

which they have been accustomed. They are frequently tired of the type of sermon which they have heard again and again and are perfectly willing to criticize. As one man said to me, "We do not want to be told to be good, what we do want is to be told how to be good." The sermon which takes the form of a second-rate literary essay with strong ethical tendencies is as useless as it is boring to men of this kind; what they crave for is systematic instruction, and it is this which the clergy either cannot or will not give them.'

He therefore proposes that, first of all, we should endeavour to teach them to pray. The Morning and Evening Prayer will not satisfy them. He is quite sure of that. Morning and Evening Prayer may be admirable exercises for those who know how to pray, but they do not know. 'A man said to me not long ago, "When I go to church on Sunday evening, I notice that the people kneel down before the service: I suppose they are saying their prayers. I should like to do the same, but I do not know what to say."''

In the second place he suggests that in our preaching and in the lessons that we read we should make a clear distinction between the Old

Testament and the New. Hitherto he thinks we have made so little distinction that the men themselves make none. 'They believe that a literal acceptance of the Old Testament is an integral part of Christianity, and many of them are seriously affected by such grave problems as the difficulty of Cain's wife and cognate questions.'

He believes and he hopes that when the war is over and the men return they will demand a change, and with no uncertain voice. They will demand that 'the Old Testament should be put in its proper place, that the truths of redemption and the scheme of salvation as it is to be found in the Catholic Church should be substituted for outlines of Jewish history and tables of Israelitish kings, that their children from their earliest youth should be brought into touch with the supernatural by being present, week by week, at the Holy Eucharist, that they should be definitely and thoroughly instructed in the sacramental system as a whole, that they should be transported into that broader world which Christ opened up to all believers and in which the holy dead find place and the blessed saints are not forgotten. Perhaps they will ask for these things, perhaps they will not, but of one thing I have little doubt: that if they be offered them, they will not refuse them.'

The Mysticism of Greece.

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I.

THE mysticism of Greece may be studied broadly under two different aspects. On the one hand, we may investigate archæologically various kinds of mystic worship, notably the rites established at Eleusis in Attica, the cult of Dionysus, the beliefs and ritual of the communities called Orphic and Pythagorean, and several forms of ecstatic religion prevailing in the later Græco-Roman world, and associated with the names of more Oriental deities

known as the Great Mother, Isis, Mithra, and others. Or, again, we may trace in great authors and thinkers the effect of the doctrines promulgated in mystic societies. The highest importance is to be assigned to this part of the subject. We cannot tell to what extent Plato, Pindar, Euripides, and Plotinus may have taken part in ceremonies requiring initiation; such scraps of evidence as we have (*e.g.*, Porphyrius, *Vit. Plot.* 10) indicate that they

would have habitually stood aloof from popular cults; nevertheless in their works is to be found the abiding value of Greek mysticism. It seems desirable first briefly to sketch the history of early mystic religion in Greece, so far as recent research can help us to understand it, or, in default of certain knowledge, to form a reasonable conjecture about its development, and afterwards to see how the leaven of the mysteries worked in the minds of classical writers.

ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES.

The word *μύειν* means 'to shut,' and is applied to shutting the eyes or the mouth. From it are usually derived the words *μυεῖν*, 'to initiate'; *μύστης*, 'an initiated person'; *μυστήρια*, 'mystic' or 'secret rites,' because, as Eustathius (12th cent. A.D.) tells us, 'the initiated were bound to keep their mouths shut, and not to reveal the secret of their enlightenment.' Gilbert Murray translates Eur. *El.* 87 (*ἀφιγμαι ἐκ θεοῦ μυστηρίων*), 'I am come, fresh from the cleansing of Apollo,' thereby supporting a modern attempt to put forward seriously Clement of Alexandria's scoffing derivation of 'mysteries' from *μύσος*, 'pollution' (*Protr.* 12 [Potter]; see also Lydus, *de Mens.* iv. 38), on the ground that mysteries cleansed from pollution, but that etymology seems too much based on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle to meet with acceptance. It is true that purification played a leading part in the rites which were more often called by the Greeks *τελεταί*, 'rites of full initiation' (see J. E. Harrison, *Cl. R.* xxviii. [1914] 36), or *ὄργια*, 'rites of celebration,' than *μυστήρια*, 'rites of reverent silence,' and very probably they are right who see in the mysteries a survival of a primitive tabu, designed to protect the community from harm, by enjoining strict cleansing before the approach to sacred things, and forbidding their defilement by idle lips.

Theon Smyrnæus (2nd cent. A.D.), in *de Util. Math.* 14 ff. (Hiller), gives several stages of initiation, of which the most important are the first, *καθαρός*, 'purification,' and the third, *ἐποπτεία*, 'beholding,' or 'vision,' which is followed by crowning with a wreath, and the possession of *εὐδαιμονία*, 'happiness,' acquired by communion with the divine. This late witness to happiness as the goal to be reached by the contemplation of mysteries is confirmed by the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* (probably 7th cent. B.C.), which is the oldest source of

our knowledge of Eleusinian rites: 'Happy is he among dwellers of the earth who has beheld these things, but he who is without part or lot in sacred things hath not an equal destiny, when he be dead beneath the dusky gloom' (480 ff.).

