience of the blessing and the curse of the egohood. The desire and hope for the Redeemer of the ego are constantly expressed, and when Hephaistos, in chaining Prometheus to the Caucasian rock, exclaimed: "He is not yet born who can deliver thee," we see that this motif of redemption and reconciliation runs from the very outset. Heracles, "the third after the tenth generation", we are told, will free Prometheus through the sacrifice of One who dies voluntarily.

It is obvious that this view of Heracles is that of a predecessor of Christ. In his drama, Aeschylus, fully aware of the secret of the twilight of the gods brought about through the transformation of the soul's consciousness, lets Prometheus answer the leader of the chorus concerning the future of Zeus, with the words: "[Zeus] may not avoid what is destined."

The drama of the ego ends with Prometheus' outcry towards everything above, around and below him: "O, mother earth, all honoured; O, air, revolving thy light, Behold what wrongs I endure."

In the Promethean-drama, revealing the problem of the individuality, the ego feels the fire-impulse of its own will and creation. This impulse cuts it off both from the blood-ties on earth and from the connection with the gods. The final result is that the ego experiences itself within the body as a fettered prisoner and slave until the Redeemer comes.[140]

In Aeschylus' drama the problem of the ego is revealed in its evolution towards a new way of redemption. His *Oresteia,* probably his last work, and his only trilogy which is completely preserved, was awarded the first prize in a contest in tragic poetry in 458 B.C. The drama of Orestes, son of Agamemnon and murderer of his mother Clythemnaestra, culminates in the third part with the appearance of the *Eumenides.* Here the Erinys, who were previously uncompromising instruments of destiny working in vengeance and fury, brought up from the netherworld and through

the advice of Apollo, are won over by Pallas Athena. Athena gives them an abode on the hill of Ares where they sit as the conscience of the twelve judges of the Areopagus. They were transformed into goddesses of mercy, Eumenides (literally, beneficient spirits).

The Eumenides in Aeschylus' drama are of greatest importance in the history of the consciousness of the human race. The Hellenic gods do not possess conscience. They are themselves subdued by the Erinys. But Apollo, the prophet of the gods, who leads the Hellenic spirit towards the future, can tame these furies. As long as he speaks, the Erinys do not utter a sound. "See — they are fallen in sleep." And when Apollo protects Orestes, they cry out at first, "Oh, god, thou hast stolen from us, the avengers, a matricide son." Yet these "children of eternal night" have to recognize at last, "Now are they all undone, the ancient laws."

By this time the world was familiar with two ways of transforming justice into mercy. The old Hebrew dictum, an eye for an eye, gave way before the loving reconciliation which came with Christianity. In the Greek tragedy justice was served by twelve judges of the Areopagus, six of whom voted for, six against Orestes. But the accused was rescued through the mercy of Apollo and Athena and the latter led him "downwards into the cave of the Furies, now transformed into Eumenides under the Areopagus."

The second of the three great Greek tragedians was Sophocles whose principal work was the Oedipus trilogy. This drama is the tragedy of the ego in so far as it portrays the decline of the mysteries and oracles and at the same time the loosening of family blood-ties. It expresses how the human being lost his instinctive feeling for the blood of the forefathers and therefore it shows us the horrible curse of the family tradition which had become decadent. He who could not understand the language of the family blood misjudged this state of decadence and was afflicted with blindness, misery and the decline of his progeny.

The reader of the introductory chapter of this book, concerning the Hellenic consciousness and the problem of its change, has found an account of the Oedipus myth in connection with the medieval legend of Judas Iskariot. The tragic aspect of Oedipus

lies in the fact that he neither understands the language of the oracles nor has the natural instinct for the ties of family blood.

In ancient initiation which began to vanish in the time of Oedipus the soul had to recognize that the consciousness was no longer based on inherited blood-streams. He who aimed at a higher awakening of consciousness had to lose his father. In other words, figuratively speaking, he had to suppress and abandon his dependence on the paternal element. The hero of olden times as we see him in the Homeric age was always described as the "son of a certain father" who was again the son of another and so on. In his sonship he experienced his ego consciousness, for his ego was a part of the paternal ancestry. The mother, however, was considered in connection with the soul of the whole tribe, folk or nation. He who wished to attain a higher insight had to unite himself with the wisdom of the folk-soul. In mythical language this process meant to abandon or to "kill" his father and to unite himself or to "marry" his widowed mother. Therefore we meet so often in ancient myths the expression "the son of a widow."

The Sphinx with which Oedipus comes in contact belongs to the same kind of supersensible beings in mythology as the Erinys or the three-headed Cerberus. The Sphinx was a vision of the making of man from the age of Atlantis, an image of the three functions of the human being: the head (thinking—bird), the heart (feeling—lion) and the limbs (willing—bull).

The Sphinx who appeared before Oedipus was the guardian of the threshold to his native city, Thebes. Had Oedipus been able to solve its riddles, he would have been spared the misery which later came upon him. Oedipus killed the Sphinx with his word. He darkened his own way to a conscious initiation. Therefore, the opposite occurred from that which was shown in the drama of "The Eumenides" by Aeschylus. In that tragedy the Erinys became the beneficient spirits and were lifted from the netherworld to the heights of the Areopagus. The Sphinx of Oedipus was hurled back into the netherworld! For this reason, Oedipus, now an old king, had finally to go to Kolonus where, at the sanctuary of the Erinys, redemption for him was at last possible.

King Oedipus was the leading type of the ancient dramatic hero from the time of Aristotle on. Aristotle pictured him (in *Poetics* XIII) as the "man who is highly renowned and prosperous, but who is not preeminently virtuous and just; whose misfortune, however, is brought upon him, not by vice and depravity, but by some error of judgment or frailty."

In *Antigone,* another tragedy by Sophocles, the character represents a farther step in the unfolding of conscience. Here the ego decides between the man-made law and the divine inner voice which speaks and impels the heart. Antigone experiences the first stirrings of conscience. The doors of heaven were already closed to her: "What law of heaven have I transgressed? Why, hapless one, should I look to the gods any more?"

The character of Antigone also appears in Aeschylus' tragedy, *The Seven Against Thebes.* In her words we clearly apprehend the awakening of the I-consciousness.

> *"And I—to those who make such claims of rule*
> *In Cadmus' town—I, though no other help,*
> *I, I will bury this, my brother's corse . . .*
> *. . . him never shall the wolves with ravening maw*
> *Rend and devour: I forbid the thought!*
> *I, for him, I, albeit a woman weak . . .*
> *Will give him rest."* (1024ff) [141] . .

In the tragedy of Sophocles, Antigone, the daughter of Oedipus, inherited the decadent blood of her parents; yet the grandeur of her tragedy lay in the warmth of her upspringing hope which, even after all her grief, began to glow. As a free-thinking personality, she voluntarily disobeyed the laws of the state; she buried her brother and "wedded death" by entombing herself alive, a deed which, although resembling a scene in the mysteries, was impelled by the cursed perversion of decadence. The hope which we feel in this drama, despite the night of evil and error, stirs with Antigone's words: "T'is not my nature to join in hating, but in loving." This is the tragedy of pity and love born out of the awakening of an individual conscience. Here is a milestone which marks the

development of the drama as it takes its course from the *Euminides* of Aeschylus (458 B.C.).

Euripides was the last dramatist to speak of the *Erinys.* He recognized that the furies, who were at first transformed to *Eumenides* and then brought to their abode under the Areopagus, had disappeared; they had ceased to exist. The individual conscience had come into being *within* man. And for this a new Greek word had to be created. This word conscience, *synesis,* later *syneidesis, of Ionic* origin, was first used by Euripides.

In Euripides all the ancient myths in the magnitude of their vision seem to have flowed together as the last scene in a universal drama. Here we find the sagas of Theseus—*Hippolytus, The Suppliants;* of the Trojan War—*Hecuba, Andromache, The Trojan Women;* of *Medea* and of Heracles—*Heracles, Alcestis, Heracleidae;* and, finally, even of Dionysus himself who appears in *The Bacchae.* In dramatizing the probation and victory of the ego, Euripides consciously returns to the concept of its archetype and origin.

When Euripides, disappointed by the decline of his city through the civil war, took refuge in Macedonia as a voluntary exile from Athens, he wrote *The Bacchae.* In this drama he shows again the power of the influence of the mysteries upon the Greek mind, since even by this great realist and rationalist the world of the mysteries was not entirely ignored.

"There be many shapes of mystery
And many things God makes to be,
Past hope or fear."

These words were spoken at the end of the chorus of *The Bacchae;* and Heracles, returning from the netherworld, said: "I brought to the light that three-headed monster, in fair fight; for I had been lucky enough to witness the rites of the initiated." Euripides here referred to the saga in which Heracles had been initiated into the Eleusinia before he ventured to descend to the netherworld.

Yet Heracles, who brought Theseus to the upperworld and entered Athens with him as an exile from Thebes, where he had slain

his own children (the motif of Oedipus once more), says, finally, when Theseus has persuaded him not to despair and die: "I will harden my heart against death."

Euripides was the first of the dramatists who used the word *synesis* for conscience. The evolution of his own ego-consciousness is marked by the fact that in his early drama, *Iphigenia in Taurus,* he deals with the problems of Orestes' madness in the prevailing manner such as had been followed by Sophocles. The spirits of vengeance, the Erinys, appear as natural forces affecting the destiny of man from outside his consciousness. But then came the end of the civil war which burst the last fetters of the blood-ties. Ancient clairvoyance was almost extinguished and the most important change in the consciousness of the Hellenes took place. The human being began to experience himself, no longer solely as a member of a tribe, clan or polis, but as an individual. This change took place between Euripides' writing of *Iphigenia in Taurus* (about 420 B.C.) and that of *Orestes* (408 B.C.) where the word for conscience first appears in the following lines (*Orestes,* 396):

Menelaos: "What aileth thee? What sickness ruineth thee?"
Ti chrema pascheis? tis s' apollysin nosos?

Orestes: *"Conscience!* — To know I have wrought a fearful deed."
Ho synesis, hoti synoida dein' eirgasmenos.[142]

The *synoida* (to become conscious of) appears here without the usual *hemauto* (to oneself) apparently in poetic abbreviation, indicating that this term was already known.

It is from this passage, written a few years before the death of Socrates, that Plato and Aristotle drew the use of the word *synesis.* The first appearance of the word *syneidesis* is to be found in Democritus (fr. 297 D), Demosthenes (de cor. 110) and Menander (fr. 632 ap. Stob. III, p. 602 H.).[143]

This word *synesis,* later *syneidesis,* is a genuine Hellenic creation. Neither the Hebraic nor Aramaic languages knew it. As an Hellenic idea and term it entered the Hellenistic tradition of the Hebrews and the Koine used it in the writings of the New Testament.

Sophocles once said: "If he [Aeschylus] does however the right one, he does it without knowing. I built the human beings as they are to be, Euripides, as they are." Here we have the best characterization of the style of the three dramatists. Aeschylus wrote in an archaic, mystical style, as if he were translating mystery texts. Sophocles, with all his heart's enthusiasm, presented the characters of his heroes as ideal human beings. Euripides, with the intellect of a dialectician, represented them as real beings of everyday life.

Just as the satyr-drama was presented after the three tragedies which were played from morning until evening, so Aristophanes appears after the triad of these dramatists. The wit, mockery and humor which now followed the tragedies of the earlier masters shows how urgent was the need for relief from the ever-increasing pessimism which intellect and sophistication had reared. In Aristophanes' *Troys,* Heracles and Dionysus are brought upon the stage. In satiric form the motif of initiation appears when Dionysus, disguised as Heracles, descends to the netherworld and brings Aeschylus back to the world of light after winning a contest with Euripides.

This mocking and ridiculing of the mysteries appears again in Aristophanes' *Troys* when Aeacus says to Xauthas: "When I get behind my master's back and quickly curse him, I feel just like the Blessed One in the mysteries."

But the very climax of the spirit of scorn is reached when Aristophanes' in his *Clouds* dares to bring the revered Socrates onto the stage to endure the quips of the sophisticated Athenians.

The wonderful equilibrium between the tragic and the humorous which the Hellenes possessed gave to the world this double endowment of tragedy and comedy. Therein lies the secret of Heraclitus' saying: "Hades and Dionysus are the same".

What, then, was the mission and meaning of the Greek drama and theatre?

First of all, the word *theatron* is derived from *theaomai,* which contains the word god—*theos*—and means to admire or worship in devotion. The theatron was the place where awe was experienced towards the true being of man, so well illustrated by the words

spoken by the chorus of Sophocles' *Antigone* (332-75): "Wonders are many and none is more wonderful than man".

The definition of the mission of the drama which has remained from the days of Hellas down to our present age as an unsurpassable characterization is found in *Poetics* (VI) by Aristotle: "A tragedy is the presentation of a serious, significant action (*praxis teleios*), having also grandeur (*megethos*), expressed in beautiful language with pleasurable associations (*heysmeno logo*), each element introduced separately in the various parts of the work in a dramatic, not a narrative way, so that the presentation arouses compassion (*eleos*) and fear (*phobos*), in order to accomplish a catharsis of such emotions."[144]

In the catharsis lies the key to a true understanding of the drama and its mission in Hellas. Steiner, in explaining the Aristotelian theory of the drama, stressed this point concerning catharsis as evidence of the drama's origin from the mysteries.[145] When the disciples of the mysteries looked out upon the expanses of the world, they experienced fear and anxiety, they were afraid of losing themselves. When the soul looked into her own inner world she was threatened by the egotism of the instincts and passions. One trial of the soul was to experience the dread cold of the cosmic expanses; the other probation led her to the consuming fire of the inner world. The purpose of the first trial was to overcome the feeling of fear in the face of universal emptiness; that of the second was to overcome egotism through compassion.

In the early Greek drama these probations of the soul brought about catharsis—purification. The overcoming of fear led to devotion and awe for the outer world (an Apollonian feeling); the catharsis of egotism led to compassion and love (a Dionysian emotion). This catharsis created the union of the Apollonian and Dionysian principles. It was a preparation for the rise of the ego in rebirth, after the death experience; and in this sense, again, Hades became Dionysus.

At the time of the Peloponnesian War and the death of Pericles, when pestilence swept Athens, the Greeks, abandoning their tribal

blood-ties, no longer remained mere members of the city state with its godhead but became cosmopolitan individuals.

At this time, however, when the foundations laid by the past were shaken and the memory of the gods had totally vanished, man in his loneliness became more than ever aware of three great problems: *thanatos* (death), *moira* (destiny) and *daimon* (conscience and the immortality of the soul). After the three Erinys had disappeared, these three questions more and more tormented the soul of man.

Moira (destiny) was felt as the problem of birth; *thanatos* as that of death, *daimon* as that of resurrection. Fear and awe of death, compassion and love of destiny, and the awakening of conscience in the man within man—these three were the noblest fruits of the soul's catharsis which the drama helped to ripen for Hellas and which Hellas offered to the world.

Among no other people was the drama developed as early as it was in Greece. At a later period the Hindus produced only dramatized epics; the Chinese exhibited only various types on the stage; the Arabs, the Persians and the Hebrews never produced a play. The creation of the drama is Hellas' own deed. It developed those faculties of the soul which the gods lacked; it concluded the reign of the gods and prepared for the coming of the One Who was to be the Redeemer of all men.

The drama of Hellas was a precursor of Christ's advent.[146] Therein lay its true mission. Before mankind as a whole could understand the meaning of life, death on Golgotha and resurrection, the Greek tragedy awakened in the hearts of the Hellenes the persentiment of a Redeemer; when He came no other nation on earth understood the message of the Resurrected One better and more quickly than the Athenians to whom Paul preached on the Areopagus, the very spot where Aeschylus brought the Furies, transforming them into the Eumenides, and where, through Euripides, Orestes began to feel the birth of conscience.

In this triad of awe, compassion and conscience, the curse of the Erinys became transformed into blessings. The full development of these three faculties will ultimately bring to realization in the

character of man what Christ made possible for him. In the sublimation of his soul forces, man is gradually maturing towards perfection in the far future.

The mission of the Greek drama, through the device of the katharsis, brought the reality of conscience to its first expression and started it on its long journey to profounder development in later times.

X

THE RISE OF PHILOSOPHY

The Quest of the Golden Fleece

"Philosophy is God's special covenant with the Greeks as a basis for the philosophy according to Christ."
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

1. *THE FIRST PHILOSOPHERS*

THE TORCH OF IONIA

To become a *philosophos,* a *poietes* and a *politikos* was among the foremost ideals of education in Hellas. Every Hellene was on the road to become a philosopher just as everyone wished to be an artist and an active member of the polis. To aim at wisdom was as natural as to use the gifts of the head along with the forces of the heart and hand for developing harmony in man.

The striving for knowledge was intimately bound up with the love for wisdom, *philo-sophia,* from which the word philosopher, lover (*philos*) of wisdom (*sophia*), is derived. This love of wisdom sprang not only from the head but from the heart where the arts are nurtured. It was a true and beautiful phrase in which Plato called philosophy "the noblest and best of music".[147]

We may say that philosophy in Hellas as the "noblest music" of Apollo's muses derived from Mount Parnassus where Deucalion's ark landed after the deluge. In speaking of Greek philosophy we touch the very soul of Hellas in her profoundest revelations and ultimate perfections!

Philosophy could not arise until after the flood of Deucalion which was followed by the age of darkness making blind the eyes of the soul in the declining days of the oracles. To philosophize was, therefore, the soul's desire for light within the darkness. Ever since the flood of Deucalion the Hellenes had been occupied with the

quest of the golden fleece: a pursuit which influenced Greek life from its incipience to its decadence.[148] The golden fleece represented the lost purity of the soul and the forfeited insight into the realm of the spirit. Orpheus, who participated in the voyage of the Argonauts, was the first bringer of light into the age of iron and darkness. He struck the spark from which the torch of philosophy later took its light.

"The fleece is something belonging to man, and infinitely precious to him. . . . It is something from which he was separated in times of yore, and for the recovery of which he has to overcome terrible opposition. It is thus with the eternal in the human soul. It belongs to man, but man is separated from it by his lower nature. Only by overcoming the latter and lulling it to sleep, can he recover the eternal. This becomes possible when his own consciousness (Medea) comes to his aid with its magic power. Medea is to Jason what Diotima was to Socrates, a teacher of love. Man's own wisdom has the magic power necessary for attaining the divine after having overcome the transitory."[149] Jason, who brought back the golden fleece, is, indeed, the healer of the soul, a son of Apollo, like Asclepius to whom the dying Socrates wisely sacrificed a cock.

The age of darkness caused Hesiod's outcry: "O that I lived not in afterdays . . . for now, indeed, is the race of Iron," and Achilles' lament to Odysseus: "Seek not to console me for death; I would rather be a hired servant than the king over all the dead."[150] It lived within the odes of Pindar, the songs of Sappho, the tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles, as man's gigantic struggle with the question of birth and death.

Who gave the answer?

"The true philosophers, and they only, are ever seeking to release the soul. Is not the separation and release of the soul from the body their special consideration? The true philosophers are always occupied in the practice of dying, wherefore also to them least of all men is death terrible," said Socrates in Plato's *Phaedo.*

Offspring of Deucalion, the Hellene was a philosopher in his inmost nature and at the very outset of his life. There is, however, a

definite era which heralded the beginning of philosophy: the sixth century, B.C. During this time lived some of the most outstanding men in world history.

At the time when the first Greek statues of Apollo appeared in marble, and when the lyricists at the court of the tyrants began to sing in the age of Solon, the cult which was that of Apollo in Greece appeared in Phoenicia as that of Adonis, in Persia as that of Marduk and in Palestine as veneration of the Archangel, Michael. The sixth century B.C., indeed, marked the beginning of the spiritual government of Apollo-Adonis-Michael-Marduk and it was he who inspired the minds of men to bring the new light of the intellect into the darkness of the age. At the very outset of this epoch we see Pythagoras wandering to Egypt and Phoenicia, becoming the disciple of Zarathustra (Nazaratos)[151] in Babylonia. Zarathustra inspired the Jewish prophets Daniel, Ezekiel and Zachariah at the very time when Gautama Buddha lived in India and Confucius in China.

The appearance of so many leaders of mankind in the same era is by no means an accident. The hour of man's destiny was now sounding when a wholly new faculty of human consciousness was to be called into being by the emergence of Ionia's philosophy. The great masters of Ionia who brought the new torch to Hellas appeared not as single individuals, as pioneers, but as a multitude of thinkers and scientists gathered simultaneously together: Pherekydes of Syros, Thales of Miletus, Pythagoras of Samos, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Xenophanes, Heraclitus of Ephesus and Empedocles! All these philosophers of the sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. were responsible for the awakening of the intellect and were followed by numerous other thinkers, creators and teachers of incomparable originality.

The light which the torch of Ionia's philosophers brought to the world differed fundamentally from that given out by the Egyptian initiates and the Jewish prophets, and from the teachings of Zarathustra, Gautama Buddha and Confucius. These Oriental leaders were founders of religions based on clairvoyance, cult and initia-

tion. The thinkers of Ionia were the first souls to conduct independent research, to weigh critically and judge individually. The Ionic philosophers, although originally drawing their wisdom from the mysteries, did not return to them, but left the old gods and created their own mythology.

