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THE MYSTERY: H.D.'S UNPUBLISHED MORAVIAN NOVEL EDITED
AND ANNOTATED. TOWARDS A STUDY IN THE SOURCES OF A
POET'S RELIGIOUS THINKING

Augustine, Jane, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1988

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THE MYSTERY:

H.D.'S UNPUBLISHED MORAVIAN NOVEL EDITED AND ANNOTATED

Towards a Study in the Sources
of a Poet's Religious Thinking

by

JANE AUGUSTINE

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
English in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University
of New York.

1988

The Mystery by H.D. (Hilda Doolittle)

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in English in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

March 7, 1968
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ABSTRACT

H.D. (Hilda Doolittle: 1886-1961) wrote her last, still-unpublished novel, The Mystery, between 1949 and 1951, concluding a period of intense interest in her Moravian religious background. Her mother, Helen Wolle, belonged to the Unitas Fratrum, commonly called the Moravian Church, and was descended from eighteenth-century settlers who founded Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where H.D. was born. The text of The Mystery presented here is H.D.'s final version found in her archive at Beinecke Library at Yale. The novel's dense allusions to Moravian history, to the church's founder, Count Zinzendorf, and to occult figures and events necessitate the annotation, supplied chiefly from sources in H.D.'s notes and reading. An introduction provides the context of the novel's genesis in H.D.'s childhood memories and lifelong quest to transcend the painful oppositions of experience, in particular those of male to female, conscious mind to the unconscious, and time to eternity.

Psychoanalysis, theosophy, medieval romance, Goethe's Faust and Dante's Paradise join Moravian Christianity as major elements in the myth of history which the novel attempts to create. Its plot centers on a search conducted by Zinzendorf's grandchildren, Elizabeth de Watteville and Henry Dohna, into the

Unitas Fratrum's origins as the old Church of Bohemia. In their quest, they encounter an eighteenth-century occultist, Louis Saint-Germain, and discover that all three of them are interconnected as 'adepts,' possibly reincarnations, involved in a mystical evolution toward higher spirituality.

Elizabeth embodies the healing powers of H.D.'s Bethlehem ancestors as she also mirrors queens and goddesses, both pagan and Christian, linked to them through palimpsestically layered images, names and symbolic attributes. She is also the Lady to whom the medieval knight pledges himself and the eternal Mother, bearer of love and peace, a key to the "world unity without war" which H.D. saw as Zinzendorf's goal. All three characters manifest aspects of the poet herself revitalized by contact with goddess-mothers, religious leaders and visionary poets of all ages. The vision of female presence in The Mystery anticipates the radical re-vision of the woman hero in H.D.'s final epic, Helen in Egypt.

PREFACE

I want first of all to thank Perdita Schaffner, H.D.'s daughter and executor of her estate, for permitting me to photocopy The Mystery, to cite passages from H.D.'s other prose and poetry, and to use the indispensable Bryher Library in East Hampton, as well as for kindly answering my many questions. I want also to thank the staff of Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale: David Schoonover, Patricia Willis, Steve Jones, and especially the meticulous cataloguer of the H.D. archive, Louis Silverstein.

I have many Moravians to thank, especially the Reverend Henry Williams, whose spirit as much as his learning enabled me to understand Moravianism more deeply, and David Schattschneider, Vernon Nelson, Tom Minor, David Kliest, Mary Lou Broff, Greg Crawford and Mark Liebenow. I am grateful to H.D. scholars and poets for having given me information and insight specific to this project: Diana Collecott, Diane diPrima, Rachel Blau Duplessis, Joanna Griffin, Barbara Guest, Frances Jaffer, Adalaide Morris, Alicia Ostriker, Virginia Smyers, Anne Waldman, Emily Wallace and Sherri Williams. Others who helped are Fr. William J. Faherty, S.J., Janet Halton, Philippe Hémery, Elizabeth Herbert,

Sr. Gabriel Mary Hoare, S.L., Susan Zucker and David Zucker. Assistance also came from my daughter and son-in-law in Paris, Marguerite Morley and Jean-Michel Grèzes, my son, Patrick Morley, and my brother, Rolf Augustine.

I want to thank those who helped with the writing of this dissertation--Alfred Kazin, who approved the prospectus before his retirement, and Charles Molesworth, who supervised it and gave excellent advice on re-writing--and those who helped by reading it: Felicia Bonaparte, who originally sensitized me to the symbolic idiom, and Jane Marcus, who provided generous last-minute guidance in the section on methodology.

And finally I must thank my husband, Michael Heller, poet and critic, for continuing love and support, for small favors humorously done, and--to paraphrase Rilke--for his 'respect for my solitude,' without which the work could not have been finished.

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my mother, Marguerite St.Clair Augustine Radloff (1897-1987).

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A NOTE ON THE TEXT OF THE MYSTERY

The version of The Mystery presented here is taken from a photocopy of the third and last typescript. It was proofread by H.D., as is shown by the corrections in her handwriting, although the errors are few. This typescript is in the H.D. archive in the Yale Collection of American Literature at Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library in New Haven, Connecticut, where it was conveyed after H.D.'s death in 1961 by Norman Holmes Pearson, professor of English at Yale, and H.D.'s literary executor until his death in 1975.

Correspondence between H.D. and Pearson, also in the archive, verifies that she sent him chapters of the manuscript; he acknowledges installments received in his letters of 15 January, 4 May, 13 June, 23 June, 16 August and 29 August of 1951.

