the not quite perfect and the "vale" between Muspelheim and Niflheim for the not altogether bad.

The Venerable Bede's description of Hell will also be of interest as a supplement to Dr. Pick's article on "The Punishments in the Other World," as it appears to have inspired Milton to the verses quoted by Dr. Pick.

"When he had conducted me, much frightened with that horrid spectacle, by degrees to the farther end, on a sudden I saw the place begin to grow dusk and filled with darkness. When I came into it, the darkness, by degrees, grew so thick that I could see nothing besides it and the shape and garment of him that led me. As we went on through the shades of night, on a sudden there appeared before us frequent globes of *black flames*, rising as it were out of a great pit and falling back again into the same. When I had been conducted hither, my leader suddenly vanished and left me alone in the midst of darkness and this horrid vision, while those same globes of fire, without intermission, at one time flew up and at another fell back into the bottom of the abyss; and I observed that all the flames, as they ascended, were full of human souls which like sparks flying up with smoke were sometimes thrown on high, and again, when the vapor of the fire ceased, dropped down into the depth below. Moreover, an insufferable stench came forth with the vapors, and filled all those dark places.

"Having stood there a long time in much dread, not knowing what to do, which way to turn, or what end I might expect, on a sudden I heard behind me the noise of a most hideous and wretched lamentation, and at the same time a loud laughing, as of a rude multitude insulting captured enemies. When that noise, growing plainer, came up to me, I observed a gang of evil spirits dragging the howling and lamenting souls of men into the midst of the darkness, while they themselves laughed and rejoiced. Among those men, as I could discern, there was one shorn like a clergyman, a layman, and a woman. The evil spirits that dragged them went down into the midst of the burning pit; and as they went down deeper, I could no longer distinguish between the lamentation of the men and the laughing of the devils, yet I still had a confused sound in my ears. In the meantime some of the dark spirits ascended from that flaming abyss, and running forward, beset me on all sides, and much perplexed me with their glaring eyes and the stinking fire which proceeded from their mouths and nostrils...."

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE COMPLETE WORKS OF PLOTINOS. Translated by *Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie*. Together with the Lives of Plotinos, Commentary by Porphyry, and Illustrations by Jamblichus and Ammonius. With Studies in Sources, Development, and Influence. Concordance of 60 pages to Subjects, Thoughts, and Words. 4 vols. 1400 pages, cloth-bound, $12 net. Comparative Literature Press, Alpine, N. J.

Emerson, Swedenborg, St. Augustine, and many other mystics were fond of quoting stray thoughts of Plotinos, as the fount of the wisdom-religion that has come down the ages. But up to the present time this great mine of practical religious and philosophical thought has been inaccessible. Translations, of course, there were; but the French, that of Bouillet, was scarce at $50; the German, at $20, was as difficult to understand as the original, if not more so.

The scattered booklets translated by Thomas Taylor were of no more than dilettante value, useless to a systematic student, and at that, unreliable in rendering. This complete translation into modern English cannot therefore fail to be of inestimable value to all constructive thinkers, and students of religious and philosophical progress.

But this is not merely a translation; it has altered the status of Plotinos in the history of philosophy. Up to the present time it has been customary to call Ammonius Sakkas the Father of Neo-Platonism; and that on a mere tradition, whereas there remained, of Ammonius Sakkas, only a few trifling fragments, ascribed to him jointly with some other writer. This statement continued to pass as truth for another reason, namely that his disciple's works, those of Plotinos, were in such a confusion that almost anything could be read into them. For instance, they have been used by Augustine and others as a mine of practical mysticism, while the German Drews used them as supports for Hartmann's Philosophy of the Unconscious.

In order to clear up the situation, two things were necessary. The first is a translation that would make the sources as a whole accessible. The length and the difficulty of the undertaking had deterred the most laborious. First as to the length, it would have proved a deterrent, except that the life-problems of a student who in his youth had attempted to throw together an outline of the philosophy of Plotinos compelled him to undergo the ordeal. As to the difficulty, his translation does not pretend to solve insoluble problems; problems which must have been present to the author; for had he analyzed his thought more clearly, he would have probably stated it unmistakably. All that the present translation pretends to do is to present in clear English the thought of the translator, as a provisional means of approaching linguistic difficulties to which centuries of research are welcome; with the advantage that doubtful passages have been interpreted in the light of parallel statements, and in harmony with the philosophical sources of the text.

But mere translation made the reigning confusion still more striking. It reminded very much of the Pentateuch in the Bible. Criticism has there unraveled the tangle, by demonstrating that some editor mixed sources in themselves coherent, in obedience to some prearranged purpose. Was there such a purpose in the mind of Plotinos's editor, Porphyry? The latter, in his Preface, explains it in detail. It was, in those days, fashionable (not even the works of Plato had entirely escaped this process) to group an author's works by subject, or length—in this case into six "enneads" of nine books each, with a fine disregard of the chronology of their origin. Porphyry claimed to have made this arrangement in order to group the works by subject; but such an idea was illusory, in view of the desultory nature of Plotinos's thought in many individual essays; and the result was such a confusion that the very first essay is practically the last one written by Plotinos.

Under such circumstances, it was no wonder that readers of Plotinos found it difficult to discover consistency, inasmuch as it is the natural course of life for thinkers to grow in power, and even fail in later years, as happened to Schlegel, to Plato, and others. Indeed, Porphyry explicitly records that of Plotinos. It was therefore necessary to unravel this tangle by both doing the work of translation, and by printing the works in their chronological order. The result was as illuminating as with the Pentateuch. It was discovered that the earlier period was Numenian, or Gnostic-Platonic, the second Por-

phyrian, or Stoic, while in later years Plotinos returned to his earlier views. The latter indeed may not be the case, if in his later years he was merely giving out early incomplete works, to put his writings together.