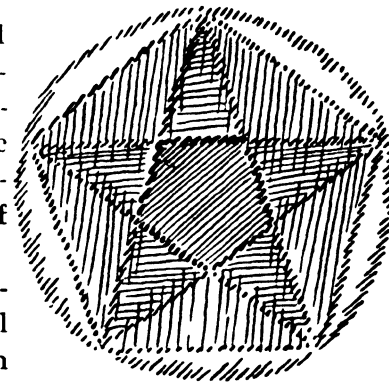
When the intellect first awakened in Pherekydes of Syros who experienced initiation in Phoenicia, it was to view the earth's origin independently and to grasp the Greek imagination of the triad: Chronos, Zeus and Chton. Pherekydes still gave pictures of mythology, but these were emancipated from the popular stories of the Olympian gods. The images of the gods became his ideas of the earth's origin in time (Chronos), space (Zeus) and matter (Chton). His ideas lay on the boundary between ancient clairvoyance and the independent functioning of the intellect.

Such ideas were characteristic of the whole development of Ionia's early philosophy. Imagination and idea were weighed in the balance. The Orpheans still lived in their old picture-consciousness; they stood behind the Ionian thinkers. Pythagoras emerged as a universal genius, a supreme leader of Hellas. He was initiated in various mystery-schools in Egypt and Asia Minor, was a disciple of Zarathustra-Nazaratos in Babylonia, and returned to Greece after founding a new mystery school in Croton in southern Italy.

Removed from the Greeks by two thousand years, we can have today but a dim idea of the profundity and universality of insight and intuition which actually lived among the Pythagoreans. Their schooling led to the inspired clairaudience of the harmony of the spheres, the cosmic music and mathematics (of which only an afterglow is contained in books like Plato's *Timaeus*); they taught the reincarnation of the human spirit and the preexistence of the soul and of our solar system.

Rudolf Steiner gave one example of a geometrical design of the Pythagorean school which was used as a meditation upon the varying degrees of strength which the surfaces of the figure acquire.[152] These various surfaces and geometrical figures contained in the pentagram inscribed in a circle — the circle itself, the pentagram, the five triangles composing it and the central pentagon — sym-

bolized the fourfold nature of man.



The pentagram was the symbol of the philosophy of the Pythagoreans. Two millenia later, Kepler[153] called the pentagram and the Pythagorean theorem the most important phenomena in geometry of all time.

Geometry in the schools of Pythagoras was a way to spiritual activity; its figures were used in meditation for building the bridge between the imagination of the picture-consciousness and the ideas of the intellect. These geometrical forms were ideas which one could comprehend through the eyes of body and soul. They were the perfect school for those who perceived the concepts and conceived the percepts as did the Hellenes. Their geometry culminated in the study of the triangle, particularly the right-angled triangle from which they developed many fundamental theorems. Characteristically Hellenic was the Pythagorean thought on the relationship between triangle and square, and the discovery that the square on the hypotenuse of the right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares on the other two sides.

The recognition of the relation between triangle and square led the Greek mind to basic insight into the relationship of soul and body. The triangle was the geometrical expression of the threefold forces of the soul, the square symbolized the structure of the physical body in its four main elements: bones, glands, nerves and blood. The doctrine of these four elements of our physical structure was closely allied with the Hellenic teaching about the four temperaments. It was by no means an intellectual abstraction but an experience of nature-study and geometry when Thales spoke of water, Anaximenes of air, Heraclitus of fire and Anaximander of the "unlimited", the ether, as the origin of underlying substance of all things.

If a Hellene felt the predominance of the bony structure in his

body, he knew it was the element of earth which caused him to have a melancholic temperament, he regarded his bony structure as the symbol of the incarceration of the ego within the physical body. Melancholy is derived from the Greek *melas* (black) and *chole* (gall), reminding us of Prometheus' pains when the vulture gnawed at his liver.

The phlegmatic temperament was experienced by the Hellenes in connection with the watery element in nature, and in man with the glandular, lymphatic system. The word is derived from the Greek *phlegma* and *phlegmaino* which means to swell in inflammation, to become slimy or to cause phlegm, clearly indicating the activity of the glands.

The sanguine temperament was experienced in connection with the air. It was based on the predominance of our nervous system.

Lastly, the choleric temperament was felt within the element of fire, within the warmth of the blood (Greek *chole* or *cholos* meant gall, rage, anger).

Thales experienced his phlegmatic temperament inwardly and at the same time the secrets of the element of water, which he considered the origin of creation. Anaximenes, in his sanguine temperament, saw everything originating from the air. "As our soul, which is a breath within us, holds us together, so air and breath embrace the universe."

Anaximander's first principle was the "unlimited" which was capable of differentiation into all kinds of definite matter. He saw the origin of the world in ether, in space. Anaximander's ether is the "Zeus of Pherekydes" stripped of his imaginations. "The Zeus of Pherekydes became for Anaximander a mere idea of the unlimited, a most remarkable transition within the unfolding of Hellas' thinking!"[154] Anaximander's thinking took its source from the element of earth and his melancholic temperament; he drew the first map of geography in collaboration with Hecataeus who wrote the first textbook on that subject. On Anaximander's map the Nile and the Danube appeared on the same meridian and all features were symmetrically arranged (an interesting evidence of the consciousness still on the boundary of pictures), while Heca-

taeus struggled with the myths and found their stories "manifold and absurd."

In all this striving and struggling was a rebellion against the past, a revolution of the spirit which Ionia enkindled and brought to the entire world of the West. Herein lay the spiritual background for the revolt of the Ionian cities against the Persian government and it was not by chance that Miletus was the first of all cities to be completely destroyed by the Persians at the outset of the Persian War, for her citizen, Thales, was the first philosopher.

But the focal point of all these movements — the silent mother brooding over her child, Philosophia—was the mystery center of Ephesus, the only outpost which was spared by the barbarians from Croesus and Darius to Xerxes and Tissaphernes. Here could be found the core of the teaching of the logos, the cosmic word through which occurred the ultimate transition from the former picture-consciousness to that of the intellect.

Heraclitus of Ephesus, priest of the Artemis-temple, initiate and philosopher, deposited his book of wisdom on the altar of the goddess when, in old age, he retired to the forest and died. He said that his book would be dark for the uninitiated but brighter than the sun for those who might be introduced to it by an initiate.[155] Heraclitus, with his choleric temperament, was dedicated to the element of fire. Thence came his saying: *Panta rhei,* everything flows, everything is in a state of eternal flux. His teaching was connected with the mystery-traditions of reincarnation. It was ridiculous, in his opinion, to be afraid of death, for during life we experience constant dying. "The death of fire is the birth of air, the death of air is the birth of water and so the youth dies into the birth of the aged man as yesterday dies into today."[156] His constant meditation were the problems of life and death, those fundamental questions of the whole Graeco-Roman period: "Life and death are both in our living and in our dying; for after we are dead our souls come to life again." "Immortals are mortal, and mortals are immortal"; and another fragment said: "How can we say about daily life that 'We are', when from the standpoint of the eternal we know that 'we are and we are not.'" Therefore he came to the thought:

"Hades and Dionysus are one and the same." This, however, was a mystery word, understandable only to those who experienced the mystical transformation in which Persephone, the soul whose husband was Hades, united herself with Dionysus. Only those who experienced the forces of awakening and resurrection of the spirit within the body could grasp the significance of Heraclitus' words. His thinking was still connected with the action of waxing and waning, of becoming and dying, and thus he understood fire as the principle of the cosmos and the fire of the blood as the foundation of our ego. Typically choleric, he said: "Strife is the father of all things."

Personality was for Heraclitus the divine daimon, the actor in destiny: "Man's daimon is his destiny." The daimon does not live solely within a single life of the personality. He has the power to animate it many successive times. The great idea of reincarnation sprang spontaneously from the thoughts of Heraclitus and His doctrine of the flux was quoted again and again. It was probably his pupil, Kratylus, who gave us the famous saying: "We do not dip twice into the same wave; we are and we are not."[157]

One cannot fail to feel the great struggle which was constantly waged in such minds as those of Heraclitus, Xenophanes and Empedocles. They were the lonely pioneers who translated the old imaginations into the first words of the new language of the intellect. Yet this intellect was still unable to grasp the content without recourse to the picture-consciousness, without achieving initiation.

In such conflict Xenophanes lived when he criticized the gods of mythology, saying that if human beings were bull-like or lion-like, he could imagine the gods would also look like bulls or lions. Yet he was not a sceptic but a mystic when he revealed: "One God is among gods the greatest, and among mortals; neither similar to mortals in body nor even in thought." This was the "unknown god" of the mysteries, the divine daimon of man.

What follows was the feeling of Empedocles: "The divine lives within me as the force to deify the human being more and more. I am an exile from heaven and a wanderer, having put my trust in raging strife". For Empedocles the sense-world was only a cavern.

Yet he declared himself a god who dwells within himself: "Not a mortal but an immortal god I go around." And he sang: "When you leave your body and you lift yourself up to the free ether, you will be an immortal god, escaped from death."[158]

The first act of the drama of Hellas' thought-life drew to a close when Empedocles, the last of the thinkers who were seers and priests, cast himself into the crater of Mount Etna. There is no more symbolic and tragic expression of the fact that the age of picture-consciousness was gone and that the altars of the temples were deserted by the gods. With Empedocles, this Faust of antiquity, the ancient clairvoyance died away. The last initiate perished in the volcanic flames of Mount Etna.

Yet the torch of wisdom which Ionia lighted burned on, brightening the road toward a new vista of the future!

2. *SOCRATES AND THE SOPHISTS*
The Intellect's Temptation and Sacrifice

The first phase of Hellenic development which ended with Empedocles' suicide marked the birth of the intellect in the cities and islands of Ionia. The intellect appeared to be carried and nurtured by the soul with a feeling of wonder and awe, for, according to Plato: . . . "wonder is the feeling of a philosopher and philosophy begins in wonder".[159]

The epoch after the Persian War was entirely different from the preceding era. The intellect awoke within the soul; it left the former boundaries of vision, initiation and mystery tradition and rested on its own foundation. This new light which Ionia had enkindled was strong enough to illumine the world of Hellas and to replace its former oracles, mysteries and sages!

The foremost event of this phase of Hellas' thought-life was the discovery of the true character of moonlight by Anaxagoras. Anaxagoras was born in Clazomene, in Asiatic Ionia, entered Athens and became the teacher of Pericles. This fact alone symbolizes a new step on the path blazed by Ionia and tells us how philosophy became the very heart of Greek life.

Anaxagoras' nature-study led him to a mechanical theory of the

material universe and he ventured to declare that the light of the moon is but the reflection of that of the sun.

What did the moon mean in the life of the Hellenes? We know that the year in Hellas was a moon-year, starting with the new moon after the summer solstice. The Pythia of the sun-god, Apollo, faced the disk of the full moon at midnight when she prophesied. All the mysteries of Dionysus were moon-mysteries in character. In Ephesus, one of the foremost of the sanctuaries, Artemis was venerated as the Luna-Selene (moon) godhead just as she was also worshipped as Diana and Hecate. In the mysteries the moon stood for the olden clairvoyance which was based on blood-ties, family and tribal traditions. The whole character of Hellenic mythology was determined by the moon as the messenger and reflector of the past.

And now, suddenly, the moonlight was declared to be a mere reflection of the physical rays of the sun! Nothing could indicate more clearly the arrival of the hour when the darkening of the temples was complete and when the intellect, abandoning entirely what it now deemed to be the prejudices and superstitions of mythology, boldly undertook fundamental research into physical matter. "Concerning the gods I cannot know for certain whether they exist or not, nor what they are like in form,"[160] wrote Protagoras, a contemporary of Anaxagoras, a saying which contained the gist and substance of this whole epoch of thinking.

Anaxagoras spoke of the *Nous* — the world-mind which underlay nature. He asserted that the processes of nature are the work of primeval beings (*homoiomeriae*); the soul can experience her connection with the *Nous* and through "the windows of the senses" can also see the effects of the *Nous* in the *homoiomeriae*. The *Nous* of Anaxagoras was a world-consciousness of divine law and dignity. With Democritus it became the unconscious law of nature, blind necessity (*ananke*). Democritus introduced materialism into the life of thinking. In his world conception nature had neither soul nor spirit. His thoughts grew pale and ended in a mere shadow picture of soulless nature. The world was no more than a sum of atoms.

Protagoras with his saying, "Man is the measure of all things," appeared when the intellect became self-confident and self-reliant, the center of the world. Now the danger of pride, conceit and error, concealed in the loneliness of the mere intellect, was at hand. The crisis and test of Greek thought-life began with Anaxagoras, Leukippos, Democritus, Parmenides, Zenon and Melissos. It was inherent in the movement of Sophistry with Protagoras, Gorgias, Kritias, Hippias, Trasymachus and Prodikus.

The soul now experienced thought as so completely emancipated and independent of itself that the intellect became a mere instrument for dealing with such subjects as addition, subtraction, multiplication and division in arithmetic. The Logos as the world-reason, approached by Heraclitus in priestly meditation and conceived by Anaxagoras as *Nous,* was an objective idea of the world-creating power which built the cosmos through the fiery substance of all-moving wisdom. Now the thinkers turned from cosmos to man. They discovered the wisdom of the world-creating Logos also at work within the soul of the human being. The world-reason, the *Nous,* left a divine spark of his fire within the intellect of man. The word of the world finds its shadowy after-image within the word which lives between the I and the You. Figuratively speaking: the Logos became *dia-logos,* dialogue. Dialogue worked between human souls as dialectic, a word which is derived from the Greek verb *dialegomai* and the noun *dialogos.*

Dialectic was spoken thought and thinking speech through which the content of thought revealed itself as something in between, i.e. *dia.* Thus dialectic was the second step in the development of Greek thinking when it was finally estranged from nature. It became, therefore, a playball of contradictions, versions, opinions and standpoints. With childish pride in his newly born intellect, man began to think for the mere satisfaction of arguing. Dialectic could lead to the center of his power of intellect but it could also linger at the mere surface of formulas and thus result in sophistry.

Sophistry appeared as a children's disease of the new faculty of dialectic. The Sophists with all their hair-splitting, quibbling, fallacy and trickery abused the independence of the intellect and

brought the Greek mind to an abyss of materialism, scepticism and irony through which the golden treasure of all its art and science was in danger of being lost. The Sophists were caricatures of the true philosophers.

Who brought the decisive turn in the course of dialectic? Who healed the children's disease of the intellectual soul?

The redeemer of sophistry was one who began to work among the sophists at first as their disciple, then as their master, and finally as their savior: Socrates.

The life of Socrates was coincident with Hellas' turning point brought about by the Peleponnesian War. Following those decades at the end of the fifth century the Hellenes came into their full personality. The feeling of mere membership in the polis gave way to that of complete individualism. Great was the danger that the individual might lose all his background of tradition, religion and custom and might now fall into the snares of irony, wit, and scepticism and into the materialism of sophistry!

Socrates was a dialectician, yet he did not misdirect the attention to mere surface wit but led it to the center of the intellect. He did not write down a single line of his thoughts; he devoted himself entirely to the *Dia-Logos*. Hence he called himself a midwife of thought. His method of thinking was indeed a way — a walking with the legs and a talking with the tongue: a speaking thought, a thinking speech. The "logos in between" — the dialogue — was a living being who strove for the truth and through wisdom called forth temperance and justice. The *dia-logos* was the new principle wherewith to attain *harmonia* and *kalokagathia* — the true dignity of man.

Socrates was the mightiest individual at the time of the Civil War. The walls of Athens were destroyed, the fleet of the empire was lost, the colonies fell away from the metropolis and nothing was left but the impertinence of Alcibiades, the scepticism of Euripides and the frivolity of Aristophanes in the unchecked state of individualism. Despite these catastrophic changes in the world around him Socrates revealed anew the word of Heraclitus: "Man's destiny is his daimon." This daimon more and more appeared, in

the age at the end of the Attic drama, as the inner voice of the Divine.

The daimonion of Socrates must not be literally translated as conscience. The daimon was Socrates' religious interpretation of the divine voice within the soul of man, a conception which led to the awareness of conscience. It is interesting to read in Plato's *Criton* how Socrates reasoned about the possibilities of escape from prison. Within his long argument he said: "I am and always have been one of those natures who must be guided by reason." In the dialogue of Crito with Socrates the Laws come and argue with him. In the conclusion he conceives the various arguments as one voice: "This, dear Crito, is the voice which I seem to hear murmuring in my ears, like the sound of the flute in the ears of the mystic; that voice, I say, is humming in my ears, and prevents me from hearing any other. And I know that anything more which you may say will be vain . . . leave me then, Crito, to fulfill the will of God, and to follow whither he leads."[161] There can hardly be found more illuminating words of Socrates' than these which hint at the transition in consciousness from the "will of God" to the hearing of the voice "like the sound of the flute in the ears of the mystic."

Socrates' death brought the true climax in the Greek life of thought. He declared as often as he could that he never sought for initiation into the Eleusinia or other mysteries and he never aimed at any access to sanctuaries, hierophants or oracles. His "I know that I know not" was the self-reliance of the intellectual soul without any illusions or deceptions. He had nothing but trust in the instrument of his thinking which now worked within his *daimon*. The intellect of Socrates did not drive him to retreat to the altar of the Artemis temple like Heraclitus nor impel him to end his life in the crater of Mount Etna like Empedocles; on the contrary, it led him to face the reality of his day, urged him into street and market place and linked him with his fellow men. Since his intellect could not compromise with the past he was accused of "corrupting" the youth.

The death of Socrates is comparable to the sacrifice of Iphigenia at the beginning of Greek history. It made him, who developed

from sophist into universal thinker, a martyr to Greek philosophy. In its search for truth his intellectual soul caused him to meet the supreme test, make the ultimate sacrifice. "The world does not see that dying and death are the only study of men who rightly engage in philosophy", he said in Plato's *Phaedo.*

Plato indicates that the ancestor of Socrates was Daedalus, the mythical architect of Athens, who paid the price for his intellect in the death of his son, Icarus. "I must be greater than Daedalus", said Socrates in the Platonic dialogue *Eutyphron,* "for whereas he only made his own inventions to move, I move those of other people as well. And the beauty of it is, that I would rather not. For I would give the wisdom of Daedalus and the wealth of Tantalus to be able to detain them and keep them fixed."[162]

Socrates' sacrificial death brought to birth a new type of man. He saved *sophia* (wisdom) and *phronesis* (reason) from sophistry, (sophistication). He gave back to thinking its foundation of awe and wonder. He showed that thinking must not cut itself off from the past but must pave the road for the future. In the hour of death when he had to drink the hemlock which unjust accusation brought him, he offered a cock to Asclepius, the son of Apollo, the god of healing. His last words which the dialogue *Crito* preserved, show his supreme confidence in the immortality of the soul which thinks: "I owe a cock to Asclepius, will you remember the debt?"

3. *PLATO*

THE TRIUMPH OF THE THINKING SOUL

The death of Socrates marked the rise of Plato as a philosopher. Before this event Plato had posed as dramatist, orator, actor and poet. It was only the death and martyrdom of his teacher which brought him, a wealthy Athenian of an aristocratic family whose ancestor was Solon, to the decision to devote his life henceforth to writing down the dialogues. His sole purpose was to glorify the method of Socrates' dialectic and to immortalize his words.

Instead of rushing into literary activity or hurriedly opening a school of his own, Plato left Athens and went to Megara there associating himself with the geometrician, Euclid. Then he traveled to

Egypt, Cyrene, Magna Graecia and Sicily. In Italy he became acquainted with the Pythagoreans and this connection deepened his mystical insight. His travels to the Orient led to an apprenticeship in initiation. When he returned to Athens he was about forty. He matured slowly but mounted steadily towards a majestic climax. It seemed that he might live forever! When he died at the age of eighty, after a night at a wedding feast in the house of a friend, he appeared simply to fall asleep.

Plato was to become a dramatist of dialectics. The principles of the dialogue as dialectic like those of the drama had their origin in the mission of Dionysus. The meaning of the drama revealed itself in the element of *katharsis,* the purification of the soul. Plato's philosophy aimed at this spiritual katharsis, too. In the era of the decadence of the drama Plato repudiated the theatre and trusted in philosophizing as the only true way to perpetuate the message of the Attic tragedy which had passed.

Plato became the philosopher who continued the way towards the conscience which the Greek drama had triumphantly opened. It is true that neither in the words of Socrates nor elsewhere in Plato's books the word *syneidesis* (conscience) appears. The decision for Good or Evil is for him a matter of reason and cognition.[163] There is not yet a strict distinction between the objective cognition of truth and justice and their subjective perception within the soul.[164] Yet in the writings of Plato there lay the most important step which immediately afterwards led to the perception of conscience. Ulrich v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff points to Socrates and Plato as those who prepared for the coming of conscience. Indeed, Socrates cannot be better characterized than as the incarnation of the living and moving conscience of all human beings. Although neither he nor Plato used the Hellenic word *syneidesis* it is essential to observe that the expression *syneidenai to heauto* (to become conscious of oneself) already existed in the form of a verb. It was but a short step which now led to the formulation of the noun *syneidesis*—conscience![165]

The cognition of the daimon, as Socrates taught it, led from the objective reasoning about the good and beautiful to the sub-

jective perception of the voice of the divine. When Plato described Socrates as teaching justice, he had Socrates ask: "Who is better in grammar, he who writes right with intention or he who does it without?" And speaking of justice: "Who is worse, he who lies intentionally or he who does not?" Plato's point was always to show the importance of our intentions, through which we become conscious of ourselves. That was the reason why he felt that virtue had to be taught.