The first two typescripts are also at Beinecke, as are the four original handwritten notebooks which H.D. gave to her typist for transcription. The typing was done by Ethel Christian of the Strand in London. The first typescript was typed with blue ribbon and was bound into a notebook about 8 1/2" by 11." The manuscript notebooks are about 7" by 8 1/2" with dark blue covers and black spines. The title page of the

first, with chapters one through eight, reads:

Lugano
June 12 '48
The Mystery
by
Delia Alton

The second notebook, containing chapters nine through eleven, has a title page reading: "June 12, 1951, Lugano--comte de Saint-Germain." The third notebook's cover reads: "II The Mystery," [Part II]. The fourth notebook's title page reads: "Chapters 1-8 Lugano June 12, 1949," a dating discrepant with notebook #1, and "Chapters 9-19 Lugano, Switzerland, June 12, 1951."

H.D. did not heavily revise the handwritten version before sending it out to be typed; only a few passages are crossed out and re-written. Some of these revisions are illuminating and helped confirm my reading of the passage involved. In my re-setting of H.D.'s typescript, no changes have been made. Her idiosyncratic use of commas and British spellings, e.g., saviour for savior, have been retained. The American form of the dash has been substituted for the British form typed in the original. No word in the typescript was so illegible that I had to guess at it. The only editing done, therefore, was the correction of two or three spelling errors. In chapter XIV, the word "vénitienne" was spelled "Venètienne." The worst misspelling, because it occurred frequently, was of the

name "Seingalt," which was written "Seignalt." The scholar Eliza M. Butler, with whom H.D. became friendly after reading Butler's novel Silver Wings, mentioned the error in a letter to H.D. dated 4.XI.52, but H.D. did not go back over the typescript to correct these misspellings. Eric W. White did not correct them either when he printed privately chapters 3 and 14 through 19, which H.D. had sent him sometime in 1960. White's volume, entitled Images of H.D./from The Mystery, appeared in an edition of 350 copies, with an additional 50 copies numbered and signed by him, from Enitharmon Press, London, 1976.

The "Zinzendorf Notes," which H.D. wrote by hand while reading Moravian materials, are contained in a slender blue notebook, rather like a blue book, about 8 1/2" by 7" in size with ruled paper inside. Its title page reads: "Lausanne/ winter 1951/ Templars/ Crusaders/ Castles and Zinzendorf notes-- (Templar masonry--notes for Mystery--Part II--)." A few other notes on smaller unbound sheets are also filed with the "Zinzendorf Notes" at Beinecke. They are unquestionably in H.D.'s handwriting.

The contents of the H.D. archive have been carefully cataloged by Louis Silverstein, and a reference list prepared by him and Tina Evans; for both of these research tools H.D. scholars are extremely grateful. I

am particularly indebted to Louis Silverstein for his help in arranging for me to peruse the file of original eighteenth-century Moravian manuscript letters which Bryher had given to H.D., including the one written by Count Zinzendorf.

A SPECULATIVE NOTE ON THE DEDICATION

"TO RACHEL"

Just as H.D. was finishing The Mystery in 1951, she wrote Norman Holmes Pearson (20 November) to ask for his help in finding a publisher for a friend of hers, Rachel Farrand Taylor, who, H.D. said, has "a stupendous work on the French Renaissance, about 1,000,000 words I believe. (Holy smoke!)...I did have to laugh and how I understand her. 'There but for the grace of God go I.'" So perhaps The Mystery is dedicated to Rachel Taylor out of H.D.'s gratitude for having completed The Mystery in 140 pages.

When I asked Perdita Schaffner if she knew anything about this dedication "to Rachel," she said, "Biblical?" Since The Mystery espouses allegorical reading, and the Old Testament women, Leah and Rachel, respectively represent the active and the contemplative life, one remembers that, at the foot of the Virgin's throne in the Celestial Rose of Dante's Paradise, sits Beatrice, Divine Love, and next to her Rachel. (Par. XXXII, 8) So it seems both likely and appropriate that H.D. should inscribe "to Rachel" her own contemplation of the heart of the Rose.

THE MYSTERY:

H.D.'s Unpublished Moravian Novel Edited and Annotated

Toward a Study in the Sources
of a Poet's Religious Thinking

INTRODUCTION

Part One: H.D. and the Genesis of The Mystery

The poet H.D., Hilda Doolittle (1886-1961), was born in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, into a family descended from members of the Moravian Church, who, under the leadership of Nicholas Louis Count Zinzendorf (1700-1760), came to America in 1741-42 and established the community of Bethlehem as a base for spreading the Gospel among the American Indians. In 1951, H.D. concluded a period of intense interest in the history of her family and of Bethlehem by completing her so-called 'Moravian' novel, The Mystery, never published in full¹ but conveyed after her death to Beinecke Library at Yale by Norman Holmes Pearson, her literary executor. The

purpose of this annotation and commentary on The Mystery is to give readers access to a complex text and through it to illuminate that important chapter in H.D.'s intellectual life which stands between the writing of Trilogy (1942-44) and Helen in Egypt (1961).

Helen in Egypt should be seen as a major modernist work, analogous to Joyce's Ulysses and Pound's Cantos, which reconstruct the Odyssey. In Helen in Egypt, however, H.D. sees the world from Helen's point of view rather than Achilles', reconstructing the Iliad, western civilization's quintessential war-poem, the 'poem of force,'² into a vision of wisdom, peace and love. The Mystery is a way-station to that full vision.

Two major concerns occupy H.D.'s mind with particularly obsessive power during the last twenty years of her life: her anti-war feeling which feeds a desire for world peace, and her need to give coherent meaning to the fragmented experiences of her own life, specifically those which can only appear in a woman's life--pregnancy, childbirth, motherhood. These concerns come together in her versions of the Goddess, her mythic reconstructions of woman's experience.