Happiness, we see, is the assurance of salvation after death. Similarly, Sophocles proclaims: 'Thrice happy are those of mortal men who having seen these sacred rites go down to Hades, for theirs alone is life yonder, and there all evils are in store for others' (frag. 753 [Nauck]).

Pindar also (frag. 137 [Christ]) sings a like strain. Thus from the earliest moment when we catch a glimpse of Eleusis, through classical days and on to the latest age, the keynote of the mysteries was the blessedness of a future life for the initiated.

The hymn describes the search of Demeter, the earth-mother or corn-mother, for her daughter Core, whom she discovers to have been forcibly carried off to be the bride of the under-world god Hades. In the course of her wanderings she reveals herself to the Eleusinians, bids them build her a shrine, and promises to establish sacred rites (*ὄργια*). Zeus implores her to return to the abode of the gods, but she refuses, and sends a dearth upon the land, until her daughter shall revisit the earth. Then Hades yields to the importunity of Zeus to let Core go, but by giving her a pomegranate seed to eat he secures her return, and thenceforward she dwells a third part of the year with him and the rest with her mother and the other gods.

It is highly probable that this myth was developed from some early sympathetic magic for promoting fertility, but by the time the hymn was composed the ritual that can be traced in it of (a) purification by the use of fire (48, 239) and fasting (49), and (b) a sacred drink (*κυκεών*) of meal and water (208), had come to signify a promise of spiritual rather than material blessing to those who faithfully observed the ordinances.

No mention is made in the Homeric hymn of worship paid to any other deities but the mother, Demeter, and Core, the maiden. Accessory figures appear later, attested by the evidence of inscriptions and literature, and there are many problems relating to them, which need not concern us here. The husband of Core, Hades, plays a part, and it is in some manner not fully comprehensible to us, that, through Core's double character as the goddess of life-giving fertility and

queen of the under world, the initiated acquired their consciousness of happiness in the life to come. It should be noted with E. Rohde (*Psyche*², i. 294) that belief in a future existence was assumed beforehand by those who attended the mysteries. What they gained at Eleusis was the power of looking forward to that existence with a sure and certain hope. The hope must have increased in vividness, when, probably at some time between the date of the hymn and the battle of Salamis, the ritual was enriched by a Dionysiac spirit of worship. We are here on disputed ground. There is no doubt that a divine person named Iacchus, son of Core, was invoked by those who marched yearly to Eleusis from Athens in a torch-light procession. It is maintained by some that Iacchus is a purely Attic deity, having nothing to do with Dionysus, but the whole spirit of the chorus addressed to Iacchus, in Aristoph. *Frogs* (316-450), which is sung by a company of the 'pure initiated,' is in harmony with odes to Dionysus. Sophocles again (*Ant.* 1119 ff.; see also 1154 ff. and *Æd. Col.* 682 ff., with Jebb's note) sings of Bacchus as 'Thou who bearest sway in the gulf of Eleusinian Deo' (another name for Demeter), so that it is at least hardly doubtful that 5th cent. Greeks themselves fused the two divinities. Further, a scholiast on *Frogs*, 478, identifies Dionysus with Iacchus. It seems only natural therefore to account for the exaltation which filled the Eleusinian mystics as having its source in the power of Dionysus to impart to his votaries 'a share in the life of the God himself' (Rohde, ii. 14).

Statements are extant in abundance about details of the ritual, but they are apt to come from Christian Fathers with prejudiced minds or defective knowledge. What precisely happened in the hall (*τελεστήριον* = 'hall,' rather than 'temple') at Eleusis we cannot tell. Some sort of religious play, *δράμα μυστικόν*, was enacted; some sort of sacred symbols were displayed; some sacred cup was drunk. The point of importance for us is that the initiated took away with them a serener confidence. 'They do not have to learn anything,' says Aristotle, 'but to feel emotion and be in the right frame of mind, that is to say, when they have become suitable subjects' (frag. 45 [Bonitz]).

The last words in this quotation do not seem to be noted as often as they deserve. It is not to be expected that the religious fervour and imaginative susceptibility of all the crowd that attended the Eleusinia reached the highest level, but the long

life of the mysteries, extending to the end of the 4th cent. A.D., and the influence which they exerted on Christian ritual (see E. Hatch, *The Influence of Greek Ideas and usages upon the Christian Church* [H.L.], London, 1890) show that the spirit of devotion was by no means perfunctory.

All Greeks (Herod. viii. 65), men, women, and sometimes slaves (Aristid. *Eleus.* i. 257 [Jebb]; *C.I.A.* 834 b, c), were admitted to the Eleusinian mysteries, contrary to the rule prevailing for other mysteries, both in Athens and elsewhere in Greece, except as regards the Lesser Mysteries held in February at Agræ, an Athenian suburb on the Ilissus, on the side of the city farthest from Eleusis. Here candidates were required to go through a preliminary initiation. In the September following a candidate might share in the rites of purification, sacrifice, and fasting, which are celebrated in Athens on the first three days of the Greater Mysteries, and might go to Eleusis for the first time, but would not be admitted to the most sacred part of the ceremonies. Next year he, or she, might repeat the pilgrimage and become an *επόπτης*.