The dialogues of Plato inaugurated the method of thinking, just as the Dionysian mysteries previously led to clairvoyance. In Plato the principle of Dionysus was born anew. This principle no longer lived as a power of mystical insight, but as a force of conscience, appearing as the voice of the daimon. It was this inmost experience which caused the young man, whose name was at first Aristocles, the off-spring of Solon, to burn his poems and change his name to Plato which meant "broad". "I thank God," he said, "that I was born Greek and not barbarian, freeman and not a slave, man and not a woman; but above all that I was born in the age of Socrates."

Plato not only looked back to Socrates' teaching and death, he looked further back, to the past of the world's existence. His world conception culminated in *anamnesis,* the remembrance by the soul of its existence before its birth in the realm of ideas. The world was split into two parts for Plato: the world of ideas, and the world of objects, of matter. His main thesis was that objects can be seen but never thought and ideas can be thought but not seen. The strict conception of a duality between matter and spirit cut a gap between the world of the soul and the body, which, he declared cannot be bridged in our earthly existence. Our body is, in Plato's view, the prison of the soul and the spirit; they live as prisoners as long as the body exists. To this idea Plato gave the clearest expression in the parable in his *Republic* (VII) : "Behold, human beings living in an underground den, which has a mouth open towards the light and reaching all along the den; here they have been from childhood and have their legs and necks chained so that they cannot move and can only see before them, being prevented by the chains from turning their heads around. Above and behind them

MARSYAS

(*Constantinople*: *Imperial Ottoman Museum*)

Satyr-type, *see* Chapter III.

a fire is blazing at a distance, and between the fire and the prisoners there is a raised way; and you will see, if you look, a low wall built along the way, like the screen which marionette players have in front of them, over which they show the puppets . . . and do you see men passing along the wall . . . they are strange prisoners, like ourselves, and they see only their own shadows or the shadows of one another, which the fire throws on the opposite wall of the cave." Certainly a most pessimistic view of our earthly existence and a most miserable valuation of our cognition on earth!

In Plato's writings there is always mourning over our lost paradise, and his anxious revival of the past is motivated by a recognition of the fact that we are children of Deucalion, of the dark age, and that the blindness of the eyes of our soul cuts us off from the world of the ideas in which we lived during our pre-natal existence. In Plato all the treasures of ancient mystery-wisdom flowed together and even Benjamin Jowett, from the standpoint of modern materialism, had to admit: "We may believe that Plato was serious in his conception of the soul as a motive power, in his reminiscence of a former state of being, in his elevation of the reason over sense and passion and perhaps in his doctrine of transmigration."[166]

The dialogues are a reservoir of all former truth. "There is only one way of understanding him [Plato] thoroughly. It is to place him in the light which streams forth from the mysteries . . . much more passed from Plato to his disciples than the literal meaning of his words. The place where he taught his listeners thrilled in the atmosphere of the mysteries. His words awoke overtones in higher regions, which vibrated with them, but these overtones needed the atmosphere of the mysteries, or they died away without having been heard," writes Rudolf Steiner.[167] Plato, indeed, was far more mystic than philosopher. Socrates, in Plato's *Phaedrus*, tells us the story of the four kinds of divine insight, mantic (*mantike*). Mantic was prophecy, a divine obsession of the soul, the gift of Apollo in the mystical manner of katharsis. It further embraced the tests and probations of the soul through the mysteries of Dionysus; inspiration, the gift of the muses; and finally, the mystical in-

sight of intuition which the power of love grants as the highest gift of Aphrodite and Eros.

Inspiration was for Plato a reality of consciousness, an achievement of the truly loving soul. This higher love, different from the lower love of sexuality, leads to divine truth: it is love for wisdom, philo-sophia. The Platonic dialogues were dramas in the truest sense of the word. Their composition shows clearly a structure of prologue, peripety, climax and conclusion: they were dramas of knowledge. "There is a divinity moving you, like that contained in the stone of Heraclea [a magnet] . . . in like manner the muse inspires men herself." Yet the task of the philosopher is not passively to wait for inspiration but actively to become a lover of wisdom along the path of constant katharsis of the soul. The Academy of Plato, one mile north of the city of Athens, had over its portal the inscription: "Let none but geometricians enter here." A severe challenge in the sense of the Pythagoreans was this saying, which was to remind the disciples to pursue the path toward purification of the soul.

Countless and unsurpassable are the examples of beauty, wisdom and dignity within the compositions of the Platonic dialogues. One among hundreds which we might cite appears in his *Charmides* with its discussion of temperance or *sophrosyne*. What is temperance? A sevenfold answer is given: temperance may be called quietness, or modesty; it may appear as doing good; as self-knowledge; as knowledge of what man knows and of what he does not know. Finally and seventhly: temperance is knowledge of knowledge, the highest consciousness of good and evil! Herein Plato proved himself a mystic, for this composition reveals the power of an awakening to the goal of self-cognition, to the knowledge of knowledge, to the inmost roots of existence.

In *Phaedo* Socrates spoke of the "glorious truth that the soul is immortal, having been born again many times, and having seen all things that exist . . . for all inquiry and all learning are but recollection." The same idea of pre-existence of the soul and reincarnation of the spirit appears in *Meno,* in *Phaedrus* and in the *Republic.* In the *Republic* Plato tells us the vision of Er, the son of

Armenius, who while "dead" for twelve days in a sleep of initiation descended to the three Fates: Lachesis of the past, Clotho of the present and Atropos of the future. The following words definitely hint at the doctrine of reincarnation: "Hear the words of Lachesis, the daughter of necessity. Mortal soul, behold a new cycle of life and mortality. Your genius will not be allotted to you; you will choose your genius."

In his *Phaedrus* he declared the true light of the soul to be the recollection of the past. It is plainly evident that Plato gained his insight from sources of Oriental and Egyptian wisdom when he introduced the dialogue with the tale of Teuth, the inventor of writing, to whom the god Thamus (Amon), king of Thebes, said, in speaking of the Hellenes: "They will appear to be omniscient and will generally know nothing; they will be tiresome company, having the show of wisdom without the reality." In this dialogue, Plato gave the first indication of the three-fold division of the human soul as it appeared in the history of philosophy, when he pictured the forces of the soul as two winged horses guided by a charioteer. The intellectual or mind-soul is the charioteer or pilot. He discriminates between two origins of the soul when he speaks of *psyche logistike* (the spiritual soul with the ability of free reason, and freedom which comes from the divine) and *psyche alogos* (the merely sensual, unfree and unreasoning soul, springing from the elements and demons.) In differentiating between the spiritual soul and the bodily soul, the intellectual soul standing between the other two, Plato revealed the threefold nature of the psyche for the first time in the history of philosophy. The true capacity of the soul —a self-motivating principle and therefore immortal — is a recollection of the past.

The mind as the pilot or charioteer of the soul beholds all truth through the harmony of knowledge, temperance and justice. In this dialogue he spoke of the reincarnation of souls according to their destinies. He pictured the perfection of the individual soul in stating that it grows "wings," which gradually liberate it from the earthly body. He even went so far as to speak of the soul of an ordinary person, as one whose wings grow within a cycle of ten thou-

sand years, while the souls of advanced human beings, such as philosophers ought to be, can grow within a cycle of but three thousand years.

In *Cratylus* where Plato gave a view of the origin and meaning of language, he took his start from the Logos-teaching of Heraclitus of Ephesus, who advanced the theory of reincarnation in his doctrine of the eternal flux. Just as Plato said of languages that they "are not made but grow," so he conceived the development of the soul as a progress toward maturity: "I fancy to myself Heraclitus repeating wise traditions of antiquity as old as the days of Cronus and Rhea and of which Homer also spoke."

The atmosphere of true wonder with which philosophy begins exists throughout the *Timaeus* and the fragments of *Critias,* the latter significantly breaking off when the flood of Deucalion was about to be described. No other dialogue shows the profundity of Plato's mystery wisdom and its transformation into the new language of ethics and psychology, as clearly as *Timaeus.*

At the very beginning of *Timaeus* an initiation in Egypt is mentioned in which Plato's ancestor, Solon, appears as initiated by an Egyptian priest. "Now it is difficult to find the creator and father of the universe and when we have found him, it is impossible to speak about him so that all may understand," wrote Plato. God, the Father, created the universe out of the body and soul of the world. He mixed the elements in harmonious proportions and poured himself out, giving up his separate existence. The soul of the world was stretched upon the body of the world in the form of a cross. Plato called nature the tomb of the divine spirit which is the crucified soul of the world. Man must release this soul, it must rise again from its death. The wisdom, the cognition of man, is the resurrection of the Divine. In man God is manifest. This world would not be perfect if the image of its creator were not to be found within it. Plato concluded: This image is to be found within the human soul. The divine principle which is resurrected within the mind of man is the principle of the Son, God's offspring, whom man brings to birth.

Among all his works the *Symposium* is the most perfect in form

and "may be truly thought to contain more than any commentator ever dreamed of," as Benjamin Jowett wrote in his analysis of the Platonic dialogues.[168] The thoughts in the *Symposium* are given in the form of a sevenfold path. Phaedrus and Pausanias talk about love from the ethical standpoint; Eryximachus and Aristophanes from the physical; Agathon from that of the poet. The sixth speaker, Socrates, appears. He gives his contributions as the mere philosopher. Yet in a most wonderful way the composition reveals a profound secret. Socrates did not actually speak with his own words, but repeated those of his mistress, Diotima, to himself, as a dialogue within the dialogue. The summit of the *Symposium* is reached in the cognition that in perfect beauty of eternal knowledge love is satisfied. The eternal Logos appears as love as well as wisdom: "For wisdom is a most beautiful thing and love is of the beautiful and therefore love is also a philosopher or lover of wisdom." Love in the teaching of Diotima to Socrates, is the divine power of thought.

The previous speakers in the *Symposium*, Phaedrus, Pausanius, Eryximachus, Aristophanes and Agathon, told of the "lesser mysteries of love." Diotima revealed through the tongue of Socrates the greater mysteries of love:

> "In that communion only, beholding beauty with the eye of the mind, he will be enabled to bring forth, not images of beauty, but realities (for he has hold not of an image but of a reality); and, bringing forth and nourishing true virtue, to become the friend of God and be immortal, if mortal man may."[169]

The end of Diotima's words, this dialogue within the dialogue, is the peripety, the turning point of the drama of the *Symposium*. Diotima appeared as the higher man within Socrates, his *daimon*, who spoke through him as the true victor over all sophistry. "It was through mantic art that he came to his conception of love. Diotima, the priestess, awakened in Socrates the daimonic force which was to lead him to the divine. She initiated him. This passage in the *Symposium* is highly suggestive. The wise woman who awakened the daimon in Socrates is more than a merely poetic mode of expression."[170]

Diotima could bring back to Socrates the wisdom of divine love, as Medea could lead Jason to the golden fleece.

At the climax of this drama of thoughts, when the highest already seemed to have been voiced, suddenly sounds of drunken voices interrupted the breathless silence which followed Diotima's words — Alcibiades entered the hall. As the last and seventh speaker, he now revealed the meaning of his love for Socrates.

He disclosed the nature of Socrates as Silenus, the satyr, as it was taught in the Eleusinia in which Alcibiades had gained initiation which he received half in the mood of mockery and scepticism and half with recognition of the truth. "I shall praise Socrates,not to make fun of him, but only for the truth's sake. I say that he is exactly like the busts of Silenus, which are set up in the statuaries' shops, holding pipes and flutes in their mouths . . . I say also that he is like Marsyas, the satyr. They alone [the flute players] possess the soul and reveal the wants of those who have need of gods and mysteries, because they are divine. But you produce the same effect with your words only, and do not require the flute: that is the difference between you and him," said Alcibiades at the end of his talk and added: "Socrates is the satyr without and the god within."

There we touch upon a motif interwoven within the composition of the *Symposium* which "might contain more than any commentator ever dreamed of."[171] In fact, at this time of the decline of the Eleusinia there flashed into people's minds the realization that the archetypes of Silenus and Dionysus, as the myths had imagined them, were reflected from sunken Atlantis and now reappeared in flesh and blood as Socrates and Plato.[172]

XI

ARISTOTLE

"The Master there of those who know . . ."

DANTE, *Divina Comedia*

1. *PLATONISM AND ARISTOTELIANISM*

THE DECISION AT ELEUSIS

Aristotle is more than merely one of the three greatest philosophers of Hellas. His life and work appear as a summary of Greek history. We can understand the meaning of Hellenic life only if we look intently at this genius who, in the time of the decline of Hellas' freedom, rescued the mind of man from chaos.

To attempt to discover the limits of the horizon of this thinker is well nigh impossible. Equally difficult is an attempt to estimate his importance, plumb the profundity of his views or measure the acuteness of his thinking. In spite of the two and a half millenia of Aristotelian thinking which have succeeded him, this world genius has not yet found his rightful place in history.

There are, to be sure, libraries of books on Aristotle among which one can read something like the following statement: "It is not an overstatement to say that there is no one to whom Europe owes a greater debt for the higher education of her peoples than to Aristotle . . . never were there more wonderful years than these in which the brains of Alexander and Aristotle were ceaselessly working!"[173] Yet, despite their praise, such statements fail to explain the essence of the phenomenon which brought about the turning point in the Greek world.

Three main epochs can be clearly traced in the life of Aristotle. The first contained twenty years of study and apprenticeship at the academy of Plato in Athens, which he attended from his seven-

teenth to his thirty-seventh year, until Plato's death. During the second period came the years of travel, when he founded his own schools at Assos and Mytilene and went to the court of the Macedonian kings as the master of Alexander the Great. The third phase of Aristotle's life coincided exactly with the time when Alexander founded his empire through which he originated the new civilization of Hellenism. It was then that Aristotle established the universal reign of his thought by founding his own academy, the Lyceum in Athens, through which that city became the school of the world.

Aristotle was the first thinker who thought as we do; and it is through him that even now we are taught to think. His philosophy arose within himself and gradually developed out of the night of the mysteries and the dawn of the first intellect to the day of its utmost refinement and abstraction. So we must say that Aristotle was not the last among the thinkers of Hellas, but rather the first philosopher in the sense in which we use the word.

With him vanished the last glimmer of the imaginations of the mysteries; with him the last color which fantasy had given to the ideas and arguments of Plato faded away. Yet we should certainly be drawing an altogether incomplete picture of Aristotle if we did not take cognizance of the effect upon him of the spiritual background of the mysteries of Hellas. The three epochs of Aristotle's life are intimately connected with the three greatest mystery centers of Hellas: Eleusis, Samothrace and Ephesus. Rudolf Steiner emphasized the fact that Aristotle, like Socrates, was not an initiate in the sense of ancient wisdom. Herein lies the fact of his importance to the world, that through the intellect he transformed the substance of the mysteries and transmuted it into logic, metaphysics and natural science.

Socrates died just when Plato had reached the age of twenty-eight; when Aristotle had reached the same age, Alexander the Great was born. Such biographical facts lead us to a better understanding of the language of destiny. Plato's philosophy started with the death of his teacher; Aristotle's world conception began with the birth of his disciple. The Platonic dialogues veiled, but did not wholly discard, the former way of initiation. Aristotle's logical dis-

courses, psychological treatises and natural scientific recordings of sense observations, were the forerunners of modern thinking.

Appearing at the zenith of the development of Hellenic consciousness, Plato and Aristotle were the *dioscuri* of philosophy who determined the thought life of more than two millenia. Coleridge in repeating a statement of Friedrich Schlegel rightly said that all men are born either as Platonists or Aristotelians.

Platonism and Aristotelianism are two different methods of human conception and comprehension. Their difference arose from a basis far more profound than that of jealousy and rivalry between the young student and his old teacher, who was supposed to have said that his pupil behaved toward him like the foal who kicked his mother after draining her dry. In spite of this touch of bitterness, the old Plato recognized the superiority of Aristotle over his other students and spoke of him as the "*Nous* of the Academy" which meant intelligence personified. And it must be recalled that Plato referred to Aristotle's home as the "house of the reader" because Aristotle introduced the use of a library and had a complete collection of all sorts of manuscripts on science and art.

The transition from Plato to Aristotle did not appear as that from one generation to another but rather as that from one age to a succeeding age. Herein lies the meaning of the divergence of these two greatest masters of Greek thought.

Plato was a descendant of one of the oldest families in Athens and claimed ancestry from Solon, the lawgiver and poet. He belonged to the aristocracy, in which conservative blood-ties still persisted. Aristotle was born in Stagira on the peninsula of Chalcidice, close to Macedonia and Thrace, as the son of the court physician of the Macedonian kings. He belonged to a family in which the blood-ties were already broken and mixed marriage had taken place. Blood of various tribes and of nations, like the Macedonians and Thracians, who were considered to be non-Hellenic or barbarian, flowed in Aristotle's veins. His was not a family of Athenian law-givers, poets and aristocrats, but a line of physicians and natural scientists. He became an orphan early and, at the age of seventeen, went to Athens to study at Plato's academy. He lived

as a *metic,* which means as an alien without the full rights of Athenian citizenship. He remained an alien throughout his life. Plato lived in Athens, a wealthy youth in the beginning, well protected throughout his career, and died there at great age in peace and honor; while Aristotle had finally to flee from Athens, being, like Socrates, condemned to death by the Areopagus. He escaped to Euboia and died deprived of his second home, a doubly homeless man, in utmost loneliness.

It has often been stated that Socrates and Plato were truly national figures, inspired by an inner love for their country, and that they could not have become what they were without the landscape of Attica. Aristotle was a cosmopolitan who always looked at mankind.

As Plato was the greatest of Socrates' pupils, so Aristotle was the only genius among the students of Plato's Academy. According to ancient records[174] Aristotle spent twenty years with Plato. "It was his experience of Plato's world that enabled him to break through into his own. It was the two together that gave his intellect the marvellous tautness, speed and elasticity, by means of which he reached a higher level than Plato had, in spite of the definite difference between Plato's unlimited and his own limited genius. Thereafter, to retreat from that level would have been to turn the wheel of fate backwards."[175]

The words of Aristotle: "I am a friend of Plato, but a greater friend of truth" hint at a decisive divergence between his own and his master's mind, a difference of viewpoint, methods and conceptions, consideration of which afterwards occupied the world for more than two thousand years. The cleavage between Plato and Aristotle culminated in their conceptions of ideas and the method of their cognition. For Plato ideas existed outside of nature, for Aristotle within the objects out of the soul of cognition. Plato taught that all our knowledge is *anamnesis,* a memory of the existence of the soul before birth. Aristotle looked at the entelechy as idea, having its aim and purpose within itself, and he considered it as living immortality. Plato divided the soul into an immortal part (located in the head) and a mortal part (located in heart and

liver), while according to Aristotle the entelechy lives within the body and expresses itself in our central organ, the heart. But the decisive point in this struggle of the two minds was the difference in their conception of nature. Plato looked upon nature as an obstruction to the human spirit. The soul in its desire for learning and cognition has constantly to fight against the barrier of nature and strive for the liberation of the spirit. This view sprang from Plato's standpoint with regard to dualism, the world of ideas (spirit), and objects (matter). To this theory Aristotle's *monism* was decidedly opposed.

The origin of Plato's dualism was the ancient view of Oriental and Egyptian mysteries concerning the good (spiritual) and evil (material) soul of the world. After Zarathustra, whose teachings greatly influenced Pythagoras, the world appeared as the result of a battle between the good principles of light and spirit, Ormudz and those of his evil opponent, Ahriman, the prince of darkness and matter. The same duality is described by Plato in his laws (I/10) where he wrote concerning the spiritual soul as being created by God, concerning the non-spiritual soul as being created by the evil soul of the world. In Plato's psychology, the ancient duality of Zarathustra, Ormudz and Ahriman, reappeared in the teaching of the two kinds of soul as the battle between Logos and Alogos. This dualism originated in the fall of man and his entanglement with matter, and it was obvious that a mind like Plato's, which looked back to the past, had to maintain the strict dualism of our descent and origin.

In the case of Aristotle this view of the past no longer stirred his cognitive soul. His problem was how to master the present and how to live towards the future. In Plato the mind was so far awakened that it was able to set thought in dominance and lead it to the world of ideas. With Aristotle this domination was taken for granted. Henceforth it was a question of affirming it in all fields of cognition. Plato wanted to overthrow the objects of the outer world and to return to the world of ideas, which overshadow the material objects. Aristotle experienced thought as a tool which penetrates the essence of the objects. He wished to dive down into objects and

processes; for him it was important to know how the soul appears within the human being on earth. Plato was also concerned with the soul but in the manner of its participation in the spiritual world.

To argue for the merits of Plato against those of Aristotle or vice versa, to emphasize the weaknesses of the one and the shortcomings of the other is fruitless. It is clearly evident that both philosophers belong to that realm of the spirit from which only minds of the highest order and importance emanate and that each in himself represents such a complete world of thought that he could build up, nurture and influence the thought-life of all succeeding generations.

Aristotle, while a disciple of the Academy, attempted to "Platonize" his world conception.[176] Plato in the last two decades of his life, during which Aristotle was his pupil, wrote the dialogues with an increasingly methodological basis (*Theaetetus, Sophist, Statesman, Parmenides* and *Philebus*).. In these he relegated the character of Socrates more and more to the background. He finally abandoned him completely in his *Laws*. This was the method and attitude of Plato during the years which influenced the young Aristotle, who now took a decisive step in the direction of pure logic. His very first works: *Eudemus* or *About the Soul, Gryllus, On Justice* and *Protreptikus* were praised by Cicero, the greatest stylist of classical Latin, as examples of "the golden stream of Aristotelian prose." *Cicero* incorporated in his *Hortensius* the thoughts of Aristotle's *Protreptikus* and it was this same book which converted St. Augustine to religion: "This book has changed my mind and it gave my wishes and my desire another goal . . . I strove now for immortal wisdom with incredible ardor of my heart."[177] That was the effect of one of the earliest works which Aristotle wrote while still under Plato's eye at the Academy!