The Goddess appears in Trilogy as 'the Lady' in Tribute to the Angels, and as Mary in The Flowering of the Rod, her attributes largely taken from paintings

embodying the familiar Christian iconography of the mother of Jesus. In Helen in Egypt, Helen of Troy takes on many shapes--the multiple felt identities of H.D. herself--but her final identification with Thetis, the "sea-mother," emanating peaceful wisdom and power which prevails over masculine war-mentality and blind destructiveness, connects back to the historical source, the true Helen of H.D.'s life, her mother, Helen Wollen Doolittle. The motive for H.D.'s quest, projected through female figures in her poems, is made clear by Susan Stanford Friedman in her pioneering study, Psyche Reborn, to which this work on The Mystery, and that of many other contemporary critics of H.D., is immensely indebted. Friedman says:

The resolution of Helen's quest for wholeness in the figure of the Goddess expresses what H.D. believed to be an essential component in woman's search for identity: the resurrection of the female divine spirit, the Goddess of matriarchal traditions. (PR 269)

Friedman points out the connection between Trilogy and Helen in Egypt, indicating that the poet had to transform her sources in order to arrive at this revision of woman:

This resurrection of the Goddess against the backdrop of conflicting male and female worlds is a later version of the alchemy in the Trilogy that restores the original potency and purity of the Goddess.

Just as the poet's alchemy had to purify cultural tradition of its misogyny in the

Trilogy, however, so the poet in the later epic had to engage in a dialectical transformation of her source materials. (PR 269)

The Mystery is part of that transformation of source materials, the necessary path which H.D. creates from her own mother to the mother goddess and redemption of the woman's world-view. That path lies through The Mystery's precursor, The Gift (1943), a memoir of H.D.'s Moravian childhood, but it begins even further back, in 1933-34, when she undertook psychoanalysis in Vienna with Sigmund Freud.

The influence of H.D.'s sessions with Freud cannot be underestimated, as Friedman's studies make clear. H.D. undertook analysis not only for herself but in a sense for her generation as well, as she explains in her memoir, Tribute to Freud (1944):

There was something that was beating in my brain; I do not say my heart--my brain. I wanted it to be let out. I wanted to free myself of repetitive thoughts and experiences--my own and those of many of my contemporaries....We were drifting. Where? I did not know... (13)

This relationship between analyst and analysand was unusually fruitful because Freud understood H.D.'s abilities and treated her with respect, not as if she were a patient, neurotic or ill. Her analytic 'hour' was preceded by that of the theosophist J.J. van der Leeuw, whom H.D. and Freud called 'the Flying Dutchman' because he was a passionate amateur aviator. The poet

and the flyer were connected, as she pointed out:

The Professor had said in the beginning that he classed me in the same category as the Flying Dutchman--we were students. I was a student, working under the direction of the greatest mind of this and of perhaps many succeeding generations. (TF 18)

Freud, whom she (and others) called 'The Professor,' quickly surmised a deeper motive for her coming to him than her proclaimed 'drifting:'

The Professor had said in the very beginning that I had come to Vienna hoping to find my mother. Mother? Mamma. But my mother was dead. I was dead; that is, the child in me that had called her mamma was dead. (TF 17)

But that child was not to remain dead.

Psychoanalysis awoke H.D. and started her on the search for her mother, in the largest symbolic and mythic sense for the rebirth of her soul, the emergence from the cocoon in resurrection, which is the theme of Trilogy and the image alluded to in Friedman's title, Psyche Reborn, as a recurring constant in H.D.'s work. The possibility of this rebirth arises from H.D.'s interpretation of Freud's 'recapitulation' theory:

He had brought the past into the present with his the childhood of the individual is the childhood of the race--or is it the other way around?--the childhood of the race is the childhood of the individual. In any case (whether or not, the converse is also true), he had opened up, among others, that particular field of the unconscious mind that went to prove that the traits and tendencies of obscure aboriginal tribes, as well as the shape and substance of vanished civilizations, were still inherent in the human mind--the human psyche, if you will. (TF 12-13)

Freud, however, devalued the unconscious. "The unconscious," he said, "is the infantile mental life" (SSF Myth, 46), which must be brought up into consciousness to be de-fused of its chaotic emotionality and thus civilized. H.D. valued the unconscious as an arena shared by all human beings. She understood the universalist implications of Freud's uncovering of conflicts within the unconscious: these appear not merely in neurotics but are "common to all humanity." (SSF Myth, 83) H.D. also therefore sees the unconscious as a psychic arena which exists between time and eternity, and breaks down the barrier separating them. The unconscious is a kind of place or space in which past and present come together, where one can--in terms of H.D.'s "spiritual realism"--be reunited with one's mother, the paradigm of creative generation. The unconscious is also the space of H.D.'s myth. H.D.'s search into her unconscious for all that she knew and associated with her mother, Helen Wolle, led to the revolutionized style and conception of her post-psychoanalytic writing, producing in it a succession of transformed mother-figures or 'goddesses' and the final apotheosis in Helen in Egypt.

The Mystery centers on such a revelation of 'the goddess,' who is also priestess of the goddess, a role H.D. often assigned herself, as in A Dead Priestess

Speaks (CP 369-439). This figure is Elizabeth de Watteville, who was historically the granddaughter of Count Zinzendorf, who founded the Moravian Church. Thus she is a figure closely connected to H.D.'s Moravian mother. In this novel, more than in the poems of the period, H.D. directly amalgamates her reinterpretation of Freud's 'recapitulation theory' with the specific history of Moravianism, and so creates a myth of history. The Mystery offers an interpretation of historical events in terms of eternal spiritual forces, primarily but not exclusively the unconscious. With the goal in mind of presenting the myth, H.D. often slights explanation of the historical factuality which underlies the events and persons alluded to--hence some of the difficulties encountered by the reader.