It will of course be asked, How could so great a thinker as Plotinos prove as changeable in his views? The answer is interesting. Plotinos was absorbed in thinking, and left writing to his secretaries; writing must to him have been laborious, especially in later years when his eye-sight was low, for neither his speech nor writing was scholarly; Porphyry mentions specific vulgarisms. He had as first secretary Amelius, the legatee of the works of Numenius, who knew them all by heart. Is it any wonder, then, that in the writings of the Amelian period a number of Numenian expressions can be demonstrated? In the second or Porphyrian period, we find the most systematic treatises, Stoic in character. When Porphyry wished to commit suicide and was persuaded as alternative to sojourn in Sicily, Plotinos was thrown back on his earlier thought; and therefore it is no wonder that he returns to Platonic opinions. Thus Plotinos's views become consistent, in each period; and therefore we will in the future, as we do with Plato, not speak of Plotinos's views, but of views of Plotinos in his first, second, and third periods.

Interesting as this rescuing of Plotinos's progress of views is, it would be no more than interesting were it not for the light that it sheds on the origin of the philosophy of Christianity. In Plotinos we find a number of Nicene formulations a century before that council; and so more than ever do we realize that just as Plato summated early Greek philosophy, so Plotinos fused the thought of Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics, and put this Greek heritage in a shape in which it could be used practically by a young religion as explanation of many of its mysteries.

There is still another living issue in our study of Plotinos—What is the independent value of the mystic ecstasy, the authority for which has always more or less involved Plotinos? Numenius had drunk deep at the Oriental Hermetic sources, and through Amelius this doctrine must have been found convenient to explain the epileptic attacks to which we are told Plotinos was subject. But to demonstrate a physical basis for mystic experiences does not deny the latter, nor invalidate them; but it does supply a cautious basis for more careful criticism of these experiences.

Plotinos summates Greek thought; he is the sunset of the ancient world-conception, and the dawn of the new; and this latter can never be justly evaluated without a knowledge of its source, Plotinos.

KOREAN BUDDHISM, History—Condition—Art. Three Lectures. By *Frederick Starr*. Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1918. Pp. xix, 104. Price, cloth, $2.00 net.

We welcome this little volume as the first breach made in the wall of neglect and ignorance which, in Europe and America, is still surrounding Korean Buddhism. As late as 1910, Hackmann, who devoted thirteen pages to the subject in his book *Buddhism as a Religion*, had to content himself in his Bibliography with a single item referring to it, *The Korea Review*, a monthly published in Seoul from 1901 to 1906.

It is plain that, in regard to Korean Buddhism perhaps more than any other religion, it is imperative to have been on the spot, and to have seen with

one's own eyes in order to say anything worth while about it, especially on account of the new life that at last seems to be awakening in it. Professor Starr had this advantage and he made the most of it, his itinerary including trips to the most inaccessible monasteries in the mountains where Korean Buddhism has made its home practically ever since the persecution in the late Middle Ages. In fact, Dr. Starr's whole enterprise might best be termed a prospecting tour—he does not bring home the precious metal, but he tells us where and how to get it.

Of course he has to point to the enormous materials stored in the native sources, voluminous works in Chinese and Korean dealing with Korean history, the records of the monasteries—few of them printed—and innumerable inscriptions. Naturally, all this is best accessible to Orientals trained, more or less, in the scholarship of the West. That their efforts are not lagging is shown by the example of Mr. Yi Nung Hwa, who, we are informed, has prepared a history of Korean Buddhism covering the entire field. This does not mean that it will actually be published, for, in the words of the book before us (p. 38), "everything that is printed in Korea must pass under the eye of the Japanese government, and can be printed only with its permission. It makes no difference whether the material is secular or religious, social, economic, literary or political. At the time when we were speaking about his book it had been sent in to the government for examination." The chances it has of passing the censorship may perhaps be best measured in the light of another quotation (pp. 64f), incidentally furnishing quite an interesting commentary on the binding force of universal religions:

"Korean Buddhism has, perhaps, a political part to play. When the Japanese took over Korea, Buddhists came into the country in great numbers. Japanese priests and temples came with these settlers. These priests and temples are in the cities and larger towns. They do not, however, fit with the Koreans. There might be thousands of them and they would still not make Korean converts—not because the Japanese are not ready to do mission work, but because the Koreans are not ready to accept it. The Korean Buddhism of to-day is actually Korean, not Japanese.

"I can imagine nothing that would be more dangerous to Japanese control than a strong and vital Korean Buddhism that was hostile to Japan. On the other hand, I can think of nothing that would be a greater help to Japan than a Korean Buddhism developed among those people by their own priests and friendly to Japan. What Korean Buddhism is to be in the future depends upon its relation to the government now there. If Korean Buddhism accepts and cooperates with the Japanese control, it will become the mightiest factor that can be devised to make Japan's hold on the peninsula secure. If hostile to Japan, when the crisis comes, as it surely will come, when Japan will be tried out again and once for all on Korean soil, Korean Buddhism may be the decisive element in that moment of test."

The book throughout makes refreshing and stimulating reading, giving neither a dry traveler's log nor an erudite, systematic, final interpretation of the facts presented. Explanations are most amiably given wherever "the general reader" may need them. Finally we mention the plates, thirty-seven in number, which illuminate the text, of prime importance of course in the last of the three chapters, on Korean Buddhist art.