A single example in *Eudemus* shows how the teaching of the categories and the logic of the syllogism were conceived. Aristotle in his book opposed the conception of the materialists that the soul is identical with harmony and has no other manifestation. He showed that harmony and soul belong to two different categories.

"Opposed to the harmony of the body is the disharmony. Disharmony is disease, weakness and ugliness; harmony is health, strength and beauty. But I say that the soul is none of these, for even Thersites had a soul in spite of all his ugliness. Therefore the soul (which has no such opponent as has harmony in disharmony, belonging therefore, to another category) is not harmony."[178] The soul is a substance. Aristotle argued about this in the following way: The soul is not the form (*morphe, eidos*) of *something,* but the *form* of something (not *eidos tinos* but *eidos ti*). The soul as the entelechy of a natural body potentially possesses life. It is substance and being according to the Logos of the world. In this early dialogue we already encounter a pure syllogistic method of conclusion. This was the genuinely "Aristotelian" part of his work.

Aristotle was already the father of logic at the Academy of Plato! It goes without saying that this logic of the early years was but a seed or germ in comparison with the blossoms and fruits of his later life. Yet from the very outset he considered logic not as a science, but as an art (*techne*) and a power (*dynamis*). Logic was the method, aim and guide of his style in oral lecturing as well as in written diction. His aim was neither at a "good style nor beautiful disposition, neither knowledge valued for utility in practical life nor for use in statesmanship . . . the right thing in speaking, really, is that we should be satisfied not to annoy our hearers: we should not try to delight them: we ought in fairness, to fight our case with no help beyond the bare facts: nothing, therefore, should matter except the proof of those facts. Fanciful language is meant to charm the hearer. Nobody uses fine language when teaching geometry."[179]

In his work *Protreptikus,* Aristotle developed his idea of pure reason, the intellect: *phronesis. Phronesis* has only itself for object, it produces nothing but itself: it is pure *theoria.* Theory is conceiving the idea while perceiving it; it is the unity of thought and action. Theoria is one of the untranslatable words of the Greek language because we moderns have lost the close affinity which existed between the mental perceiving and conceiving which the Hellenes had. Aristotle wrote in his *On the Soul:* "Thinking is regarded akin to a form of perceiving; for in the one as well as in the other

the soul discriminates and is cognizant of something which is. Indeed the ancients go so far as to identify thinking and perceiving ... if thinking is like perceiving, it must be either a process in which the soul is acted upon by what is capable of being thought or a process different from, or analogous to, that. The thinking part of the soul must therefore be capable of receiving the form of an object. Mind must be related to what is thinkable, as sense is to what is sensible." Now Aristotle described the process of the activity of thinking: "A man is a man of science when he is able to exercise the power of his own initiative; the mind is then able to think itself. Mind is in itself thinkable in exactly the same way as its objects are. Mind is, in its essential nature, activity!" And he added that the mind of all Hellas would triumphantly rejoice in the moment of highest self-relevation: "When mind is set free from its present conditions it appears as just what it is and nothing more: this alone is immortal and eternal."[180]

Thus Aristotle, still in his youthful years as a disciple of Plato, revealed the intellect, *phronesis,* as the most human of man's faculties, rooting in the inmost activity of his soul.

Plato emphasized the power of cognition as the great *anamnesis,* the review of past existence. In Aristotle's method we find the planting of will-impulses within our thinking directed towards the future. Plato's philosophy appeared as a rich and profound image of past knowledge, as a gigantic ocean of reflection. Aristotle's conception originated as the impulse for the new faculty of reasoning. If we compare Plato with the evening of the past day and Aristotle with the morning of the new one, then we must justly confess that the dusk of the evening of Plato appeared more beautiful than the sober logic of the morning of Aristotle. The writings of Plato are indeed, great works of art and fortunately are well and completely preserved. The works of Aristotle, destined to be scattered about the world, lost, destroyed burnt, left in fragments, wrongly translated and misinterpreted, do not possess the power of fascination as do the Platonic dialogues. Yet in regard to art, we notice, to our surprise, that the philosophy of Plato almost condemned its influence as detrimental to the human mind. Plato not only burned

all the poems of his youth but in his Republic appeared the dictum "that all artists should work under the control of the state and that the poets should be banished." Furthermore, Neo-Platonism in its theory of art, made artistic development impossible for a whole millenium. Aristotle on the contrary, was the creator of a profound theory of art and declared the theatre and the drama to be its highest products.

The whole of Plato's wisdom sprang from his mighty intellectual grasp of the transformed content of the mysteries of Dionysus. Plato remained the great and last keeper of the seal of ancient wisdom. Therefore posterity could always return to him when considering the great heritage of the past, as the Gnostics did in their revival of Oriental wisdom and as the Neo-Platonists did in looking at the ancient Egyptian and Hellenic mysteries. The dualism of Plato did not make any attempt at reconciliation between the worlds of spirit and matter; it rather emphasized the duality of these two worlds and showed the impossibility of bridging the abyss between them. This was the reason why Platonism always led to revivals and renaissances but could never provide the tools with which a thinker could work towards the future. It was therefore Plato who paved the way for those agnostics who denied the possibility of cognition of the world of ideas or "the thing in itself" (Kantianism) and for whom the world of senses was nothing but an illusion.

Despite the universal world conception of Plato the message of Greek philosophy was not yet fulfilled. Another genius appeared, not only as a pupil of Plato and a follower of the method of Socrates, but as the greatest in the triad of Hellenic teachers without whom the course of the following millenia would be absolutely unimaginable. Socrates taught the Athenians; Plato wrote for the Hellenes; Aristotle spoke to the whole world. Aristotle could acquire his legitimate start only through Plato, and Plato could find only in Aristotle his heir, his alter ego. That Aristotle, in spite of his creative genius, remained at the Academy until the death of Plato gives us one of the main evidences against the theory of an outer break between the two philosophers. Furthermore, Aristotle gathered around him the most faithful and conservative disciples of the Pla-

tonic Academy, and the words of the altar elegy which Aristotle dedicated to Eudemus clearly testify to his high estimation of Plato:

> ". . . the man whom it is not lawful for bad men even to praise,
> Who alone as first of mortals clearly revealed,
> By his own life and by the methods of his words,
> How a man becomes good and happy at the same time. . . ."[181]

Yet why did Plato not name Aristotle as his successor; why did he choose instead his mediocre nephew, Speusippus, to become the head of the Academy? It is too superficial an answer to say that Speusippus as a relative of Plato could easily become the heir of the property while Aristotle as an alien could not own an Athenian estate.

Here again Rudolf Steiner sheds a light by which we gain access to reality.[182] He points out that the natural science of Aristotle was his own interpretation of Plato's teaching at the Academy. These Platonic concepts of nature were derived from the Eleusinia and Plato himself was conscious of the fact that this mystery tradition was not to be developed further. Therefore, at the end of his life, he assigned to Aristotle the task of developing the mode of abstract thinking. Plato did not recognize in Aristotle an obstinate pupil but wondered at the new way in which his disciple's intellect was at work. Various sources of classical writing recorded that near his death, on the fields of Eleusis, Plato had a disputation with Aristotle which resulted in the founding of a new method and school of thinking.[183]

Two streams in the writings of Aristotle originated from this disputation at Eleusis. On the one side were the works of natural science in which he perpetuated the mystery wisdom of the past, the main content of which he taught to Alexander the Great. On the other hand there existed the logical works which Aristotle committed to his pupil, Theophrastus.

Through Alexander the natural scientific writings entered the Orient, were later translated into Arabian, Syrian and Hebrew and through the Arabs were brought from Africa to Spain. Through Theophrastus the logical books came to Rome, soon after which

they were translated into Latin, and still later, built the organon of the thought-life of the Middle Ages.

2. *THE MASTER OF ALEXANDER*
The Fulfillment of Samothrace

At the time that Plato died, Philip's army destroyed Stagira, the native city of Aristotle. Now homeless in more than one sense, Aristotle started to found his own schools. It was this period of thirteen years of travel from Plato's death (347 B.C.) until his return to Athens when Alexander crossed Asia Minor (335/334 B.C.) that belonged to the most creative epoch of Aristotle's life.

Now, the task of the revision of Plato's ideas imposed upon Aristotle a research which resulted in the first editions of his physics, metaphysics, ethics, politics, natural science comprising astronomy, meteorology, history of animals; and the basic treatises on logic, the categories, topics and analytics.

The first school was established in Assos in the ancient country of Troas. After a few years, Aristotle transferred his school to the island of Lesbos and taught in its capital, Mytilene. Among his disciples were Xenocrates (the most conservative of Plato's students), Erastus and Coriscus (the two latter were already in Assos, sent by Plato before his death), Callisthenes, Aristotle's nephew, who later became the court historian of Alexander, and Neleus, the son of Coriscus. Theophrastus, who joined the school as a youth of twenty, succeeded later as head of the Lyceum and editor of the treatises. He was, as the author of a book on botany, the most independent mind besides the mathematician, Eudemus, and Alexander the Great. The circle of Aristotle's pupils, however, comprised many more than these stellar names. Josephus Flavius mentioned that among other Orientals numerous Jewish philosophers attended the school of Assos and held discussions with the great teacher.[184]

In these years Aristotle came in contact with the court of the tyrant, Hermias of Atarneus, whose niece, Pythias, he soon married. This was of consequence for Aristotle's ideas about politics and it also paved his way to the Macedonian king. Hermias was a friend of Philip of Macedonia and together they prepared the common

blow against the Persians. A year after Aristotle left for the Macedonian court, Hermias was treacherously enticed to Susa where he was accused of high treason and crucified. The event strongly influenced the mood in which Aristotle taught Alexander the history of the Orient and implanted in his pupil's mind the desire for hellenizing Persia, in order, once for all, to destroy this peril to the Western world.

The time spent at Assos and Mytilene was the prelude to Aristotle's entrance into the court of the king of Macedonia. The years at the court in Pella with all its immorality, brutality and primitiveness were years of probation by which a truly great soul could strengthen his character. In fact, the Macedonians still lived as barbarians, with customs almost like those of the Homeric age. Yet behind the outer depravity of the court, the scandals of the king, his divorce from Olympias, the banquet scenes of drunkenness and brutality, there was still the world of the mysteries. Plutarch pointed to the mysteries of Samothrace, in which both Philip and Olympias were initiated; it was at such rites and ceremonies that these two had met for the first time. Thus the Cabiri at Samothrace were the background behind the seven years during which Aristotle taught the crown prince of Macedonia.[185]

The relationship between Aristotle and Alexander was a phenomenon of destiny for which we do not find sufficient explanation in external fact. Aristotle was a man of twenty eight and still a student at the Academy when he received, with the announcement of the birth of Alexander, Philip's invitation to become his son's teacher later on. He was not yet famous enough to warrant his being called for by the Macedonian king. The fact that his father had been court physician to the kings of Macedonia cannot be taken as a sound reason why, from among the many gifted scholars available, he should be singled out. Furthermore, we must take into consideration the fact that when the time came for him to take charge of his royal pupil, Aristotle was working independently with his own disciples at Assos and at Mytilene. We can hardly assume that at the age of forty years he would be inclined, without some deeper reason, to give up such important work in order to

teach a thirteen-year-old prince about whose future significance no one at that time could have the slightest inkling.

We know that in the most ancient days priests and hierophants lived as advisers and counsellors of kings. The *Baghavad Gita* gives such a picture in singing about the king, Ardjuna, and his charioteer, Krishna; and in the Babylonian epic of *Gilgamesch,* the king of Erek speaks of his friendship with Eabani (or Enkidu), his teacher. Such a relation of teacher to king, as told in myths and legends, now seemed to have become history.

Aristotle spent his years with Alexander partly at the court at Pellas, partly in the solitude of the temple of the nymphs near Mieza and we must assume that not only Callisthenes but many of his closer students followed the master and shared his teaching with the prince. Concerning Aristotle's teaching to Alexander, Plutarch remarked in speaking of the influence of the mysteries of Samothrace: "It would appear that Alexander received from him not only his doctrine of morals and of politics, but also something of those profound theories which these philosophers by the very names they gave them, professed to reserve for oral communication to the initiated and did not allow many to become acquainted with."

Aristotle's teaching contained, therefore, two kinds of instruction. Through his lectures on ethics and politics, history and logic he laid the foundation for the education of a prince which could enable him to become a statesman from an external point of view. His esoteric lectures introduced the pupil into a deeper understanding of nature which was derived from the last glimpses of mystery-wisdom as it was still taught in Plato's Academy.

The first drafts and editions of Aristotle's *Physics, Metaphysics, Ethics* and *Politics* originated from this exoteric teaching with the foundation of his logic and the doctrine of the categories and of the syllogism as it appeared in his *Analytics.* In the categories of his *Analytics,* as Rudolf Steiner explained, he tried to work out a kind of intellectual "alphabet" for that which previously was a "world-script" of the cosmos in the eyes of the initiated priests of the mysteries.[186]

His esoteric lectures were linked with natural science. They contained his teaching about the stars, the heavens, the plants, animals, physiognomy, memory, sleep and dreams—all that was connected with his view of geography, meteorology and ethnology. Most of these manuscripts were lost in later times or remained in small fragments only.

Who was this disciple of Aristotle? Whatever may have been the shortcomings of Alexander's character, despite the fact that he appeared outwardly as a usurper and a despot, he signified the beginning of a new age in which the individuality had expanded all his faculties to the fullest possible extent. The guidance of the gods had vanished. The individuality stood on his own and declared himself a god.

The birth of Alexander was linked with the burning of the Artemis temple of Ephesus in a twofold way. We read two explanations of this event. The first refers to the priest Herostratus who set the sanctuary afire in order to preserve his name for posterity and thus, through a crime, to become immortal. The other version, as Plutarch[187] wrote, refers to Megesias of Magnesia who said that the temple burnt down while Artemis was absent from her sanctuary to assist at the birth of Alexander. This fact indicates that the goddess herself deserted her mystery temple and wanted to be of assistance to Alexander who was destined later to inaugurate the first intellectual epoch of civilization.

Herostratus showed the path which leads downwards to the conceit of the lower personality. Aristotle revealed the upward path which leads to the higher individuality. Herostratus wished to immortalize his name through a crime. Aristotle pointed to the development of the entelechy which can become immortal through virtue. Thus Herostratus became the enemy of the gods while Aristotle showed how man can become their friend.

Alexander's temperament and character sway between the downward and upward paths. They reflect the struggle between the lower personality and the higher individuality. They contain his tragedy and his triumph. His inauguration of the new civilization of Hellenism remained as an indisputable fact of his genius. He

worked like a gigantic plow going through the exhausted soil of the East.

After the time of Aristotle and Alexander the Great, the Greeks ceased to be a nation and the distinction between the Hellenes and the barbarians was no longer a sharp one. This did not mean the end of the creative impulse of Greece. Alexander, in erecting his empire, sowed the seed of Aristotle's wisdom, the quintessence of the Hellenic soul. He and his successors were the founders of the greatest world-cities. Alexandria on the Nile delta took the place of Athens. It was here and no longer in Hellas that the teaching of Aristotle was continued and that the new culture uniting with the last remnants of Egyptian, Hebrew, and Oriental traditions, rose under the sun of Christianity. Thus Edward Freeman stated: "As the pioneer of Hellenic civilization Alexander became in the end the pioneer of Christianity."[188]

The substance of Aristotle's education of Alexander contained the sum of spiritual knowledge concerning universe, earth and man. Geography and cosmography as taught in the Eleusinia and found as last reflections in the dialogues of Plato were united and supported by Aristotle's profound knowledge of botany, zoology and physiology. The other half of Aristotle's teaching during the years of travel in Assos, Lesbos and Macedonia was connected with the unfolding of his own method of thinking.

It was an unbearable thought for a genius like Aristotle that the human mind should not be capable of grasping the truth of the spirit. His main objection to the teaching of the Platonic ideas was "that there are certain things besides those in the material universe, and that these are the same as sensible things except that they are eternal." Aristotle's starting point was pure thought as such. Thinking about thinking was the basis of his research. In this activity, in the observing of one's own thought process, the human being is immortal. Only by this "thinking about thinking" does man find the *eudaimonia* because he then comprehends God. *Eudaimonia* is one of the untranslatable Greek words. Happiness or bliss do not suffice as translations. *Eudaimonia* really means union with the divine daimon within ourselves. Yet the divine is, in the conception of

Aristotle, "the thinking of his own thinking" (*noesis noeseos*), the thought of himself, the purest entelechy. Only man can comprehend the thought of God. He who strives to do so becomes a true lover of wisdom, a philosopher. Such a man has awakened within himself the daimonion. This daimonion is a part of God himself or a divine work of God. *Eudaimonia* is therefore the state of harmony of the soul with the daimon, activating his own pure thinking.

Such was the ethical instruction which Aristotle gave Alexander: "We must not follow those who advise us, being men, to think of human things, but must, so far as we can, make ourselves immortal."[189] This was the fundamental mood in which Aristotle taught Alexander the Great at the court of the barbarous, ill-tempered and immoral king.

Aristotle's instruction about the best state (*ariste politeia*) was connected with his ethics and his theory of individual virtue. "We must make ourselves immortal, and strain every nerve to live in accordance with the best thing in us . . . the life of reason is best and pleasantest, since reason more than anything else *is* man." The fundamental ideas of his *politeia* were conceived from Plato's *Republic.* Yet the main conclusions to which Aristotle came lead to the direct opposite of that Platonic Utopia, with its communistic ideal of a commonwealth in which the poets must write under the supervision of the state and in which the life of the theatre and of art is virtually extinguished. Aristotle as the practical thinker looks at man as he is on earth, not as in a no-man's-land. His discussions about the state of women and slaves, children and wives, household economy and property, influenced though they were by the mode and customs of contemporary living, centered around the human being as *zoon politikon.*

Aristotle knew that there is neither an ideal man nor an ideal community, a state of complete democracy. He knew that the individual mind of man is an entity in itself and that the various entelechies stand on millions of different levels of evolution. Therefore he spoke in favor of aristocracy or monarchy and condemned tyranny and democracy. Democrats, he said, take equality for their

motto; oligarchs believe that political rights should be proportionate to wealth. Both miss the true object of the state which is virtue, because those who do most to promote virtue deserve the greatest share of power. There is something in the claims advanced by the free born, the noble and the highly gifted, yet none of these should be allowed to rule the rest. The ideal state should consist of men who are nearly equal in moral and intellectual excellence. Aristotle pointed to ostracism as to the sore spot of Athenian life, the most evil shadow of the light of Hellenic democracy which exiled Miltiades, Themistocles and a hundred like them. He concluded that "all should joyfully obey such an excellent man as the natural ruler and if he really proves eminent he should remain a king in his state for life."[190]

Are these lines not directed to Alexander and do they not philosophically justify what actually happened? The ideas which Aristotle sowed as seeds in the hearts of a few pupils gathered around him with Alexander, became life, light and impulse for the foundation of a whole period of culture. While his own nephew, Callisthenes, accompanied Alexander as court historian, the king supplied his teacher with all kinds of specimens of plants and animals and supported the Lyceum at Athens with money totalling over four million dollars in our valuation. The king amidst his victories, conquests and colonizations never forgot that the spiritual ruler of the knowledge of man sat peacefully at Athens as the teacher of the world.

The last fruit of these years of travel and tutoring was Aristotle's foundation of his system of logic. Here he concluded triumphantly the method of transforming former mystery wisdom into the language of our intellect. One must not overlook, however, how great an insight into the essence of ancient mysteries was still revealed by him. In fact, mystery wisdom formed the very background of his whole world. Even in his early book, the *Manifesto on Philosophy,* Aristotle showed a profound knowledge of the ancient mysteries; he wrote a survey summarizing all ancient wisdom including that of India, Persia, the teachings of the Magi, Zarathustra, Egypt, Orpheus, Pythagoras, Delphi and the seven sages, and

prepared a short history of Greek philosophy from Thales and Heraclitus down to the Sophists. He determined the date of the life of Zarathustra (6,000 years before Plato), compared Ormudz and Ahriman with the Greek Zeus and Hades and revived the thoughts which Plato gave him about the stars, planets, spheres, ether and demons. And it was under the shadow of the mysteries of the Cabiri of Samothrace that Aristotle wrote about the meaning of initiation: "Those who are being initiated are not required to grasp anything with the understanding (*mathein*), but to have a certain experience (*pathein*) and so to be put into a particular frame of mind, presuming that they are capable of this frame of mind in the first place."[191]

This was the fundamental mood in which Aristotle produced his logic. Many thoughts, premises and conclusions were present, though slumbering, in the early days of dialectic and sophistry, and were sometimes sketched in the dialogues of Plato. Yet Aristotle was the one who gave them full expression. Logic was the final step in the unfolding of human knowledge from the Logos-doctrine through the dialectic to this inner faculty which Aristotle called an art.