The Mystery is an iceberg; nine-tenths of it is submerged. Its surface is dense, defying immediate accessibility, packed with historical references, condensed literary allusions and random quotations, all of which require some contextual framework to be clearly understood. The reader has to know from the beginning that, while the setting is a fictional invention, the characters come from history. What they do is invented, but what they discuss and allude to are often events which actually happened in history. Sorting out fact

from fantasy is one function of the annotation.

Interwoven with Moravian church history and that of Europe on the brink of the French Revolution are incidents from H.D.'s own life and elements drawn from psychoanalysis, magic and theosophy. These too require a context which the annotation supplies. Overall, H.D. presents a bewildering diversity of allusions in a modernist collagist technique similar to Pound's or Eliot's in poetry, combined with free-associative stream-of-consciousness narration, as in Joyce's prose. These techniques testify to H.D.'s similarly modernist desire to be encyclopedic, not conveniently ignoring disparate or discordant fragments of her experience but deliberately seizing and working them into a unified vision. To see unity is the great desire of her life, not merely psychological and internal unity, but external and political as well. Above all, she wants to see "world-unity without war," as she expresses it in The Mystery. (55/147)

She particularly desires to reconcile painful oppositions--nation against nation, Catholic against Protestant, revolutionary against monarch, man against woman--a desire which itself creates an opposition to the project of recuperating her experience as a woman. Thus, while recognizing and sanctifying the 'divine female spirit,' H.D. feels even more compelled to solve

the problem of duality. Friedman says:

For H.D., the revelations of the Goddess had primacy, because, on a personal level, union with the mother is the child's first love, and on a mythological level, worship of female deities preceded patriarchal monotheism. But did the primal Goddess, connected in H.D.'s mind with mystical Love, incorporate the God?[S]he sought a vision of the whole that could include both God and Goddess, woman and man, war and peace, love and hate, life and death. (PR 278)

This effort to create a 'vision of the whole' motivates H.D.'s writing of The Mystery. The polarity which the novel addresses and attempts to transcend is one of the most extreme conceivable--the polarity between history, events within time, and eternity, whose activity is spiritual and outside of time. It also attempts to transcend the polarity between female and male, or 'goddess' and 'god,' through the device of 'twinning' central characters, one female and one male--Elizabeth de Watteville and Henry Dohna. Elizabeth sews a tapestry while Henry does research--two activities which H.D. herself was engaged in as she wrote this book. The two comprise in effect one character-- "no two could be nearer than you and I, Henri," says Elizabeth--and that one is an aspect of H.D. herself, in her continual effort to overcome the internalized duality of gender and to unite symbolically, within herself and in her writing, the science of her father with the art of her mother.

As an attempt to envision a 'whole,' The Mystery hides much of what one needs to see. H.D. deliberately holds back or delays revelation of vital information as a way of forcing the reader into a position analogous to that of the characters, who are puzzled and are picking up clues, supposedly, one at a time, as they investigate the 'mystery.' But the technique fails; this novel does not proceed by the formulas typical of paperback mystery-stories. Here there aren't enough clues for any but the most initiated and persistent reader. Fortunately, help is supplied by H.D.'s other writings of the late forties, which cite sources of The Mystery and place it in biographical context.

While reading Moravian materials from 1949 to 1951, H.D. jotted down notes in a blue notebook, titled the "Zinzendorf Notes;" these are referred to where appropriate in the annotation. At the request of Norman Holmes Pearson, her literary executor and guide of her career from the early 1940s on, she compiled the memoir-diary, "H.D. by Delia Alton" between 12 December 1949 and 5 June 1950. It was labelled "Notes on Recent Writing" until published in 1987 under its proper title in the Iowa Review H.D. Centennial issue (16:3, 1986-87). Letters between H.D. and Pearson, both sets of which are at Beinecke, record bits of Bethlehem lore, her feelings while writing, and her responses to

Pearson's graceful encouragment as she mailed him installments. Most of the writing of The Mystery was done in Switzerland; H.D.'s pattern of living at that time was to spend winters in Lausanne and summers at Lugano.

The original full-length manuscript of The Gift, which has never been published complete in one volume, deserves discussion in relation to The Mystery, as it is an immediate precursor, indispensable for its presentation of the full range of Moravian events which registered on H.D.'s childish consciousness. This typescript, available for study in Beinecke Library at Yale, is different from what New Directions has published under the title The Gift. The New Directions edition omits all of chapter two, all but one of the chapter epigraphs and much of chapter three. A number of paragraphs in every chapter are also missing, among other details pointed out by Rachel Blau Duplessis in Sulfur 9 (1984: 178-82). The fact of the abridgement is not mentioned on the New Directions' title page but is briefly alluded to at the end of the introduction written by H.D.'s daughter Perdita Schaffner: "The original manuscript of The Gift was much longer. Judicious cutting has not affected the spirit, or the quality, but has made a better book." This remark might even suggest that Perdita herself did the cutting. It is a "better book" for general readers,

probably, emphasizing as it does H.D.'s memories of childhood, but readers also need to know immediately that the text is edited. The British edition, brought out by Virago, does state the fact of abridgement on the title page. Most of the excised material pertains to H.D.'s mysticism and religious syncretism, so its absence obscures aspects of her mature thought. One hopes that the uncut version will someday be published.