The difficulty of ascertaining the procedure at Agræ is even greater than at Eleusis. Core was the chief figure. Efforts to find Dionysus in the ritual rest on very slender and late evidence, and on a dubious interpretation of an Athenian painting. The Lesser Mysteries were probably a relic of the time when Athens and Eleusis, being separate states, had each their own Core-cult. The prestige of the Eleusinian rites caused the Athenians to maintain them as the principal festival, placing, however, both centres under state management. Mysteries abounded in all parts of Greece, some of them offshoots of Eleusis—*e.g.*, at Celeæ—others independent and in honour of other gods—*e.g.* at Samothrace, where the Kabeiroi were worshipped.

THE WORSHIP OF DIONYSUS.

In the 6th cent. B.C. there began to appear in Greece the cult of Dionysus or Bacchus, who is mentioned in Homer, though seldom. Thrace was the country of his origin, so far back as we can discover it, and to this day a very curious mumming play, reminiscent of Dionysiac myth, survives there (R. M. Dawkins, in *J.H.S.* xxvi. [1906] 191). It may be, however, that Crete was a still earlier home; that question must be discussed presently. Herodotus (iv. 79) strikes the

keynote of the character of Dionysus: 'this god who leads men on to madness.' Torch-light revels on the mountain-side, music of flutes, cymbals, and tambourines, wild dance, and ecstasy were the means by which the worshippers endeavoured to enhance their sense of the presence of the god.

No deity is more manifold in his aspects than Dionysus. First and foremost he is the god of ecstasy. Life, energy, fertility, vegetation are his special province. In alternate years he disappears from mankind to dwell in the under world, being the lord of all souls. To celebrate his 'epiphany' (ἐπιφάνεια) trieteric (*i.e.*, taking place every other year) festivals were held. Thus Dionysus was a nether as well as an upper god, and by communion with him his votaries strove with frenzied longing to attain immortality, for only by becoming themselves divine could mortals escape death. The dancers might descry the god in their midst in animal form, especially as a bull, or else 'Dread voices as of bulls bellow, whence coming none can see' (Æschylus, describing Thracian Dionysus [frag. 57 [Nauck]). Or, again, they might fall on some animal meet for sacrifice, a kid or bull, and in frantic haste would tear him piecemeal, and feast upon his raw flesh, identifying the victim with the god with whom they yearned to be one. Such rites earned for a Thracian tribe from Herodotus (iv. 93) the name of οἱ ἀθανάτιζοιτες, people who make themselves immortal.

From Thrace the cult of Dionysus spread through Greece and Asia Minor. In Greece proper there are legendary tales of fierce resistance to the new religion, whose spirit of unbridled orgy accorded ill with the Greek tone of restraint in

matters of worship as in other things. But the appeal made by Dionysus to the desire instinctive in all mankind to overstep human limitations and partake of divine eternity was too strong for suppression by rulers. Everywhere he made converts among the women, and it is hardly necessary to refer to the *Bacchæ* of Euripides as reaching high-water mark among pictures of these enthusiasts in the literal sense of the Greek word—*i.e.*, human beings rapt into the godhead, ἐνθεοί, ἐνθουσίασαι. The worship made its way, casting its spell over men as well as women and winning State recognition, but at the same time becoming more subdued. In passing southwards to a vine-growing country, Dionysus took on a new character as the kindly giver of wine that maketh glad the heart of man, 'the fruit of the vine that makes the troubles of mortals to cease' (Eur. *Bacch.* 772). It is easy to see how readily wine with its exciting properties should come to be associated with a god the very essence of whose service demanded a mood of exaltation in his followers. But, though we hear of orgiastic festivals in historical times in Greece (Paus. viii. vi. 5, and often), official cults of Dionysus, especially in Athens, developed into well-ordered sacrificial, musical, and dramatic celebrations. At Delphi the frenzy of the priestess who uttered the oracles shows the influence of Dionysus, and all the sibyls and seers, who, though known to us only through legends, doubtless really wandered about Greece, prophesying as the spirit moved them, were imbued with his spirit, as were also the wizard purifiers such as Epimenides, who worked through ecstatic inspiration.

The Revelation of God in Christ.

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GOD revealed in Jesus Christ—this idea is one which, judging by the quite natural difficulties felt upon the subject, requires no little explanation. All sorts of puzzles have accumulated round it. All kinds of objection have been raised to its validity, and the proofs led in its defence have occasionally been wrong-headed or irrelevant.

To hold that in Christ we see God revealed is to

hold that if we Christians examine our own minds with regard to the content we ascribe to 'God'—a term which, be it remembered, has borne and still bears a hundred different meanings—it transpires that we have carried over to God the moral attributes of Christ. God, in other words, is exactly like Jesus. No one really has ever believed that the world explains itself, or doubted that above or