He transformed the old ontology as taught in the Academy into the elements: *Logos* (word) and *On* (thing, being). The bond between the word and the being is the art of thinking. The thinker is an artist in bringing together these two elements. Aristotle wrote: "The Logos describes the being or, in other words, the Logos marks the horizon line around the substance." (*Ho logos ten ousian horizei*). This description of the Logos led Aristotle to his teaching about concept, judgment and conclusion. The concept is the idea or the word: *logos*. The judgment is the sentence: *phasis*. The conclusion is the result of the concept (*logos*) and the judgment (*phasis*) in the syllogism. In that way Aristotle came to the highest predicates, *kat exochen*, the categories (*kategoriai ton onton*). These ten catergories are:

1. *Ousia*	*Being*
2. *Poson*	*Quantity*
3. *Poion*	*Quality*
4. *Pros ti*	*Relation*
5. *Poieon*	*Doing*
6. *Paschein*	*Suffering*
7. *Echein*	*Having (possessing)*
8. *Keisthai*	*Position*
9. *Pou*	*Place*
10. *Pote*	*Time*

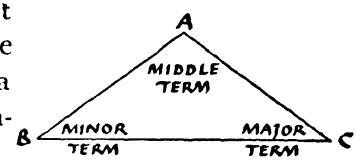
Rudolf Steiner called the ten categories, as they originated from Aristotle, a cosmic script which he established like an alphabet through which we may learn to write and read. What previously was taught at Ephesus about the World-Word, the Logos, containing all the secrets of the physical and spiritual worlds, now appeared as categories in abstract form yet with the same cosmic originality as our letter-script which contains the frozen elements of living sounds through which we can give full meaning to our speech and writing.[192]

In what did the importance of logic ultimately lie?

Aristotle was the thinker whose thinking was purest actuality, an impulse of the will. Logic is thinking willed by the thinker. The syllogism is only possible through the activity of thinking. Upon this rest the dynamics and architecture of the syllogism.

The same principle of the triad that underlay the Hellenic life in its mythology and ethnology, architecture and geometry, reappears in the syllogism of Aristotelian logic.

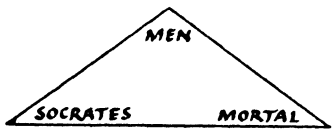
If A=B and C=A, then it follows that C=B. Artistotle saw at once that the two terms could be combined in a proposition as a result of their relation to a third term:

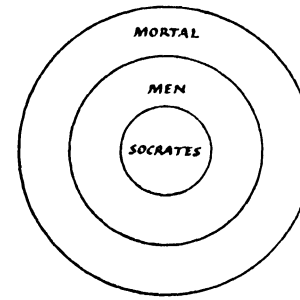


Major premise :	All *men* are mortal	Men—middle term
Minor premise :	*Socrates* is a man	Socrates—minor term
Conclusion :	Socrates is *mortal*	Mortal—major term

The middle term appears in each of the premises but not in the conclusion. The other two terms which do appear in the conclusion are called the extremes. The subject of the conclusion is called the minor term, the predicate of the conclusion the major term.

In this way we may understand Aristotle's axiom of the syllogism: "Whatever is predicated of all or none of a term is predicated of whatever is contained in that term. A part of a part is a part of the whole."[193] Therefore "all men" are a part of "mortals" and "Socrates" is a part of all men. This is "geometrical" logic, an inner movement of concentration in the true sense of the word.





The Aristotelian rules of logic are self evident truths just as are the axioms of geometry; they have not been changed throughout the ages even to the present day.

Logic makes the thinker, as artist in the world of thought-life, an architect in the realm of thought. The true lover of wisdom in the Aristotelian sense was a poet, that is a creative mind, developing his *nous poietikos.*

The quintessence of Hellenic education was expressed in the teaching of the supreme philosopher to the greatest king of antiquity.

Alexander the Great took this impulse and brought it to the East. Aristotle remained in Athens and became the teacher of the Occident.

3. *THE WORLD'S UNIVERSITY*
The Lyceum at Athens as the Spiritual Rebuilding of the Mysteries of Ephesus

The life of Aristotle contains three main epochs: the twenty years at Plato's Academy in Athens (from his seventeenth to thirty-

seventh year); the thirteen years of travel and teaching at Assos, Mytilene and the court of Alexander (from his thirty-seventh to his forty-ninth year); and the third and last epoch, when he returned to Athens and founded and conducted his own school, the Lyceum (from his forty-ninth year until his death at the age of sixty-three).

Stimulated by an excellent book on Aristotle by Werner Jaeger[194] who states that "the principle of organic development has never yet been applied to its originator", we wish to attempt a sketch of Aristotle's development from the point of view of the elements and ideas of evolution which he himself discovered.

Aristotle wrote in his *Rhetoric* about the various periods of human life: "The body is in its prime from thirty to thirty-five. The mind is in its prime at about forty-nine." The first age signifies the epoch during which Aristotle finished his studies with Plato. The later period, the age of forty-nine, at which Aristotle asserted the "mind was in its prime", was the year when he left Alexander and started the foundation of the Lyceum at Athens.

In Aristotle's youth, Plato had shown him the last splendor of natural science as taught at Eleusis. The second period, the years of travel and teaching, were spent under the influence of Samothrace with its mysteries of the Cabiri. Now, in the third and last period, Aristotle, returning to Athens, founded his school of universal wisdom and rebuilt, spiritually, the temple of Ephesus.

Yet these lines of the growth, climax and perfection of Aristotle's entelechy give the right picture of his struggle, only when we take into consideration the forces opposing his destiny, and observe how his fight contrasted with his victory even as shadow contrasts with light. These forces of opposition and polarity were connected with his arch enemy, Demosthenes. Destiny brought it about that these two men, Aristotle and Demosthenes, were not only contemporaries, but that they were born and died in the very same year (384-322 B.C.). Aristotle, born in Thrace, remained a *metic*, an alien of Athens. Demosthenes, born in Attica, became the head of the most ardent party of nationalists. Aristotle remained a pan-Hellenic cosmopolitan. Demosthenes hated Philip of Macedon like the pes-

tilence and warned the Athenians against trusting him. Like his ancestors, Aristotle went to Philip's court where he taught the royal prince. Demosthenes wished to revive the independence of the polis based upon ancient blood-ties and cultic traditions, while Aristotle knew that the time of the polis was past forever and that a new age, the cosmopolis of Hellenism, was at hand.

But besides this outer divergence and polarity, Aristotle and Demosthenes embodied two different missions and messages of the Hellenic mind, their opposition going far deeper than the everlasting controversy between conservatism and liberalism. Demosthenes was the representative of rhetoric. The word became oratory; fine speech was the style and fashion. The logos, the word, was shaped into a tool for fight, argument and persuasion. The logos became "logomachy". Aristotle was the representative of the logos which became love of wisdom and appeared as logic. Logomachy was argued in the fine speech of the orators. Logic strove through argument for *sophia,* the aim of purest contemplation. Rhetoric remained but the outer shell of Greek words, style and diction were but an empty husk of the Logos, and many historians plainly stated that oratory had become the greatest source of danger to the Greeks and had caused the decline of their independence. Lucidity was the aim of Aristotle's style. This lucidity made the logos objective, and with this objectivity he clarified and glorified it. In Demosthenes the word was subjugated through the passion of subjective temper and emotion. Therefore Aristotle's word led the Hellenes into the future of the coming millenia, while Demosthenes' word finally brought the nationalistic circles into a state of servitude to Macedonia and later to Rome.

The Greek word found its death in rhetoric, its resurrection in logic. Through Demosthenes the language of Hellas was imprisoned within the narrow confines of local patriotism, while through Aristotle it became the medium of expression of the world-epoch of Hellenism.

The antagonism between the two men was of essential importance to Aristotle in the struggle of his entelechy. It was, on the one hand, the necessary contrast of darkness and shadow with brilliance and splendor; on the other hand, it was one of those tragic

oppositions which are a part of the struggle for existence. They are tests and probations that lead to the perfection of the soul. We must never forget the fact that Demosthenes and his political party continuously threatened the very life and existence of Aristotle and his school, and it was finally through Demosthenes that the Areopagus of Athens accused Aristotle of atheism, that Delphi withdrew the honor which was given to him and that Athens, after inflicting upon him countless persecutions and humiliations, pronounced upon him the sentence of death. Aristotle fled, thus escaping the destiny of Socrates, and died as an exile on the island Euboea.

In Athens Aristotle and his friends lived as *metics,* without the rights of citizenship and were under the protection of Macedonia's regent, Antipater, whom Alexander left in Pella. Aristotle appointed Antipater as executor of his last will. As soon as Alexander crossed the Hellespont and was in Asia, Demosthenes and his party attempted a new nationalistic rebellion. The first had been quickly suppressed by Alexander, but it burst forth repeatedly, threatening the life and the security of the school of Aristotle. The nationalists around Demosthenes suspected the Peripatetics of being a kind of Macedonian secret service office.

It sheds a wonderful light on the character of the philosopher to know that Aristotle, although continuously threatened and bluntly offended, never attacked Demosthenes and that his only remark about him was that he could not justly be considered as responsible for the defeat of Chaeronea. Although Demosthenes' behavior was highly objectionable to him, with sensibility and tact he avoided giving offense which might have touched the pride of the Athenians.

Aristotle became the teacher of the world when he founded his school, the Lyceum, in the corridors of the Palaestra and later on in front of the gates of Diochares in the eastern part of Athens. Here he walked, talking, and talked, walking, in the corridors, the *peripatos,* with the students who therefore were called the *Peripatetics.* The thoughts were really and actively "walked", "stood" and "under-stood" with limbs, heart and head. This school was built on the grounds of a sanctuary which was dedicated to Apollo

Lyceus (Apollo who drove the wolf from the flock). Apollo's message was to restore harmony through the perfection of knowledge. His impulse led to the cosmopolitan unity of Panhellas. And who so fully and universally as Aristotle met the challenge of the Apollo temple in Delphi, "Know Thyself"!

Aristotle, in truth, became the Apollonian shepherd who, gathering his flock around him, repelled the wolf of materialism of the Sophists and the nationalism of the orators. At the very time when Alexander furnished the money with which to rebuild the burned temple of Ephesus, Aristotle built in Athens the spiritual temple of the Ephesian Artemis, the sister of Apollo. The "navel" of the earth was no longer at Delphi, it was in the Athens of Aristotle.

In founding his own school, Aristotle showed himself to be the teacher of all nations in the form of a method the world had never seen before. He placed emphasis neither on writing down his thoughts in books nor in lecturing about them in the fine language of the rhetoricians. His main contribution was the oral word of his lecturing. It is not very important to distinguish his morning lectures as the esoteric, the afternoon-evening lectures as the exoteric classes designed for a broader public. For what Aristotle understood as esoteric he plainly wrote to Alexander in a letter to which Plutarch[195] referred. Everything, he said, was esoteric for those who had not yet prepared their minds for sufficient understanding.

The main achievement of the last thirteen years of his life spent at Athens was the organization of his researches and their presentation in his treatises. Besides those works which he had already conceived in Assos, Lesbos and Macedonia: the *Metaphysics, Ethics* and *Politics,* the foundation of logic in his *Topics, Analytics* and *Categories,* he also wrote the *Rhetoric, Poetics, Physics, Psychology* and *Astronomy.* Just as he excelled as natural scientist he also became one of the greatest historians after Herodotus and Thucydides. We have lost his *History of Philosophy,* his list of the winners of the Pythian games, his *Didascaliae,* the records of dramatic performances at Athens, a work on the *Constitutions of Hellas,* which disappeared like so many others, but one part of it, the *Constitution of*

Athens, was rediscovered in London in 1891. The natural scientific works of his last epoch, when he finally edited his *History of Animals,* his *Zoology, Meteorology, De Partibus Animalium* and others show a more historical method of expression than his earlier writings.

Besides the treatises on metaphysics, physics, psychology and natural science, Aristotle founded the new science of dramaturgy. In those years he recognized the origin of art and drama from the mysteries, as he proved by his classical definition of the katharsis of the drama to be found in his *Poetics,* the interpretation of which alone has filled libraries with books.

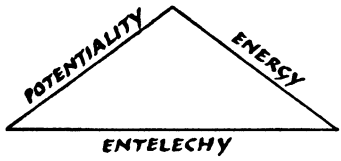
While Plato's teaching and writing was in itself art, and the highest refinement of composition and style, Aristotle's verbal expression, on the other hand, always contains the prosaic sobriety of reflection and analysis. Plato's theory of the state banished or limited the realm of artists and art; Aristotle, on the contrary, freed them and inspired them for the future. His main thoughts about art centered around the problem of the imitation of nature. He maintains that art is a continuation of nature: "Art partly perfects that which Nature left imperfect, partly it imitates it." He spoke of the threefold aim of artistic creation. The first intent of art is to induce relaxation and pleasure. The second leads to the katharsis, the purification of the soul. The third brings us close to moral perfection. It is education for virtue.

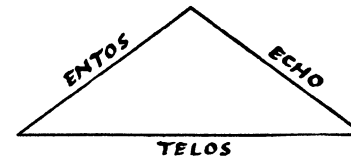
Among all achievements of this period we must count as their final perfection the writings on logic: his books on the *Categories, On Interpretation,* the *Prior and Posterior Analytics,* the *Topics,* and on *Sophistical Refutations.* All these works were collected as the *Organon* and later translated into Latin. Through Boethius they became the foundation of the thinking of the whole world in the Middle Ages. "Aristotle is the first person in whom we find real abstraction. It took possession of all his thinking. It was reserved for Aristotle's powers of observation to grasp it wholly in itself, with its own peculiar laws. In his untiring research into the logical properties and relations of the categories and of the forms and presuppositions of scientific inference we can detect the inves-

tigator of later years, seeking to span in its entirety the whole realm of logical fact."[196]

Aristotle's idea of entelechy leads to the final refinement of his logic. Within the life of an organism he discovers the triad, *dynamis, energeia* and *entelecheia.* Matter alone (*hyle*) is a *"me on,"* something which is not yet, does not yet exist. Matter (*hyle*) appears as reality only through the form (*morphe or eidos*). Form is energy due to its innate actuality. This energy reaches its highest perfection as entelechy.

Entelechy has three words within itself: *entos*—inner or within; *echo*—have; and *telos*—aim, purpose.





I have (*echo*), within myself (*entos*), the aim or purpose (*telos*): that is the actual idea of Aristotle's word, entelechy It appears as the last and most subtle conclusion of contemplative logic. The word *telos* (aim, goal or purpose) is a word of the mysteries. It means initiation and those who reached initiation were called *telestes.* In the idea and the word, entelechy, the ancient principle of initiation is transformed into the initiative of the free mind, the intellect of the human being who reaches his inmost perfection in his realization of "Having the aim within himself":

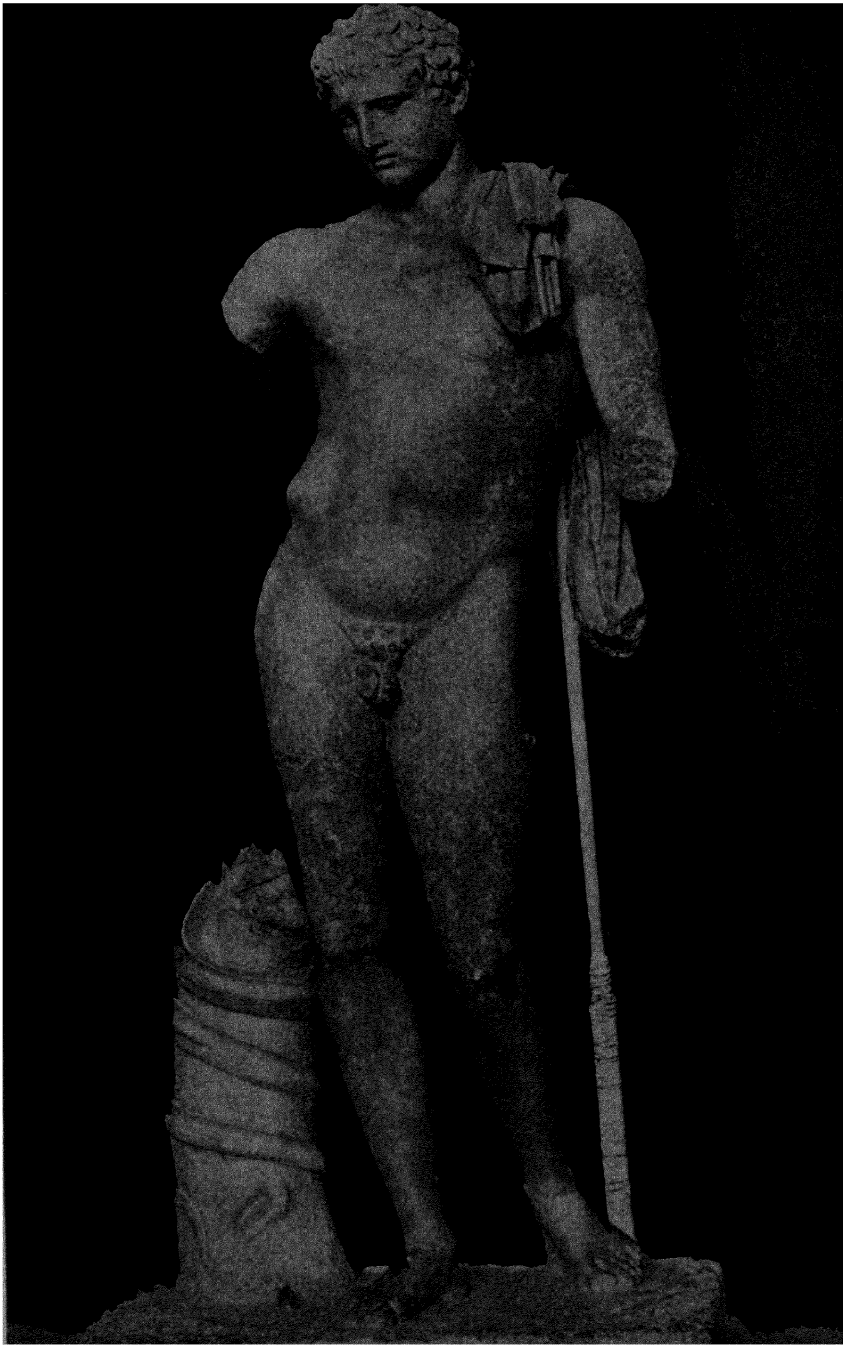
One could venture to dissect this word *entelechy* and use the word *echo* in the first person as: *I have the aim within myself.* Major premise: *I am within me;* minor premise: *I am is the goal, aim or purpose!* Therefore the conclusion: *The goal, aim, purpose* (the *telos* as principle of initiation) *is within myself!*

Aristotle reached the idea of entelechy through a whole life-time of meditation. It is the choice fruit of his contemplation. The first entelechy, he maintains, is part of everybody who has the possibility of life. It is a property of every organism. The first entelechy becomes a second entelechy within man.

HERMES OF ANDROS

Athens: National Museum School of Praxiteles

Hermes-type, *see* Chapter III.



Aristotle compared this with the life of an artist. The child is the artist in potentiality. The youth through his energy and learning becomes conscious of his faculties. The man as the fully developed artist is perfection achieved—entelechy.

Plato considered the body as the prison of the soul. For Aristotle the body was the instrument and organ of the soul. Aristotle's inestimable merit was his discrimination between soul and spirit through which he developed the understanding of the difference between man and animal. Animals are "animated", have a soul; only man has spirit. Within the spirit of man a spark of the divine spirit or *nous* appears and it is that which makes man an entelechy, through which he is different from the animals.

The human physical body as a mere mineral substance is *sarx*; this Greek word, *sarx*, for body, means that which is contained in the sarcophagus, the coffin (German, Sarg). The principle which makes the body alive and lets it rise from the "sarcophagus" is the *threptikon*: the vegetative or nutritive soul. Furthermore, the living being has the soul of sensitiveness, *aisthetikon*; the soul of desiring, *orektikon*; and the soul of moving and understanding, *kinetikon*. Man alone among all living beings has reason, *noesis*: this appears in its highest aspect as *dianoetikon*. The *dianoetikon* comes from the spiritual world, from *nous*: "It alone is capable of existence in isolation from all other psychic powers . . . when mind is set free from its present conditions it appears as just what it is and nothing more; this alone is immortal and eternal and without it nothing thinks."

Here Aristotle with his impulse of the will opened the door to a new experience of the soul. His concept of the *nous poietikos* is actually the willing within the thinking. It is the active thought in contrast to the *nous pathetikos*, the passive thought. The ethics of Aristotle appears as the philosophy of the will. It is a philosophy of freedom.

In his *Nikomachean Ethics*, Aristotle states that the virtues are the actions of freedom; without freedom they do not exist at all. "It is not possible to be good in the strict sense without practical wisdom, nor practically wise without moral virtue." Virtues were for

Aristotle degrees of development towards freedom. He enumerated the ethical virtues: temperance, courage, justice, friendship. Then he arrived at the *dianoetic* virtues: art (*techne*), reason (*phronesis*) and action according to conscience (*synesis*). He gives here the word for conscience as a *dianoetic* virtue standing between *phronesis* (reason) and *sophia* (wisdom). Sophia-wisdom is higher than everything else. It is the highest good and the noblest virtue. It is *"theoria kai eudaimonia"* which means knowledge of the world and knowledge of oneself. It is the goal for a whole life. Wisdom-sophia as the highest virtue is the aim or *telos* of the entelechy of man.

Thus Aristotle wrote at the end of his *Ethics* the sentence: *"Sophia estin nous kai episteme"* which means: Wisdom is pure reason and spirit united with knowledge. Sophia reveals itself as purest love.