H.D. wrote The Gift, the memoir of her Bethlehem childhood, in 1942-43 in London during the bombings, when she and her lifelong companion Bryher (Winifred Ellerman) were essentially trapped in their flat and its immediate environs, unable to travel back and forth from the continent as had been their pre-war habit. (Bryher's version of this period is recorded in Beowulf: A Novel and The Days of Mars: A Memoir, 1940-1946.) The seed of The Gift--and therefore of The Mystery and, after it, Helen in Egypt--had been planted long before the war, however, in a significant session during the psycho-analysis with Freud.

On the couch H.D. had recounted to him a 'supernormal' experience of many years before, in which, one afternoon while she was traveling abroad with Bryher, a series of pictures had materialized before her eyes against the wall of her hotel room. She called them the 'writing on the wall,' from those messages which

appeared prophetically, whether as projections or as the voice of God, to the biblical Nebuchadnezzar. Freud made an all-important response:

The professor translated the pictures on the wall, or the picture-writing on the wall of a hotel bedroom in Corfu, the Greek Ionian island, that I saw projected there in the spring of 1920, as a desire for union with my mother. (TF 44)

She understands "mother" straightforwardly as her parent but also psychoanalytically equates her mother with "home" or "motherland," a link reinforced by similarity of name. She immediately interpreted Freud's comment:

I was physically in Greece, in Hellas (Helen).
I had come home to the glory that was Greece.
(TF 44)

The connection of "mother" to "motherland" leads to the association of Helen Wolle with H.D.'s actual home, Bethlehem, named for the village of the birth of Christ, and awakens symbolic associations of mother and child with Our Lady and the infant Jesus which find a reflection in in The Mystery as they did in Trilogy. If Bethlehem is a spiritual extension of H.D.'s mother, the spiritual father of Bethlehem is Count Zinzendorf, who promoted its establishment and ceremoniously named it. As the mother becomes cosmic for H.D., the spiritual and cosmic father --she sees Freud as one of his manifestations-- similarly becomes the object of her meditations, both conscious and unconscious. Patriarchal religion also

confronts her understanding of herself and her project of developing a rehabilitated and unified image of woman.

Part Two: H.D., Freud and the Unconscious

Another significant dream produced during H.D.'s psychoanalysis suggests specifically how she came to explore further the life of Count Zinzendorf. Called "the Princess dream," it is also recounted in Tribute to Freud. In it she watches an Egyptian princess, dressed in yellow, descending a flight of marble stairs to a river, where the dreamer waits. In the water beside her floats a basket with a baby in it, whom she knows the Princess will find, shelter and protect. H.D. immediately recognizes Gustave Doré's Moses in the Bulrushes, a picture in the illustrated family Bible, which she had "pored over" as a child before she could read. Freud asks her if she is the baby in the basket. She doesn't think so at first but almost immediately questions herself again:

Or am I after all, in my fantasy, the baby?
Do I wish myself, in the deepest unconscious
or subconscious layers of my being, to be the
founder of a new religion? (TF 36-7)

Freud put this question to her in a negative spirit; he was suspicious of her religious quest, as he had been of her 'writing on the wall.' But she was not afraid to maintain her independent interpretation of her experience. Despite his scientist's scepticism of the validity of her 'super-normal' experiences, she did

not see him as imposing his scientific views upon her in their sessions together. She, as a poet who had translated from the Greek, saw their common ground--a shared interest in the archaic, in art and 'unscientific' myth, as witnessed by the row of statues from Greek and Egyptian antiquity in his study adjoining the consulting-room. She appreciated that he was an insatiable inquirer after knowledge, like Faust--a reference relevant to The Mystery--even when, perhaps especially when, such knowledge borders on the forbidden, as in the case of Freud's investigations of infantile sexuality and positing of the Oedipus complex.

In her description of the difference between her interpretations of her psychic experience and his, she makes clear their contrasting conceptualizations of the unconscious. She understood her 'writing on the wall' as existing "in the tradition of warnings or messages from another world or another state of being," such as the priestess or pythoness of Delphi uttered, which "it was said could be read two ways." Noting that "my writing, or the fact that there was writing," also could be read two or more ways, she gives first Freud's psychoanalytic interpretation:

We can read or translate it as a suppressed desire for forbidden 'signs and wonders,' breaking bounds, a suppressed desire to be a Prophetess, to be important anyway, megalomania they call it--a hidden desire to 'found a new

religion' which the Professor ferreted out in the later Moses picture. (TF 51)

Then she presents the alternative, her own view:

Or this writing-on-the-wall is merely an extension of the artist's mind, a picture or an illustrated poem, taken out of the actual dream or daydream content and projected from within (though apparently from outside), really a high-powered idea....(TF 51)

She then asserts her belief that the unconscious is endlessly creative in all times for everyone:

But symptom or inspiration, the writing continues to write itself or be written. It is admittedly picture-writing, though its symbols can be translated into terms of today; it is Greek in spirit rather than Egyptian. The original or basic image, however, is common to the whole race and applicable to almost any time. (TF 51)

Freud, on the other hand, saw the unconscious as a problem. For him it is the repository of repressed, chaotic, powerful emotions related to the Oedipus complex--essentially the locus of infantile emotions.

When, in Totem and Taboo, he studied primitive peoples' horror of incest he emphasized

the fact that it is essentially an infantile feature and that it reveals a striking agreement with the mental life of neurotic patients. (17)

The neurotic "invariably exhibits some degree of psychical infantilism."

Thus incestuous fixations of libido continue to play...the principal part in his unconscious mental life. We have arrived at the point of regarding a child's relation to his parents, dominated as it is by incestuous longings, as the nuclear complex of neurosis. (17)

H.D.'s view of the unconscious has no sense of the infantile or regressed in it. It is not the site of antisocial libido which must be suppressed--almost the opposite. She sees it as a oceanlike, omnipresent spiritual depth or fund, which when touched, as in dream or trance, opens up a conduit to higher spirituality and the release of creative richness and energy or 'divine fire.' This conception of the unconscious emphasizes its timelessness and is therefore concordant with Freud's 'recapitulation theory' in that it explains the link between the childhood of the individual and the conditions of primitive societies--that is, they have the same root in an eternal and universal condition.

Is this condition the "collective unconscious" posited by Carl Gustav Jung? Susan Friedman in chapter five of her dissertation (217-256) discusses the three-way similarities and differences in Freud's, Jung's and H.D.'s views of the unconscious. Jung objected to Freud's "reduction of all unconscious contents to the personal--what is acquired within the individual's lifetime." (231) Jung endeavored to guide his patients past this superficial level to the "'untold treasure' of the collective unconscious" which is "the source of vision and superior insight....Its archetypes of all human experience, and not the recaptured details of the

individual's childhood, guide people along the path to individuation." (231) This "chasm between the universal and the personal...means denial of Freud's theory that the growth of the individual parallels the development of humanity." For Jung, the personal experience is superficial and peculiar to the individual; beneath that stratum lies another, the unconscious which is universal. (232) By contrast, for H.D.

the personal is the universal--this is what Freud's recapitulation theory taught her....Where Jung helps his patients fly past their own past into the realms of the purely collective, Freud led H.D. deep into her personal past for what it revealed about all experience and far into the ancient myths for what they said about her own life. (232-33)

Friedman cites Pearson's foreword to Hermetic Definition (v-vi) in which he writes that what Freud gave H.D. was "a sense of how to link the tribal myths with the personal dream." She adds that "Jung was certainly interested in those tribal myths, but he would not link them with the details of a patient's family background or environment." (233)

Jung broke with Freud over Freud's insistence upon the sexual etiology of neuroses, and his emphasis on sexuality generally, but for H.D., these interests of Freud's were important. Barbara Guest, drawing on letters which H.D. wrote to Bryher during the analysis, says:

Freud told her [H.D.] that she was the perfect example of the bisexual. She had "got stuck at the earliest pre-oedipal stage, and back to the womb seems to be my only solution. Hence islands, sea, Greek primitives and so on...(209)

The womb, with its all-encompassing amniotic fluid, is a primal sea or ocean inseparable from the mother, and H.D. similarly conceives of the unconscious as oceanic, with its endless depths and constantly shifting shape--a traditional symbolism--'ocean' equals 'mother'--which H.D. explicitly utilizes and develops mythologically in Helen in Egypt.

This view of the unconscious as deep and creative and associated with the mother is essentially a large and mystical view in which H.D. finds religious solace, since she can see it as linked with eternity or a 'world beyond.' Freud may have labelled H.D.'s religious aspirations as "megalomania," but the tone in which she asks herself again the question, 'Do you want to be the founder of a new religion?' shows that she was not put off by his judgment. She took the question seriously as self-revelatory and expressive of her deepest desires.

Did she want to found a new religion? A survey of her preoccupations leads one to think that the answer might well be "yes." She wants to found a religion--not a church--based on love. She is on a quest for a true religious system, combing theosophical writings for

images and concepts that may answer the need. She reads on magic, the Tarot, the Kabbalah. She casts horoscopes. She studies Love in the Western World by Denis de Rougemont and the Book of Revelation of St. John the Divine. She wants a religion that will do justice to her experience as a woman, explain or justify or exculpate her suffering from two wars, the first of which took her brother's life and caused, she believed, the stillbirth of her baby in 1915, and the second of which threatened her daily with death and brought on a psychic collapse requiring a long period of healing.

Her obsessions, as they deepen during World War Two, lead her first to remember growing up in Bethlehem and then to research the career of Count Zinzendorf, 'the founder of a new religion,' the renewed Moravian church of her ancestors. The "Princess dream" enabled her to make an essential connection between the external historical religion which surrounded her in childhood and the mystical experiences at the core of her personal spirituality. Writing as "Delia Alton," she explains this connection:

Certainly The Gift, the story of the Child, synthesizes or harmonizes with the Sigmund Freud notes. I assembled The Gift during the early war years, but without the analysis and the illuminating doctrine or philosophy of Sigmund Freud, I would hardly have found the clue or the bridge between the child-life, the

memories of peaceful Bethlehem, and orgy of destruction, later to be witnessed and lived through in London. That outer threat and constant reminder of death, drove me inward, almost forced me to compensate, by memories of another world, an actual world where there had been security and comfort. But this was no mechanical intellectual trick of mind or memory, the Child actually returns to that world, she lives actually in those reconstructed scenes, or she watches them like a moving picture. (IR 192)

This capacity actually to 'live back' into prior experiences, facilitated by memory's creating a path of re-entry into the unconscious, figures prominently in The Mystery as a thematic and technical device.

Through this description and the terminology "illuminating doctrine" arises a hint of another area of religious thinking which it is known that H.D. studied: theosophy--and specifically Christian theosophy. The farflung symbolic and esoteric constructs of theosophy would seem inherently opposed to psychoanalysis, with its claim to be solidly based in scientific rationalism. But this tension is not strange to H.D., nor particularly troublesome. Since for her psychoanalysis embodied both science and art, rationality and magic, it did justice to both sides of her mentality. She felt in it a replication of the contrast in personality between her father, Charles Doolittle, an astronomer of New England ancestry, and Helen Wollen, her Moravian artist-musician mother. Yet she could never forsake either parent, as both of them

exist in her:

I am on the fringes or in the penumbra of the light of my father's science and my mother's art--the psychology or philosophy of Sigmund Freud.