These thoughts of the Aristotelian ethics reach the loftiness of Plato's idea of love as highest wisdom, as expressed in the *Symposium,* and they lead us to the top of the pyramid of Aristotle's concept of God. "If God is always in that good state in which we sometimes are, this compels our wonder; and if in a better state this compels it yet more. And God is in a better state. And life also belongs to God; for the actuality of thought is life, and God is that actuality; and God's self-dependent actuality is life most good and eternal. We say therefore that God is a living being, eternal, most good, so that life and duration, continuous and eternal, belong to God; for this is God."[197]

At this point Aristotle's ethics and metaphysics became a way to wisdom (*sophia*) of God (*theos*), a theosophy. How this Aristotelian theosophy prepared the way to the Logos-doctrine of the gospel of John will be seen in the following chapter (XII).

This preparation was the impulse which stood behind the Lyceum at Athens, the first university of the world. In the very place where previously stood the temple of Apollo Lyceus, the good shepherd protecting the flock against the wolf, the Sophists came together in their arguing, doubting and mocking. As Aristotle walked with his disciples in the *peripatos,* he was in fact driving

back the wolf of scepticism and sophistry. He and his pupils formed a society of friends of wisdom or sophia, a union of philosophers who dedicated their lives to fulfill the mission of Apollo, the good shepherd, protecting the flock against materialism.

The word of the Delphic Apollo, "Know Thyself", found its echo in the Lyceum at Athens. At the beginning of Hellas, the forefather of the Hellenes, Deucalion, landed with his ark on Mount Parnassus where Apollo dwelt with his nine muses. Now, at the end of Hellas' development, Aristotle appeared as a second Deucalion and rescued the remnants of the wisdom of man from the flood of darkness in the midst of the Iron Age.

The picture which is often drawn of Aristotle as the cold thinker who lived in remote quiet is false. This man whose thoughts were to dwell in a world to come had no secure abode anywhere on earth. Throughout his life in Athens Aristotle lived as an alien. He experienced the destruction of his native city by the troops of that king to whose court he later came and taught. Hermias, whose niece he married, was crucified in Persia, yet this connection made him suspect to the nationalists in Athens who constantly persecuted him because of his link with Philip and Alexander. What sorrow the message must have caused him which informed him that his own nephew, Callisthenes, had become the victim of a conspiracy around Alexander and that he had been executed. And finally, in the very last year of his existence, destiny offered a still more bitter cup: the death of Alexander. This was not only an unexpectedly tragic ending of the life of his world-famous disciple, but it also made impossible further plans for colonization through which the seed of Hellenism might grow towards the future. The sudden death of the king deprived Aristotle and his friends of royal protection; Antipater had also lost the confidence of Alexander and was summoned to Babylon just when, in Athens, the enemies of Aristotle had opened another persecution of the Lyceum. The nationalists succeeded in persuading the Areopagus of Athens to accuse Aristotle of *asebeia* (atheism) as it had accused Socrates eighty-six years before. The political leaders charged him

with treason, the priesthood at Delphi who previously had praised him, withdrew their rewards and honors. Aristotle had to flee Athens for his very life! In order to escape the death penalty he had to leave that city where he believed he had discovered his real home and where he had founded his central school.

In Chalcis on Euboea, where he took refuge, he experienced the last stage of loneliness and homelessness. During this last year of his life his spirit turned to the starting point of his career. "The more solitary and isolated I am the more I have come to love the myths." These words are to be found in a letter written during this last year.

Indeed, Aristotle became a mystic at the end of his life. Deprived of his school, separated from his pupils, far away from his native place and from all relatives, in exile and utter loneliness, he entered on an inward, mystic path and strove to find within his soul the experience of the certainty that the entelechy is immortal. In this sense he became a prophet of that other teaching which in his days it was not yet possible to give and which entered the world with the advent of Christ.[198]

Just when he had reached the age of sixty-three—October 14, 322 B.C.—he died, the most versatile of the Hellenic philosophers.

Demosthenes, his life-long rival and antagonist, died shortly after in the same year, at the same age; he, too, had to flee from Athens; he took poison which he had carefully carried in a ring on his finger.

Immediately after Aristotle's death the great misinterpretation, stultification, destruction and corruption of his work began. Even his death was soon misinterpreted as suicide. His writings on meditation, on the inner mystical experience of the soul, the esoteric details of his natural science, his teaching about the heart of man as the central organ of all the senses which sends the fire of etheric life towards the brain—all these revelations were falsified.

Aristotle died and yet he died not. For what is more significant of his triumph than the fact that he virtually never had a renascence. He lived so much as a part of mankind that he was never lost to its memory for a single year.

With Aristotle ended the history of Hellas just as with him had begun the story of philosophy. All the previous thinkers before Plato were influenced by mysteries, myths, cults, oracles or last remnants of clairvoyance. In Aristotle, the first modern man on earth, these faculties came to a definite end. Certainly there are many of his sentences which are only understandable through a knowledge of the mysteries, especially in his natural science, which he received through Plato from Eleusis. He speaks, for instance, of the souls of the stars and the gods of the planets. But all these statements are results of logical discriminations and judgments; he clearly repudiates all atavistic powers of ancient clairvoyance: "The power of foreseeing the future and of having vivid dreams is found in persons of inferior type, which implies that God does not send their dreams . . . dreams are not sent by God nor are they destined for this purpose."[199]

What was the destiny of Aristotle's writings? It was Plato's good fortune that his works were preserved to posterity undamaged and whole. Just the opposite was true of Aristotle. The destiny of his writings caused the philosopher a second death, more unjust and cruel than were his lonely hours on Euboea. The wonderful unity and completeness of his work was split in half at the very outset. Through Alexander's military expeditions the natural scientific writings came to the Orient. Here they were translated into Syrian, Hebrew and Arabic and came over from Africa to Spain. They lived below the surface of historical development, yet inspiring spirits like Basilius Valentinus, Raimundus Lullus and others. Theophrastus gave the logical treatises on physics, metaphysics, ethics, rhetoric and poetics to the West. Sulla brought the books, which were written on tablets made of lead, to Rome where the grammarian, Tyrannion, put them in order and had them copied. When in 529 A.D. all the schools of ancient philosophers were closed through the edict of Caesar Justinian, the last remnants of these copies found their way to Persia and were translated with many mistakes and misinterpretations into Arabic. Avicenna edited commentaries on the natural scientific works and Averroes misinterpreted especially the logical writings. The one declared

Aristotle a pantheist, the other an atheist, stating that the *nous poietikos* was a part of God or that the mind of man returns after death to the common reservoir of spirits, opinions which Aristotle never entertained.

Through the persecutions of the gnostic sects and the heretics of the Middle Ages by the Roman Church many of his more intimate books were destroyed or wantonly mutilated, a fact which Rudolf Steiner repeatedly mentions in his desire to restore the truth about him.

Thomas Aquinas had the writings translated from the original Greek texts and it was he who restored Aristotle's world conception to the Occident and resurrected him as the greatest philosopher of Christianity. Scholasticism made a more intensive study of him than was made even in Athens or Alexandria. Minds like St. Augustine's were converted to religion, Boethius' translation of his *Organon* became the bible of philosophy, and painters of the Middle Ages pictured him among other saints with a halo. Even the Arabs, although far from the spirit of Hellas, adored him like a second Mohammed and Averroes, whom Thomas Aquinas so vehemently contradicted and opposed that Gozzoli painted him as trampling Averroes under his feet, wrote of Aristotle: "I believe that this man lived as a pattern and standard of nature to show the human being in his highest perfection."

How uninterrupted was the study of his works is illustrated by the fact that in 1215 a Papal legate in Paris forbade all teachers to lecture on Aristotle. Sixteen years later Pope Gregory appointed a commission to supervise the books. A generation later, ecclesiastical assemblies penalized deviations from his views! Chaucer, in describing a student of his works, said:

"At his beddes hed
Twenty bookes clothed in black and red
Of Aristotle and his philosophie."

Dante met him in the first circle of Inferno in his Divina Comedia and called him "The master there of those who know." Throughout the centuries he was called "Ille Philosophus" which

means The Philosopher par excellence. He remained so much a part of human thought-life that even in the days of the Renaissance, that awakening of classical literature and ideas, nobody could discover anything new in him. Although he was the foremost Occidental who ever lived in Hellas, his philosophy was so universal that it was compared to the Shankya doctrine of Kapila in India of which Aristotle had no knowledge; Hegel pointed to the similarity of the Aristotelian logic to the Indian Nyaya teaching. Karl Ritter in his *Geography* called him an Indian initiate and Johannes von Müller pointed to him as the cleverest and brightest mind that ever radiated on earth.

In spite of the fact that in his time he possessed only such simple tools as the ruler and the compass we see in his books such words as faculty, principle, motive, actuality, potency, energy, entelechy, category, maxim which belong to the essential vocabulary of thinking among all nations throughout all times. Aristotle, the "first modern man", was the forerunner of countless discoveries which later were exploited: for example, that intelligence progresses in correlation with the complexity of the structure and form of the brain; that man uses his hands because he has become intelligent; that monkeys are intermediate between quadruped and men; that diet often determines the mode of life; that individualization varies inversely with genesis, the more highly developed the species the smaller the number of offspring. He laid the foundation for the sciences of embryology, heredity, zoology and botany, not to mention dramaturgy, logic, metaphysics and ethics. He excelled not only in the realm of natural science, but also as an historian in the fields of political science, sociology and archeological research.

In fact, taking one thing with another, Aristotle was the most universal genius in whom the spirit of Hellas in all its height, breadth, and depth was ever embodied. Within himself the word of Apollo, the inspirer of Hellenic intelligence, resounded as clearest echo. He himself realized the task which he determined for the human being (*anthropos*) in achieving the highest virtue, wisdom, (*sophia*) which makes him who contemplates his own pure thinking "the dearest friend of God."

XII

HELLAS AND CHRISTIANITY

"The spirit of Hellas' culture must rise again, but from within. Then the path to the Mysteries will be found once more, and in like manner the path to Christ."

RUDOLF STEINER

1. *THE DEVELOPMENT OF CONSCIENCE AND PAUL IN ATHENS*

Hellenic philosophy revealed its deepest significance in the discovery of the supreme godhead. Unlike the Hebrews, whose monotheism sprang from faith in God and from obedience to his Law, the Hellenes developed their idea of the deity in order to explain man and universe.

The Hellenes arrived at their idea of a supreme divine principle in a twofold way. In discovering the principles of human ethics they found through Socrates the *daimonion* which developed later into the concept of conscience. In explaining the development of nature the Hellenes conceived the idea of the Logos.

Thus we turn at first to the phenomenon of conscience. In the introductory chapter of this book it was pointed out that the development of conscience marked the ultimate stage of the life of the Greek psyche. The word for conscience was purely Hellenic in origin. The Hellenic word *synesis* and the later Hellenistic *syneidesis* came to the world of Christianity as a genuine Greek heritage.

It was Rudolf Steiner who pointed out that the unfolding of conscience was a particular task of the Occidental world.[200] The external understanding of the descent of the divine into the human and its incarnation was prepared in the Oriental soul. The inner

experience of the divine element within the human soul was the new impulse of the Western world which started with Hellas.

There is an astonishing fact which is almost entirely ignored by modern theology and psychology and which confirms the statement of Rudolf Steiner on the basis of written documents. The word conscience—*syneidesis*—appears in the New Testament only in the Epistles of Paul, and in three passages of the First Epistle of Peter, which originated certainly in close cooperation with Paul, and in one passage of the Acts of the Apostles (23:1) in which Paul himself speaks before the Jewish High Council.

Matthew, Mark, Luke and John announced the event of Christ within the stream of Oriental life and prepared the understanding for the fact that the Deity unites Himself with the nature of man.

Paul is the one who particularly points to the fact that Christ can be found within the soul of man. Thus he takes the path to the West and becomes the apostle to the Gentiles in the Graeco-Roman world. This fact, generally ignored, constitutes the fundamental difference between Paul and the apostles in Jerusalem together with the writers of the four gospels.[201]

In the Epistle to the Romans Paul speaks about conscience in a way which characterizes the difference between the Western people of Greece and Rome and the Eastern people, represented by the Jews. "For when the Gentiles, which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these, having not the law, are a law unto themselves: which shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness." (Rom. 2:14,15). Paul expressed with these words his conviction that what became conscience as an inner experience for the Western world was obedience to external law for the Orientals. Paul considers his conscience as the true and only witness of his message: "I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost." (Rom. 9:1). The apostles in Jerusalem were eye-witnesses of the events of Christ. Paul's witness is the conscience of his soul which was awakened through the vision experienced on the road to Damascus.

Paul exclaimed: "Wherefore ye must needs be subject not only

for wrath, but also for conscience sake" (Rom. 13-5), again emphasizing that the time had come when the fear of God's law must be replaced by the inner experience of conscience.

In another passage Paul calls on the Corinthians: "When ye sin so against the brethren and wound their weak conscience, ye sin against Christ." (I. Cor. 8:12). In the second epistle to the Corinthians Paul revealed that conscience is his evidence of the glory of God: "For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world, and more abundantly to you-ward." (II. Cor. 1:12). There are many more passages in the Pauline epistles which point to the experience of conscience as the new factor in the consciousness of the Christian which must become the center of his soul. "Now the end of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned." (I. Tim. 1:5).

Rudolf Steiner compared the unfoldment of conscience with the gradual building up of an inner eye-organ which can perceive the light of the divine within. The Orientals were capable of perceiving the new light which came through Christ, just as they were capable of perceiving the sun in the sky. Those who were open to this new revelation, the appearance of God in man, experienced it as definitely as they perceived the light of the sun. This new light of the spirit gradually built its own organ of perception in the West, an inner "eye" which became our conscience. It developed earliest within the world of Hellas and found its first expression in Greek literature.

Rudolf Steiner often pointed out that the religious tradition of the Jews became the soul-element of rising Christianity, that the expansion of the Roman empire became the body for the foundation of the Christian church and that the development of the Greeks brought about the faculty for grasping the spirit of Christianity. These three impulses appear in a unique embodiment within Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles, through whom the impulse of Christ became a power in world-history.

A Jew by birth, Paul was a rabbi of Tarsus, but a citizen of the

Roman empire; yet as a scholar he was richly endowed with the heritage of the Hellenic spirit; and the *koine,* the Greek language of his day, the cosmopolitan tongue of the later time of Hellenism, was the medium of his thoughts. He began his work among the Hebrews, he came to the end of his life in Rome. But it was from Hellas that he drew the impulse to build the bridge from Jerusalem to Rome. The Greek citizens of Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, Philippi and Athens represented the line of the victorious march of the gospel of Paul.

We know that Jerusalem was the first capital of Christianity, but for only a very short time. The second center was Antioch and, after its quick decline, Ephesus became the third. Ephesus, the city of the ancient temple of Artemis and the mystery school, renowned since the days of Heraclitus, became the headquarters of the missionary efforts of Paul.

The Epistle to the Ephesians reckoned with the spirit of a people who still had a connection with the wisdom of ancient Ephesus. Paul spoke of the "old" and the "new" man within ourselves and pointed to an understanding of the transformation. He said, as it were: Behold your ancient temple burned down. But is not a new temple already being rebuilt through you? "Put off . . . the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts; and be renewed in the spirit of your mind; and that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and the holiness of the truth." (Eph. 5:22, 23, 24).

From Ephesus the path of Paul led directly to Athens. The appearance of Paul in Athens signified one of the most decisive events of the history of mankind.

The Acts of the Apostles particularly emphasize the fact that Paul spoke in the *agora*: "While Paul waited for them in Athens his spirit was stirred in him . . . therefore disputed he in the synagogue with the Jews . . . and in the market (*en agora*) daily with them that met with him." (Acts 17:16, 17). In the agora where Socrates taught, this center of the Greek polis, different from any of the trading places of the East, Paul now daily stood and preached concerning the same problem that was once discussed by Socrates when

he led all his dissertations to the conception of the daimonion, the divine within ourselves, the unknown God. No place on earth was more fitting for the teaching and preaching of Paul in his search for the unknown God than this agora of Athens. The last stragglers of the decadent schools of philosophy were present ". . . certain philosophers of the Epicureans, and of the Stoics, encountered him. . . . And they took him . . . unto the Areopagus, saying. May we know what this new doctrine, whereof thou speakest, is?" (Acts 17:18, 19). Does this mean that Paul actually stood in the midst of the Areopagus (*en meso tou Areiou pagou*)? The Areopagus was the highest authority whose seat was the hill of Mars (Ares) behind the Acropolis. We may recall that it was in a cave beneath this same hill that the *Erinys* had once dwelt who, in the drama of Aeschylus, became the *Eumenides,* the benevolent spirits of conscience.

Many scholars believe that Paul spoke only in the agora and never on the hill of the Areopagus.[202] In any case he addressed the Areopagites directly. For in the midst of the agora stood chairs for these dignitaries who sat there as the executives of the authorities. When they sat thus in a semicircle, Paul could speak to them and to the Athenians, saying: "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too superstitious. For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you. . . . For in him we live and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said. For we are also his offspring. Forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver or stone graven by art and man's device. And the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent. Because he hath appointed a day, in which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained: whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead. And when they heard of the resurrection of the dead some mocked: and others said, We will hear thee again of this matter." (Acts 17:25, 28, 29-32).

It was the fact of the resurrection which deeply touched and

moved the Athenians, but which also split them into two parties. The resurrection of the spirit and the raising of the body are ideas that were very close to the spirit of the Hellenes. Nothing stirred them more than the artistic form of the body from which the individual spirit of man radiates. Their whole history was a unique preparation for understanding the divine within ourselves as the daimon, the voice of conscience and the entelechy of man, which in the sense of Aristotle is indestructible. The entelechy is the form of forms, and the purest form is "God, the purest entelechy." (See chapter XI).

In a way, similar to that in which the principle of our living existence was revealed in the Aristotelian entelechy, the Greek sculptor disclosed the type (*typos*) or form (*morphe*) of the body. (See Chapter VIII). Regardless of whether the marble showed Zeus or a faun, an athlete or a flute-player, the artist was aware of the principle of form. This conception of form as a formative force which underlies the life of our body anticipated the belief in resurrection, which Paul preached in Athens.

What was the immediate effect of Paul's words upon the authorities of the Areopagus? As we are told, "Paul departed from among them. Howbeit certain men clave unto him, and believed, among the which was Dionysius the Areopagite. . . ." (Acts 17:33, 34).

Dionysius the Areopagite became Paul's most important disciple. We have a book purporting to have been written by him. But since the manuscript is not older than the sixth century A.D., the authorship is a matter of philological dispute. Whoever may have been the writer of the manuscript in later times the principal ideas derived from the disciple of Paul. Out of a mind highly trained in Greek philosophy and especially well versed in Platonism and Aristotelianism, Dionysius gave us the teaching of the hierarchies. In his book, *The Divine Names,* he revealed the Christian teaching of the hierarchies which later on formed an essential part of Christian theology and esotericism.

It seemed that of a sudden the gods of ancient Olympus with all their myths and fables had returned out of the twilight and had been reborn as holy "dominions", "authorities" and "principali-

ties". The Hellenic divinities in the view of Plato were considered dwellers of the planetary spheres, or star souls, as Aristotle described them in his book on the heavens. In Plato's *Cratylus* the gods were called the runners (*theoi*) and his cosmology had its root in the Pythagorean world view. Dionysius carried on this Pythagorean-Platonic cosmology. The manuscript of the so-called Pseudo-Dionysius, discovered in the sixth century A.D., contains the remnants of the teaching of the Areopagite about the hierarchies which became the foundation of an esoteric school of early Christianity. It was the last fruit of the noblest mystery traditions of Hellas. In his *Divine Names* Dionysius gave an outline of the various planetary spheres from the lunar world through the spheres of the fixed stars in heaven as they correspond to the various degrees of spiritual beings:

First Hierarchy:	Seraphim	Lords of Love	Zodiac
	Cherubim	Lords of Harmony	
	Thrones	Thrones (Potestates)	Saturn
Second Hierarchy:	Kyriotetes	Lordships (Dominions) Spirits of Wisdom	Jupiter
	Dynameis	Powers (Virtues) Spirits of Movement	Mars
	Exusiai	Authorities (Mights) Spirits of Form	Sun
Third Hierarchy:	Archai	Principalities Spirits of Personality	Venus
	Archangeloi	Archangels Spirits of Fire	Mercury
	Angeloi	Angels Spirits of Twilight	Moon

The book of the *Divine Names* is a unique attempt to translate the Hellenic mystery content into the new revelation of Christianity. It influenced the Neo-Platonists as well as the Christian Fathers. Scotus Erigena revived its ideas again in the ninth century thus introducing it into the teaching of the monasteries. Scholasticism

was profoundly inspired by the ideals which sprang from Dionysius the Areopagite. In his *Commentary on the Books of Dionysius Concerning the Divine Names* Thomas Aquinas admitted: "St. Dionysius' intelligence is far in advance of ours; we demand to be corrected in anything wrong we have said." Thomas Aquinas in an intellectual way based on the Aristotelian logic gave in his *Compendium Theologiae* what Dionysius had given previously as a vision.[203]

All these thoughts which influenced Augustine and Scotus Erigena, the teachers of Chartres, and the scholasticists like Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas — that cathedral of Christian thinking which culminated in the Gothic age — were rooted in the words of Paul, spoken to the Athenians in their agora before the city-authorities, the Areopagites, among whom Dionysius sat.

Here the germ of the centuries which the spirit of Hellas had brought to development fell on soil which nurtured it and caused it to flower again.