I must find new words as the Professor found or coined new words to explain certain as yet unrecorded state of mind or being.

He is Faust, surely.

We retreat from the so-called sciences and go backward or go forward into alchemy....(TF 145)

Freud would have disparaged the notion of alchemy, but since H.D. sees the unconscious as the source of creativity, and is not bound by the materialist assumptions and stricture to be 'scientific' which guided Freud, she could envision a consonance between her rather inchaote view of the unconscious as a unlocalized spiritual space and the theosophists' conception of an 'astral plane' which is 'out there,' surrounding our planet invisibly and containing the immortal souls of the dead who circulate waiting for reincarnation, that is, re-emergence into our world. A great religious leader is one who is undergoing his or her last reincarnation on this earth before passing permanently to a higher plane. The implicit belief in another plane of existence, referred to at one point in The Mystery as 'another dimension,' seems not to be fancifully assumed by H.D. for fictional purposes but to be held with a conviction which suggests that it inspires the overall conception of The Mystery.

This theosophically-derived belief or symbolic projection can be more precisely described as it appears to underlie the novel. The intimation is that outside of time, in eternity, there exists a vast reservoir of super-sensitive, highly purified spiritual beings, one or another of whom periodically emerges into time and history as a human being possessing special power and insight which influences the world. Such a person is seen as a mystic, the founder of a new religion, a St. Francis or a Zinzendorf, or as a great artist, a Goethe or a Dante. In their company H.D. would include Freud--she calls him Moses at one point--and, through indirection and subtle literary parallels--it appears she would include herself, because of her rare experiences in which she touched 'another dimension.' These mystics form a network throughout time, recognizable by the recurrence of symbols: cup--chalice or Grail, lily, candle, star, veil, rose and the Lamb passant, the Agnus Dei, emblem of the medieval Knights Templar and of the Moravian Church. These adepts, a superior equivalent of earthly monks and nuns, form an 'Eternal Order,' dedicated to the restoration of love to the world.

At one period in H.D.'s life, during World War Two, she did believe in a world 'beyond.' Psychoanalytic insight had sustained her with its

balance between science and art, the conscious and the subliminal, rationality and irrationality. But this balance gave way under the pressure of the London blitz. H.D.'s 'war phobia' drove her into literalization of the 'spirit world' beyond, as she looked for a respite from her own fear and a solution to the problem of war.

In the early 1940s she became interested in spiritualism. (Guest 260) She began to attend meetings of the Society for Psychical Research and séances conducted by the Indian medium, Arthur Bhaduri.³ In 1943 she went to hear a talk by Lord Dowding,⁴ chief of the British Air Force, who had written a book, Many Mansions, based on spirit messages which he had received from 'beyond,' from the pilot son whom he had lost in the war and other lost pilots, who told him of their happy life "on middle ground between earth and astral space." (Guest 261) H.D. sent Dowding three Christmas cards, and they began to correspond. She discovered that she had a spiritually sensitive alter ego, "Delia Alton," who also received messages via a tipping table, and when, one day, the "messages" told her precisely where the bombs were going to fall, she wrote Dowding, who then came to visit her and participate in her séance. He was doubtful of her psychic skills, warning her that "beings of a lower order could get into

communication." (Guest 262) The messages, which came regularly from five dead R.A.F. pilots, escalated in tone and urgency. When the pilots "wanted to warn the world of the terrible dangers and natural disasters that would ensue from the release of atomic energy," (PR 174) H.D. hurriedly carried these messages to Dowding. But this time, for reasons unknown--perhaps a proprietary sense of the uniqueness of his own psychic sensitivity--he refused to listen, rejecting the messages outright as "frivolous and uninspiring." He told her bluntly that "it would be better if you gave up this work." (PR 175)

Her preoccupation with séances and with Dowding led to her writing a novel, still unpublished, some 600 pages long, The Sword Went Out to Sea, which she finished in early 1946. Dowding's rejection of her and her psychic abilities, however, and the severance of their relationship, coming on top of the strains of the war, precipitated a nervous breakdown in the summer of 1946. Bryher hired a private plane and flew H.D. to Switzerland, to Küsnacht Clinic, where, under excellent care, her health slowly returned. The habit of remembering deeply, which she cultivated during and after psychoanalysis, assisted her recovery. In a letter to Pearson she emphasizes the link between the act of remembering and the creation of the 'legend,' or

myth, of herself which is also a motif in The Mystery:

Yes--the Sword is important. But simply again, as a record and a record I could not have done, if I had not persisted, even at Kusnacht, on REMEMBERING. For me it was so important, my own LEGEND. Yes, my own LEGEND. Then, to get well and re-create it.' (18 Dec. 1950)

Delia Alton remained for a time her alter ego, a kind of mediumistic collaborator, perhaps a confidence booster, although she had long before, in a letter to Eric White (20 February 1932), given a practical reason for using a pseudonym:

I want to do prose later, under a pseudonym. People will say H.D., the poet, should let prose alone in reviews, and it's all uneven and wrong. (Of course it does not matter what reviews say, but one gets hypnotised in time, and sterilized by other people's attitude. (White, Images, 19)

The use of "Delia Alton" in "H.D. by Delia Alton" suggests, however, that this pseudonym functions not only as external protection but as an internal distancing device. "Delia Alton" also appears typed as the author's name on the title-page of The Mystery, but by the time the typescript arrived in America, it was crossed out and the initials H.D., in her own handwriting, boldly written in and underscored. World War Two had induced in her a terrible fear, the confusion of spiritual with everyday reality, and obsession with Dowding, the rejecting father-figure. This period was now conclusively behind her.