2. *THE TEACHING OF THE LOGOS AND THE GOSPEL OF JOHN*

Both works which are attributed to John, "the disciple whom Christ loved", were written under the sun of Hellas; the Apocalypse on the island of Patmos and the Fourth Gospel in Ephesus. They were originally written in Greek.

Far beyond any outer connection with Hellenic language and literature the Prologue to the Gospel of John revealed a penetration into the inner sanctum of Greek philosophy which centered around the doctrine of the Logos.

The concept of conscience (*syneidesis*) was the ultimate form of the Hellenic discovery of the divine principle within man. The teaching of the Logos developed the idea of the supreme deity as the creator of the world.

It is a well known fact, which is testified to by many of the early Fathers of Christianity like Irenaeus, Papias and Polycarp, that the

writer of the Fourth Gospel, the aged bishop of the Christian community of Ephesus, conceived it while residing in the neighbourhood of the ancient temple of Artemis.

In our fifth chapter, dealing with the Greek mysteries, attention was drawn to the threefold face of the Ephesian goddess as Artemis-Selene-Hekate as she appeared to the eyes of the mystics. Rudolf Steiner recovered the meaning of the Ephesian mystery-rites in connection with the experience of the sacred Word as it sounded through the three main vowels I - O - A, the same fundamental sounds which underlay the "unutterable name": *I*-EH-*O*-V-*A* of the Hebrews. (See chapter V).

Here is a point at which it is again possible to see most clearly how the mission of Hellas differed from that of Israel in the preparation of the advent of Christ.

The teaching of the Logos began with Heraclitus, the priest of the Artemis temple of Ephesus and one of the very first philosophers of Occidental thinking. He spoke of the Logos as the underlying law of the cosmos. His task was not to explain God, as a theologian, but as a thinker to find the supreme law of the universe in creating earth and man.[204]

What did Logos mean in its first appearance in the philosophy of Heraclitus?

First of all, the Greek expression Logos as derived from the verb *legein* (speak) means Word. Logos as the noun for Word is the unit of all our spoken or written sounds. Logos as Word plainly symbolizes the archetype of language as human utterance. It contains every sound and word of every language, but in its abstract and general use as Word it does not reveal any concrete content. In this connection Logos or Word seemed to be similar to the Hebrew doctrine of the unutterable name of Jehovah.

The Logos of Heraclitus, however, was far more concretely formulated. Logos was the principal law of the created and constantly creating world. Through the Logos the will of the creator becomes visible. Without the Logos it would remain invisible. The archetypal phenomenon of this visible will of the creator is fire.

The fire-principle of the Logos can be conceived as the light

which radiates through the cosmos or it can be experienced as warmth within the heart and blood of man.

One can attempt to picture the Logos-idea of Heraclitus freely in the following words: Logos as the Word is the breath or rhythm of the cosmos. Logos as the Light of the world is also the all-knowing eye of the universe. Logos as the Fire of the world is the heart of all. Thus the primeval Fire-Logos of Heraclitus pulsates as warmth, breathes as flame and radiates as light of the world.

When Heraclitus stepped from the darkness of the mystery temple into the light of the Western world of thinking with this doctrine of the Logos, he not only formulated an abstract principle of the cosmos but he also brought the Logos-idea into relation with the human soul. The human being can and must become conscious of his relation to the Logos. Human reason has the task of understanding the Logos.

The Heraclitean philosophy spoke of three main principles of this development. The underlying force of matter is fire. All life is under the law of constant movement, which Heraclitus expressed with his famous *Panta rhei* (Everything is in flux). The third thesis contains the law of contrast, for "War is the father of everything". Harmony, however, is born out of the higher synthesis of these three principles: fire, movement and contrast. It is the quintessence of the universe, the true revelation of the Logos.

"It is wise", so said Heraclitus, "if one does not listen to me, but to the Logos, to acknowledge that One knows all." Yet he adds mournfully in regard to the ignorance of the human mind: "Although this Logos is always present, human beings will remain ignorant after they have heard him as well as before they have heard."[205]

The doctrine of the Logos stood at the very outset of Hellenic philosophy. It was the first attempt of Western thinking through observation of the sense-world and through intuition of the thinking power of man to arrive at a monotheistic idea of the first cause and mover of the universe. This doctrine of the Logos underwent constant change and was expressed in various terms and with various names. Parmenides and Xenophanes formulated the idea of

World-Reason (*Nous*) in a somewhat more abstract and limited form. In the philosophy of Plato we do not find the Logos-doctrine in the sense of Heraclitus. The word logos is to be found in his dialogues in the sense of oral expression. He discriminates between logos and mythos,[206] between logos and name (*onoma*).[207] But it is most important to note that he used the word Logos in the plural form as *Logoi* in characterizing the ideas which in his philosophy appeared as the metaphysical archetypes of all things and as the productive forces within all perceptible objects. The *Logoi* as the ideas in the Platonic world were the real mediators between universe and man.

Yet in a still profounder way, Plato grasped the principle of the highest world-reason when he spoke of the World-Soul.[208] In the idea of the World-Soul Plato metamorphosed the previous Logos-doctrine into a living imagination of his artistic genius, when he exclaimed: "The world became a living creature truly endowed with soul and intelligence by the providence of God", and "(the deity) created the world a blessed God."

The Logoi, the ideas, were the mediators between the highest ideal of God as the sum total of goodness and the world of perceptible matter. The World-Soul is, in the providence of God, the highest Being of Wisdom, *Sophia.* The Platonic idea of Sophia as the highest principle underlying love is another aspect of his idea of the deity which we have studied (in chapter X).

The great turning point within the history of the Logos-teaching was signified by the philosophy of Aristotle. Aristotle used the word Logos for describing the concept. Thus he transformed the Logos-doctrine of Heraclitus into the teaching of logic. "It is a faculty with which the human being is innately endowed enabling him to represent a form of existence which is determined by the Logos", said Aristotle.[209] Logos means here logical discrimination with regard to the moral action of man. For Logos is the criterium of any ethical action. It is the ethical ideal of Aristotle's philosophy.

This transformation from Logos to logic (as described in the preceding chapter XI) was perfected after the torch of the priest Herostratus had fired and destroyed the Ephesus temple.

The spiritual counterpart to the deed of Herostratus, who was intended to destroy the sanctuary of the ancient Logos-mystery, was the ethics of Aristotle based on his discovery of logical discrimination. The ethics of Aristotle culminated in the idea that the human being who uses fully his faculty of the Logos as moral discrimination becomes the most beloved friend of the Deity.

In Alexandria where, through Alexander the Great, the heritage of Aristotle was brought to new fruition, the Greek Logos-teaching flowed into the current of Hebrew tradition. This happened through Philo Judaeus of Alexandria.

Philo declared that the same Logos, which was conceived by Heraclitus of Ephesus as the fire-element within the creation of the world, appeared before Moses in the burning bush.[210] The Logos in the teaching of Philo lies before us like a garment of nature, but it never reveals its form. His Logos is an impersonal idea. We see that the Logos in the system of Philo became more abstract than it was to the Hellenic philosophers. The Philonic Logos lives under the sign of an iron necessity of nature and, as such, is a concept tinged with a certain materialism of the Stoic and Hellenistic philosophy which brought forth the naturalistic idea of the *Logos-spermaticos,* a spiritual world sperma, a cosmic principle of supreme propagation.

In Philo's logosophy, the doctrine of the Stoics in their naturalistic interpretation of the Logos was brought to its height. In concordance with the Stoics, Philo conceived the Logos in an abstract form in which the fire and warmth of the previous thinkers seemed to have vanished. The current of the impersonal Logos-idea from the Stoics to Philo was destined to dry up. This can best be seen in the Logos-idea of Plutarch (in the first century A.D.) and in Plotinus (in the third century A.D.). Plutarch's Logos is the work of nature as divine, formative principle. It is the world as a part of God, and the relationship of this part to God is that of a son to a father, for the Logos (also often called *Nous*) is an emanation of God.[211] In Plotinus the Logos is an aesthetic principle. Its appearance is the revelation of the total world—beauty.[212]

Another concept appeared with the Logos of Philo in the teaching about *Sophia,* Wisdom. Sophia is not like Nous (world reason),

identical with the Logos. It is even represented by Philo as mother and origin of the Logos.[213]

We see this teaching of Sophia, influenced by Hellenic philosophy, in the apocryphal book of *Wisdom of Solomon* in the Old Testament where Sophia appears as a divine being "and the spirit of wisdom came upon me . . . for she is the brightness of eternal light, and the unspotted mirror of God's majesty, and the image of his goodness. And being but one, she can do all things: and remaining in herself the same she reneweth all things, and through nations conveyeth herself into holy souls. She maketh the friends of God and prophets. For God loveth none but him that dwelleth with wisdom (Sophia)."[214] (The Book of Wisdom, chapter VII, 7, 26-28). Sophia is also divinely foretold in the *Book of Proverbs* appearing as the idea of *Nous-Logos*: "I (Sophia) was set up from eternity, and of old before the earth was made."[215] (Proverbs, VIII, 23). Written earlier than the apocryphal *Wisdom of Solomon,* by an Alexandrian Jew with Hellenistic education, it influenced Philo's system of the Logos.[216]

Between the Logos-doctrine of Philo Judaeus and the writing of the Gospel of John was an interval of less than a generation. This is to be borne in mind in looking at the tremendous abyss which separated Philo's philosophy from the Johannine Gospel.

For John exclaimed: "The Logos became flesh and dwelt among us!"

This is not the place to deal with textual-critical questions of theology as to the authorship of the gospel and the time of its writing. It is now a well established fact that the writing of the gospel took place around 85 A.D. in Ephesus where John, the aged bishop of the Christian community, lived. Rudolf Steiner restored full confidence in the author of the gospel as the "disciple whom Christ loved" and revealed this fact in his *Christianity as Mystical Fact* by his outstanding interpretation of the miracle of Lazarus. He also aroused a new feeling for the spiritual element with which the gospel was written. The Logos-Prologue of the gospel of John was conceived as a powerful meditation of a seer, the same who, prior

to the gospel, conceived the visions of the Apocalypse on the island of Patmos.

The Logos, as it appears in the first fourteen verses of the first chapter of the gospel, the so-called Prologue, is not the weak afterglow of Philo's abstraction; it appears rather as the fullness of the doctrine which pulsated through the life of the Hellenes from its dawn in Heraclitus to the daylight of Aristotle's logic, and culminates triumphantly in the words: The Logos became flesh.

The first appearance of the term Logos in the writings of John is to be found in his Apocalypse in the final vision of Christ: "He had a name written, which no man knoweth but himself. And he was clothed with a garment sprinkled with blood. And his name is called: The Word of God (*Logos tou theou*)." (Apocal. 19:13).

This Logos of God in the Apocalypse said of himself also: "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end" (Apocal. 1:8), signifying the sum total of all letters and words of the Greek language: the Word as archetype of all language.

Yet unlike the name of Jehovah, unutterable to the Hebrews, this Logos dwelt among us and his name is Christ.

The Johannine Logos was not a term which signified a literary influence of Alexandrian logosophy. It was the insight of a seer who intuitively conceived the ultimate truth of the Logos-idea out of the spiritual atmosphere of Ephesus where it originated centuries before and where were still performed the last remnants of mystery rites which were linked with the veneration of the sacred word.

We must look at the origin of the Gospel of John in a still more concrete way. Legendary tradition (for instance the Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine) [217] pointed out that John while writing his gospel lived with the mother of Jesus dwelling in a small hut near the ancient Ephesus-temple. The name of the mother of Jesus is never mentioned in the gospel. Her esoteric name was Virgin Sophia. Rudolf Steiner in his lectures on the St. John Gospel[218] rediscovered this ancient truth that the "Virgin Sophia" is the state of absolute purification of our soul in which the spirit of man can awaken to the light and truth of the higher world. We must not

take such words as those described at the end of the gospel in a trivial sense when we read: "He (Christ from the cross) saith to the disciple: Behold thy mother. And from that hour, the disciple took her to his own." (John 19:27).

The "disciple took her to his own or unto himself" means, indeed, that his soul was to be brought to the purifying and perfect state symbolized by the Virgin Sophia in order to receive the full truth of the Logos, the World-word. Thus the writer of the Fourth Gospel fulfilled, in fact, the prophecy, contained in the *Book of Wisdom,* also called *Wisdom of Solomon,* which influenced the Logos and Sophia doctrine of Philo: "For God loveth none but him that dwelleth with Sophia."

The Logos, as taught by John in the Prologue to his gospel, is the creator of the visible world who was before all existence and lives within all evolution from the very beginning. He is the light of the world, the sun, and the life of the world, its movement and rhythm. His light reveals itself in contrast and strife, for it "shineth into darkness and the darkness comprehended it not." Those, however, who can receive it, can become conscious of the Logos. They are called by John: children of God or sons of the Logos.

Thus the threefold vision of Heraclitus: the Logos as light and world-creating fire, as word and world-pulsating rhythm, as love in purest wisdom, resounded anew in the Prologue of John with the soul-shattering message: The Logos became flesh.

The fiery words of Heraclitus found in the words of John were not only revived but revealed their profoundest revelation. They signify, in the character of the Prologue, a meditation, a baptism with the fire of the Spirit. The spiritual fire of the Logos-mysteries which Herostratus tried to extinguish can be set afire again through the Logos-teaching of the Prologue of the St. John Gospel.

In the Gospel of John we see the message of the Hellenic spirit at its culmination. It was for that reason that Rudolf Steiner in his lectures on the *New Art of Education,*[219] which he gave in England, 1923, called this gospel "the deepest and most beautiful document of Greek culture." He described the idea of the Logos in Hellas as a revelation of the whole nature of man. "The Greek felt the Logos

quivering and moving through the whole Cosmos. . . . Greek gymnastic was a revelation of the Word, and in musical education there was a shadowy image of all that was felt in the Word. The Word worked in Greek wrestling . . . in the Greek dances. The Spirit worked into the nature of man . . . for it is the Spirit to which the gospel of John refers when it speaks of the Logos."

The development of Christianity shows in innumerable events the triumph of understanding and the tragedy of denying the Logos. To what extent the Johannine Logos-teaching inspired the early Fathers of Christianity can best be seen in surveying the writings of such apologists as Justinus, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophil, Minucius Felix and especially the Christian philosophy of Origen and Clement of Alexandria.[220]

Clement of Alexandria spoke of the Logos as the impulse through which we can truly become "logical", which means being filled with the power of the Logos. The Logos came as the teacher of divine mysteries, as a fountain of inner illumination. The Logos will live within ourselves in order to be seen. Finally Clement arrived at the conclusion that the Logos-philosophy had the same educational mission for the Hellenes that the Law had for the Hebrews.[221]

Nothing can symbolize this fact more intimately than the derivation of the twofold name of Jesus Christ himself. The name Jesus (*Jesous*) is the Greek indication of the Hebrew name Joshua or Jeshua, contracted from Jehoshua which means "help of Jehovah."

The name Christ is of Greek derivation. Christ (*Christos*) is derived from the Greek verb *chriein* which means anoint. *Christos* is the Anointed. The Hebrew word for anointing was *mashakh* and the noun, the anointed one, was *mashiakh,* from which our word Messiah derived. Yet not the Hebrew mashiakh-messiah but the Greek Christos became the name of the Logos who dwelt among us. The Greek name Christos is added as an appelative to the Hebrew name of Jesus: Jesus who was the Christ or Jesus who they say is the Christ or the Christ who is Jesus.

The Hebraic name Jesus is linked with Jehovah who was experienced within the blood-stream of the whole Jewish nation from

generation to generation. The name Jesus reminds us of the bodily descent.

The Greek name Christos suggests the power of the Logos who was in the very beginning the creator of our world. It indicates the descent from the Divine.

In the teaching of the Logos the mission of Hellas was revealed in its archetype. It shows that within the unfolding of one unique culture the Logos is the meaning of the whole history of mankind.

EPILOGUE

AMERICA AND THE RENAISSANCE OF THE GREEK SPIRIT

In making use of the term Renaissance in connection with the history of Hellas we have to distinguish between the gradual reunion of the Greek spirit with the rise of Christianity which continued throughout the Middle Ages and the sudden rebirth of the heritage of antiquity which began in the fifteenth century.

The writings of John and Paul, the Christian philosophy from Clement of Alexandria, the Gnostics and Neo-Platonists through the time of Scotus Erigena, Bernardus of Chartres and Alanus ab Insulis up to Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas and Dante show this reunion of the Hellenic spirit with the Christian world. In fact, except for the Bible, no works were better known and more often translated and interpreted than those of Plato and Aristotle. The heritage of Hellenic thinking, especially the works of Aristotle, became the main support and foundation for Christian theology. It remained the method of thinking to explain God.

The coming of the epoch of the Renaissance which flowered in the fifteenth century brought about a rediscovery of man and the universe. Man of the Renaissance became passionately imbued with the idea of carrying self-discovery further than did the ancients. Thus he tried to apply the Greek method of thinking to that realm which was originally explored by the Hellenic genius.

The pages of history that cover the fifteenth century are filled with great inventions and explorations. Painters abandoned the flat golden backgrounds of their pictures, recognized perspective, studied shadows, learned anatomy, psychology and physiognomy. The art of portraiture was cultivated. Biography in the modern sense was written for the first time. Exploration and mountaineering began. Interest in geography, ethnology and archeology was

stimulated. Mail coaches were running in many countries of the earth, now, at last, known to be a globe. Printing and gunpowder were among the most important inventions. Vasco da Gama, backed by his patron, Prince Henry, The Navigator, continued the explorations begun by Marco Polo and found, by circumnavigating Africa, the sea way to India. In the midst of this triumphant activity stands the discovery of America.

The year 1492 in which Columbus sailed west to discover a new route to India and reached, instead, the Bahama Islands in the Caribbean Sea was the same year in which Leonardo da Vinci began to paint his "Last Supper" in a monastery in Milano.

These two events were as different from each other as day from night. Yet they were prompted by the same underlying impulse which inspired all the great activities of the fifteenth century, an impulse growing out of a conflict in the human soul and common to every one.

Leonardo's desire, underlying all his achievements in art and science, was to attain the ideal of the *uomo universale* — the universal genius, as the Italians of the Renaissance termed the ideal—through the union of science, art and religion.

Inspired by the same yearning for universality, Columbus discovered the islands near this continent. When later explorations opened up the continent itself, thither came fugitives from religious persecution in search of that complete liberty of thought which the Reformation had inspired.

The civilization of the Renaissance was not a mere revival of the classical heritage, nor a rediscovery of the picture of man which was derived from the consciousness of the ancients. The Renaissance ushered in the age of modern man. A new consciousness of mankind began with these centuries which were marked by the rise of the Renaissance. Like the head of the Roman Janus with the double face looking at the past and the future the Renaissance reviewed the glory of Hellas and Rome and at the same time strove for the consciousness of modern man. Before the beginning of our technical age of world economy, determined by natural science and

the industrial revolution, mankind was destined to repeat once more in short cycles of evolution the form and content of the classical heritage.

Thus the four centuries from the discovery of America to the end of the nineteenth century may be regarded as an age of continual renaissance.

In England there was a renaissance movement similar to that of classicism at Versailles just as there was the era of Weimar in Germany; one can also trace the movement in Holland and Belgium, in Scandinavia and Russia. During this period, no mind revealed more clearly the phenomenon of renaissance than Goethe's. He wrote from Rome to Herder, December 2nd, 1786, about a second birth "which transforms me from within" and to Charlotte von Stein three weeks later: "Daily I throw off a new skin and I hope to return as a human being." The greatest achievement of Goethe in Italy was neither the new Iphigenia, the work on Egmont, nor the two scenes of Faust. Standing before the sculpture of the ancients, Goethe understood the living and typifying forces within them. "Here is Necessity, here is God!", he exclaimed.[222] Fresh from these experiences he made searching observations in the botanical gardens in Palermo which led him at last to the concept of the archetypal plant. This disclosure forecast the twentieth century development of science which unites spiritual knowledge with proved scientific method.

The renaissance at the close of the nineteenth century had expression in Switzerland in Jacob Burckhardt's view as an historian, in Conrad Ferdinand Meyer's novels and in Arnold Boecklin's paintings.

Contemporary with all this was the renaissance movement in America appearing through the minds of Emerson and those of the group surrounding him. In his essay on *Plato,* Emerson wrote the following words characteristic of the renaissance of Concord: "As they say that Helen of Argos had that universal beauty that everybody felt related to her, so Plato seems, to a reader in New England, an American genius. His broad humanity transcends all sectional lines." He plainly states in his essay on *History* after the fashion of

his eclectic mind: "I can find Greece, Italy and the Islands — the genius and creative principle of each and all eras, in my own mind. . . . What is the foundation of that interest all men feel in Greek history, letters, art and poetry, in all its periods, from the Heroic or Homeric age down to the domestic life of the Athenians and Spartans four or five centuries later? What but this, that every man passes personally through a Grecian period."

In facing more directly the renaissance of America through the Greek spirit, we must examine the facts through which its history differs from that of the European nations.

The discovery of America followed the movement of the renaissance in Italy, Spain and Portugal and grew out of the desire of men's souls to rediscover man and the universe. The colonization that started with Virginia in the South was as much the consequence of this impulse as were the settlements by the Pilgrims in the North.

A second fact peculiar to the development of America is that her history concurs with the beginning of the modern age. The rise of consciousness of the personality brought with it the rise of the American nation. The inventions and discoveries, the achievements of modern technique and natural science which grew out of this rise of consciousness became an integral part of the pioneering and colonizing of the West.

The impulse to travel west began before history. The heroes of antiquity went westward to find rebirth of the soul through an inner awakening. Myths and folklore associated such experiences with the descent into Hades or the netherworld where the solution of the riddle of death resulted in the rebirth of the human soul.

Heracles, the hero, went west to the garden of the Hesperides, the daughters of Atlas, ruler of Atlantis, in search of the golden apples which were guarded by the dragon. The completion of this mission enabled him to descend to Hades, the netherworld, the turning-point on the path of his twelve labors and probations of soul. The same trend may be seen in the story centering around Ardjuna, the disciple of Krishna in India, as pictured in the *Baghavad Gita.* He went west to Patala or Hades, the antipodes, where he found Ulupi, the king's daughter, with whom he realized a mys-

tical union. A similar tendency appears in the epic of *Gilgamesch*, the hero and inaugurator of the Babylonian-Assyrian period of culture. His westward wanderings were also prompted by the search for a solution of the riddle of immortality and death. Odysseus' adventures, too, led this hero to the West. Virgil describes a similar aim in the journey of Aeneas in his quest for Hesperia. Before he could reach the shores of Latium and meet the king Latinus, whose daughter, Lavinia, he was to marry in order to become the founder of the race of the Romans, he met the sybil of Cumae. This wise woman told him that before he could reach Hesperia he must descend to Hades with her. He had to experience the world of the dead that he might live again by discovering his own inner rebirth.

The search for the West continued. In the time of written history, about 1,000 A.D., the Normans, Biarni Heriulfson, Leif Erickson and Thorfinn Karlsefni sailed westward, crossing the Atlantic Ocean. They landed on the shores of Newfoundland and Labrador in North America and called this country Helluland, Markland and Vineland. The crew of Biarni Heriulfson was not permitted to go ashore. The Vikings recognized forces of the earth in this land different from those of their native countries. When they called this new land Helluland, they acknowledged terrestrial forces of magnetism and electricity which far more strongly entangled the human being with the realm of matter. The stories which refer to Markland and Vineland as countries in which plant life grew to gigantic proportions reveal the explorers' imaginations concerning these terrestrial forces. The word Helluland, the land of Hell, means, literally, the land of matter, for the word hell or hel is linked with the Greek word *hyle*, the name for matter. Thus the West, or Hesperia, is the land of matter and the way thither is the descent to the netherworld or hell, from the mythical days of the heroes to the historical events attending the discoveries of the Vikings. On his way West the hero or ego-man sought the solution of the riddle of death in order to find rebirth. Heracles and Ardjuna, Gilgamesch, Odysseus and Aeneas neither surrendered to the hellhound, Cerberus, nor remained within the confines of the underworld. They reappeared

as individuals reborn. In a higher sense of the word they were all "heroes of a renaissance."

This fact also underlay the adventures of Christopher Columbus. Although he was inspired by Marco Polo's book, *Mirabilia Mundi,* to find the new westward way to India, the destiny of the world led him to the islands of America.

American exploration and colonization have been based from their very outset upon an innate desire for liberty and democracy, for an independent society distant from the decadent, quarrelsome governments and rulers of Europe. That the Revolutionary War against British imperialism resembled the struggle of the Greeks in their repulse of the Persians, and that the Civil War had its counterpart in the Peloponnesian War which split the Greeks into North and South, has been suggested by Basil Gildersleeve in his book, *Hellas and Hesperia Or The Vitality of Greek Studies in America.*[223] The Revolutionary War not only established the independence of the Colonies and made possible the Union but also gave rise to a native American culture, represented by such minds as Washington, Franklin, Paine and Jefferson. And as Hellas after the Peloponnesian War became through her age of philosophy the school of the world, so America after her Civil War appeared before the nations of the earth as a world power. The tragic death of Pericles at the beginning of the Civil War in Athens strikingly resembles the assassination of Lincoln which followed the Civil War in America.

In his parallel between Americanism and Hellenism Gildersleeve concludes: "America is a find to the Americans as Greece was a find to the Greeks. Greek history is after all in some respects a pocket edition of American history and the founders of the Union turned to Greek history rather than to Roman history when they considered the problem of federal government", and he quotes a thought of Dimitrios Bikelas: "Americanism is really a revival of Hellenism and the Americanization of the world is really carrying on the good work begun by Alexander."[224]

Such parallels are no mere intellectual game of comparison; rather they arise out of the fact that many of the ideals of the American settlers and pioneers had their roots in Greek culture. For the

impulses underlying the culture of Hellas—freedom for the individual, the spirit of colonization, the pioneering that resulted in the founding of the city or polis as a center of political, economic and cultural endeavor—were also fundamentals in the building of America. As the Greeks freed themselves from the cultural heritage of the past, the prejudices and superstitions of the Oriental cults and doctrines, and from the last remnants of ancient clairvoyance, so the Americans cut themselves off from the superstitions of the Middle Ages which still clouded Europe.

There is also a genuinely Greek attitude in the private initiative of Americans to endow universities, libraries, hospitals and laboratories in the idealistic desire to support the cultural life through the economic.

Even American architecture in the early years reflected the Hellenic influence. The banks, libraries and museums, until recently so frequently built in the classical style reveal it in the same way as the Southern colonial mansion with its Hellenic portico and pediment.

These expressions of the classic spirit were, however, characteristic of America's younger days. Our technical age is sweeping away such ideas. They have lost their inner meaning for us. George Santayana writes in his *Winds of Doctrines*: "America is not simply a young country with an old mentality; it is a country with two mentalities, one a survival of the beliefs and standards of the fathers, the other an expression of the instincts, practices and discoveries of the younger generations. . . . One half of the American mind has remained slightly becalmed; it had floated gently in the back-water, while alongside in invention and industry and social organization, the other half of the mind was leaping down a sort of Niagara Rapids. This may be found symbolized in American architecture. The will inhabits the skyscraper; the American intellect inhabits the colonial mansion."[225]

This decisive split is due to the fact that, since the turn of the century, the traditional heritage of Hellas has lost its real power. Since 1900 the world of the Renaissance, like the ancient continent of Atlantis, has disappeared. Mankind is completely free from all

bondage of the past. The modern age has found in the America of the twentieth century a new start, a fresh self-discovery through the manifold technical inventions and their economic exploitation that have made this nation materially the most advanced of all countries.

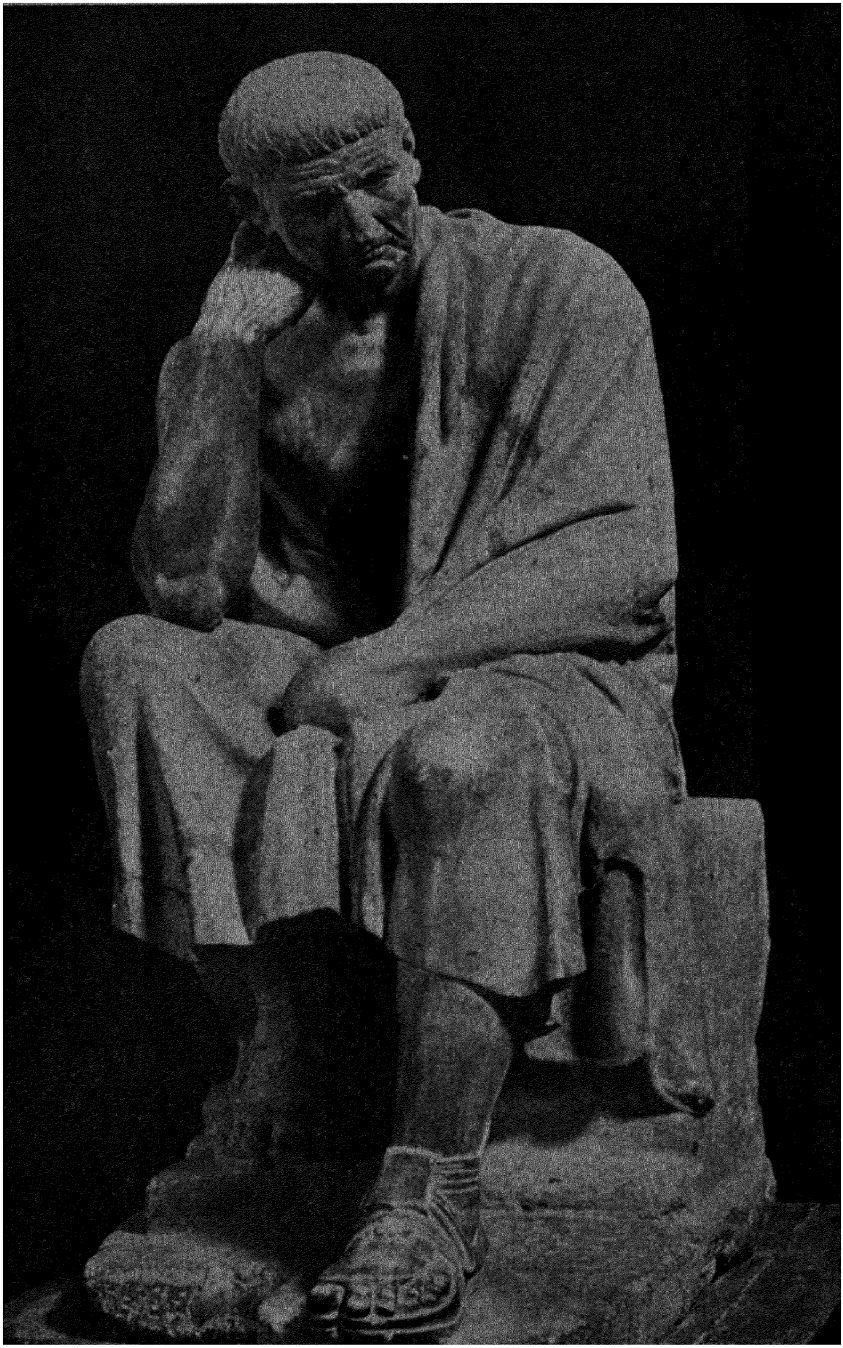
This emphasis upon material progress has naturally developed a whole set of new values contradictory to those of Hellas. Let us only recall a few of the essential characteristics of the Greek spirit: the love of knowledge for its own sake, the sovereignty of reason, the union of knowledge, art and religion, the educational aim toward the beautiful and the good, the contempt for mere money and for those who possess it in excess—and we at once recognize how far we have moved away from such noble concepts.

To be sure, the Greek attitude of mind still persists in the realm of science. Henry Browne in an address in Chicago in 1916 before the Classical Association of the Middle West and South points out that the scientific spirit is a heritage from Greece: "We of the West have had the best of the struggle (for supremacy between East and West) and for this we have first and foremost to thank the Greeks . . . We should be very poor Hellenists if we did not glory in the fact that modern science, quite as much as philosophy, poetry and art, was a gift from Greece to humanity . . . We want Greek and Latin, not because they are dead, but because they were once alive."[226]

And although the Greek façade is disappearing, the classic style of building and mansion dying out, and the aim toward the balance of the good, the beautiful and the true is fast giving way to opportunism and one-sided standards prompted by practical demand, none-the-less, within the more thoughtful of American souls, there is today a definite turning back to the ideals and values of antiquity. The welcome that such novels as Thornton Wilder's *Cabala* and *Woman of Andros* were accorded by the public is proof of this. The shadows of Greece appear in such plays lately performed as Eugene O'Neill's *Mourning Becomes Electra,* and *Medea,* adapted from Euripides by Robinson Jeffers. In recent years publishers have brought out popular editions of the *Dialogues of*

ARISTOTLE

(*Rome: Palazzo Spada alla Regola*)



Plato, The Complete Greek Drama, The Stoic and Epicurean Philosophers and the *Basic Works of Aristotle.*[227] In a Greek reader, compiled and edited by the Cambridge scholar, A. L. Whall, we find the following words in the preface: "If it should be true that the monsters against whom free men are at present embattled are, for all their ugliness, only the symptoms of an ailing society that produced them, then thinking as deep and honest and clear as that of the Greeks will be required to find the cure before post-war adjustments more lasting than those attempted after the last war can be made."[228]

In his book, *The Need for Art in Life,* J. B. Stoughton Holborn touches more deeply upon the question of why the Greeks still have "full meaning for us today". The Hellenes are "taken as our standards with regard to this completeness of being, our criterion by which other men and other ages are to be judged, for only in Hellas was there a unity of the intellectual, artistic and moral. We must turn to Greece and catch its inspiration not in any artificial renaissance, rebirth or copying, but by realizing the significance of a man that is whole and complete, a man that develops no side of his being in excess and leaves nothing out."[229]

The question of the form education should take is raised today more urgently than ever. The neglect of Aristotle's words in his *Politics* (VIII/3): "To be always seeking after the useful does not become free and exalted souls", has been widely recognized by leading educators of the nation. Robert Maynard Hutchins, Chancellor of the University of Chicago, emphasizes the need of returning to this ideal in books such as his *Higher Learning in America.*[230] Hutchins would stress the "permanent studies because they draw out the elements of our common nature. What are these permanent studies? They are in the first place those books which have through the centuries attained the dimensions of classics. The conversations of Socrates raise questions that are as urgent today as they were when Plato wrote. In fact they are more so because the society in which Plato lived did not need to have them raised as much as we do."

Nicholas Murray Butler, late president of Columbia University, stated: "Only the scholar can realize how little that is being said

and thought in the modern world is in any sense new. It was the colossal triumph of the Greeks and Romans and the great thinkers of the Middle Ages to sound the depths of almost every problem which human nature has to offer . . . . Unhappily, these deep-lying facts, which should be controlling in the life of a civilized people with a historical background, are known only to a few."[231]

Hutchins, also, complains that this insight is confined to scholars. "The Republic of Plato is basic to an understanding of the law; it is equally important as education for what is known as citizenship. The Physics of Aristotle, which deals with change and motion in nature, is fundamental to the natural sciences and medicine, and is equally important to all those who confront change and motion in nature, that is to everybody." In his search for studies fundamental to the student of every university Hutchins comes to the conclusion that the medieval university was ordered by the influence of theology, but that theology cannot now prevail: "If we omit from theology faith and revelation, we are substantially in the position of the Greeks, who are thus, oddly enough, closer to us than the Middle Ages. Now, Greek thought was unified by the study of first principles. Aristotle made the knowledge of them into the science of metaphysics. Metaphysics ordered the Greek world as theology ordered that of the Middle Ages. With neither one no university can exist."[232]

Therefore Hutchins concludes that the new university should consist of three faculties, metaphysics, social science and natural science. He wants to remove from the universities vocationalism and unqualified empiricism. He calls for the pursuit of truth for its own sake. Hutchins in his high idealism calls for a new metaphysics which is based on Aristotle.

In a similar way Mortimer J. Adler of the University of Chicago draws an outline of a philosophy for the future. After recognizing the superiority of Aristotle to Plato and the superiority of St. Thomas to the Neo-Platonic philosophies of the Middle Ages and modern times, he states: "The ancient Human Knowledge was a unity of philosophy, theology and science (as technology). The historical drama is not yet concluded. The third act will not come

to its happy ending until it reaches another Aristotelian moment in which Philosophy will attain maturity, separate not only from Theology but from Science . . . . The intellectual history of Western Europe is not only the story of a general cultural advance, but also the story of progress of philosophy in which Aristotle is the hero." In connection with the Aristotelian philosophy Adler speaks of a second form of enlightenment which is at hand in the ideas of Jacques Maritain. In Maritain's works Adler finds the outline of "a synthesis of science, philosophy and theology which will do for us what St. Thomas did for philosophy and theology in the Middle Ages."[233]

In short, Adler is sure that philosophy will reach a new fruition when the point of view becomes general that the spirit of man as experienced in Greece, having been lost or obscured, must be regained.

How are we to regain it? How bring to realization the new metaphysics on the basis of Aristotle for which Hutchins asks? How can we achieve the new philosophy which will reach fruition in the age of science? How will the new synthesis of science, philosophy and theology come about which Jacques Maritain propounds as a conception "which will do for us what St. Thomas did for philosophy and theology in the Middle Ages"? How may we establish the new union between the intellectual, artistic and moral which Holborn proposes, "not in any artificial renaissance or copying, but realizing the significance of man that is whole and complete?"

An unbiased observation shows us that by the end of the nineteenth century the last traces of our classical heritage had vanished. The impulse of the renaissance had reached its definite end since Jacob Burkhardt, Herman Grimm and Ralph Waldo Emerson passed away at the turn of the century.

The industrial revolution, technology and natural science created the structure of a new civilization in which world-economy and world-politics call for a new social order. We are, in fact, in the heavy labor pains of the birth of a new consciousness of civilization.

Consciousness is the underlying and motivating factor of all

events in history, the basis of their causes, effects and results. The various epochs of culture are the revelations of various phases of the consciousness of man. It is the soul which creates language, not the tongue; it is the mind which originates art and knowledge, not the blood or soil of a race or country. It is the spirit which reveals the gods and institutes their cults and mysteries, not the climate and landscape of a particular place, or the sexual rites of tribal associations. There are as many different levels of consciousness as there are human beings. Yet we can clearly distinguish the prevailing features of consciousness which are the normal possession of souls during a given epoch. The trend of events of our own day indicates an entirely new consciousness different from that of the Graeco-Roman epoch. Yet we must not forget that in accordance with the biogenetic law of evolution we have to repeat and to transform the very foundation of all our intellectual and artistic heritage from Hellas.

Emerson's phrase, "every man passes personally through a Grecian period" beautifully expresses the fact that everyone must pass through the state of consciousness upon which intellect is based.

James Feibleman in his recently published *Theory of Human Culture* gives an illuminating example in showing that the Arabian civilization had to die out because the impulse of Hellenism was never received by the whole nation but only by a few scholars. "Muslim culture was in possession of Greek science and some philosophy, and the rulers of the Muslim world were exceedingly interested in the Greek discoveries. It is a curious fact, that the influence of Greek culture was not allowed to spread to the masses of the Muslims .... Greek philosophy was carried on a sealed train, which was allowed to traverse Muslim soil but not to be opened en route .... As soon as the Arabs neglected their Greek studies, they began to decline. The Greek rationality which the Muslim culture had acquired was never allowed to pass below the consciousness and to become incorporated in the psyche of the culture."[284]

The Arabian civilization in its quick rise and early decline is an excellent example of the fact that a nation which rose to unprecedented wealth in its economic life and to world dominating

power in its political conquests had to fail because it neglected the two basic roots of our common heritage: the spirit of Hellas and the tradition of the Old Testament with its culmination in the rise of Christianity.

Whatever our economic condition and our social and political forms may be, determined by the rise of a new consciousness, we cannot succeed in building up a creative basis of true culture without recognizing the two fundamental columns on which Christianity is built.

What we need, however, is not a renaissance, a rebirth of the past, but a naissance, the birth of a culture of the present. Neither the rebirth of the Hellenic spirit nor the reunion with the Greek heritage, such as scholasticism accomplished so spendidly for the Middle Ages, will exert lasting power on our civilization.

Jacques Maritain, whom Adler pronounces as the new philosopher who will bring about the synthesis of science, philosophy and theology in a Neo-Thomism for our age, in his book, *Freedom of the New World,*[235] entitled the first chapter "Philosophy of Freedom." He does not even mention the name of Rudolf Steiner nor his main philosophical work, *The Philosophy of Spiritual Activity*[236] which appeared more than a generation ago (1894) under the German title, *Philosophie der Freiheit* (Philosophy of Freedom), and is now, in many editions and various translations, distributed all over the globe. Yet none-the-less one can easily find in Maritain evidence of the thoughts which Steiner had already worked out, but which are set forth in Maritain's work as a revival of Aristotelian-Thomistic concepts.

The Philosophy of Spiritual Activity is a thoroughly modern work and no mere revival of Aristotelianism and Thomism. By formulating the principles of a new form of cognition it constitutes a ringing challenge to the thinking and research of the science of our present age. It lays, indeed, the basis of a new world conception which can "do for us what St. Thomas did for the Middle Ages"[237] or as F.S.C. Northrop puts it in his *The Meeting of East and West*: "Only a philosophy and a theology which find meaning for their concepts in terms of the specific content of the verified theories of

contemporary science, after the manner in which Aristotle and St. Thomas did this with respect to Greek science, will meet in part the religious and other cultural needs of our time."[238]

The shadow of Greek culture leads to materialism in knowledge and naturalism in art. Those who interpret Aristotle in a manner of mere revival are agnostics and those who follow him according to the interpretation of Thomism remain medievalists.

America stands as the most modern among the great nations of the world, as that with the shortest history and least heritage. What has the spirit of Hellas to say to the spirit of pioneering America, to a country which stands in the forefront among nations in the greatest crisis of history, looking towards a new order of the world?

The ideals of the ancients in regard to freedom of thought and knowledge for its own sake, the aim towards a union of art and morality, the equality of political rights in a democracy are innately human. Yet their embodiment takes the form which accords with our present consciousness and therefore must differ from the form they assumed during pre-Christian Hellas. The sublime achievements of the Hellenes were only possible through faculties of the soul which underlay these creations and which we have the power to reawaken within our own. Awe and wonder, compassion world by Greece. Through these faculties the Hellenes surpassed and love, and, finally, conscience were the imperishables given the their limitations as mere creatures of their gods. Awe and wonder in their thoughts concerning nature, compassion and love in their feelings towards others, conscience in their willing impulses towards the inner activity of the spirit: these three capacities which the Hellenes developed in their souls are in reality the essence and substance of true Christianity.

This is the course which the Gospel of Hellas reveals time and again. It is the true path along which America must travel if she would develop in the twentieth century a genuine culture of her own!

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