Part Three: H.D. and Theosophy

The Mystery is the beginning of the distinctive voice of H.D.'s later work, as Barbara Guest, H.D.'s biographer, points out:

Somehow between 1949 and 1951, H.D. found time to write "The Mystery," a story about the early Moravians and their leader, Count Zinzendorf. This story is a lengthy listing of names connected with Moravians, of castles, nuns, sisters, St.-Germain--a story of a religion; yet if read in its natural cadence, it reveals an early development of the form of her later poetry. The story is so personal, involuted, concerned with people unknown who appear as if from out of ancient walls, that there is no way to clarify the tale in a practical way. Yet it has, despite the confusion, H.D.'s distinctive voice. "The Mystery" is a prelude to Helen in Egypt and the final Hermetic Definition. H.D. had begun to wrap herself in the medium's scarves and veils that would finally assume the visible and craftsmanlike shapes of her last works. (Herself Defined 288)

Guest's remarks candidly summarize the practical problems facing the reader which these annotations and comments are meant to help solve, but, more importantly, she sees that H.D.'s spiritualistic leanings, at the time of The Mystery, were contributing to her creativity rather than blocking it. The poet had freed herself from obsessional belief in séances and table-tipping--as well as from the personal fixation on Dowding--without denying the spiritual reality of the phenomena she had experienced. Even in

the midst of the table-tipping, H.D. could not be sure whether the source of the phenomena was internal or external:

When I was alone, the table came to life immediately. It's true we started with a lot of questions on my part, and with yes or no from the table. I didn't know who was answering but that didn't make any difference. I kept, more or less, to the surface of things... I may have jogged the yes and the no from the table each time, by contracting or expanding those arm and wrist muscles, at the prompting of the unconscious mind--or I may not have.... Nor can I say positively, that Lad and Larry, Ralph, John and the rest were disembodied spirits, or whether I made them up. (Sword 53, 94; quoted in PR 174)

After recovering from her breakdown, she takes a transformative attitude toward that experience, not seeing it as destructive but as a potentially creative invasion of the conscious by the unconscious, leading her to a particular awareness of the unconscious as the source of new 'worlds' of spirit. She refers to this attitude as "spiritual realism."⁵ A conduit to those 'worlds,' and perhaps the only sign of their existence, is created through the symbols and symbolic systems of numbers and images which H.D. perceived as permeating human experience.

She discovered the elaborate symbolic analyses with psychological interpretations built into a coherent system of Christian theosophy by Harriette A. Curtiss and F. Homer Curtiss, founders of the Order of

Christian Mystics, which promulgated the "Divine Creative Force of Love--the Christ-power."⁶ The Curtisses wrote in the 1920s, self-publishing their books, some of which went into many editions. H.D. obtained what seems to be their entire oeuvre--eight large volumes and a set of six small lectures separately bound--in 1935. (They are now in the Bryher library in East Hampton). H.D. liberally annotated those comments which coincided with a psychoanalytic insight by writing her shorthand "ps-a" [psychoanalysis] in the margin. Frequently a remark moved her to write a word or two in the margin referring to Moravian customs; discussion of the symbolism of light especially reminded her of the famous Christmas eve candle-light service held in the Central Moravian Church in Bethlehem.

The Curtisses take their teachings from Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, founder of theosophy, but their variant interpretation emphasizes Jesus as the Great Master, seeing the New Testament stories not as historical accounts but as allegories of spiritual method and progress--a view of the Bible apparently held also by H.D. In reading the Curtisses, she was impressed by and underlined passages in which they make clear that their teachings are directed toward benefiting mankind by the inculcation of peace and

love.

In Realms of the Living Dead: a Brief Description of Life after Death (6th ed., 1933), the Curtisses describe the 'astral plane' and the souls who inhabit its seven levels. H.D. underlined words in an important passage concerning the relationship between this world and that one:

The consciousness of the earth-dweller is responding more or less imperfectly in the Astral World during dreams, visions, trances, etc. (47)

Since that world is touched in dreams, and dreams appear, according to Freud, from the unconscious, H.D. appears to see a link between the unconscious and the 'Astral World.' If she does not necessarily have a fixed belief in that world, imagery consonant with the theosophical world-view predominates over the psychoanalytic world-view as she concretizes her myth of history.

But Christian theosophy's elaborations do not suffice to end H.D.'s quest; no system can do that. If part of her mind is convinced of spiritual realities, another part remains sceptical and questioning. History is a problem; it happened the way it happened and seems final and opaque, uninfluenced by eternal spiritual powers. Or is it? She questions history, her own and that of Bethlehem and the Moravian Church. She asks herself a question which generates the

research leading to The Mystery and which her characters there also ask: what did the church have when Zinzendorf was alive? What was lost after he died? These questions have their roots in stories recorded in The Gift, which were told her by "Mamalie," her Moravian grandmother, her mother's mother, whose full name was Elizabeth Weiss Seidel Wolle.

"Delia Alton" explains how "the Child," Hilda, first heard stories of her Moravian background:

The Gift is a family-portrait or a series of family-portraits, but more particularly of the Child's mother and the grandmother. In the fifth section, "The Secret," the grandmother tells the Child, in dream or half-trance, of a memory of her own grandmother's or a fear based on the community memory. The community had been settled by Count Zinzendorf. It was originally known as the Jednota, from the Bohemian word meaning association or society. The Latin Unitas was later substituted and the remnant of the Old Bohemian Church became known as the Unitas Fratrum. This Unitas Fratrum was eventually called the Moravian Church.

Zinzendorf's father was an Austrian, exiled or self-exiled to Saxony, because of his Protestant affiliations.

Bethlehem, Pennsylvania was named by Count Zinzendorf on Christmas-eve, 1741. It was one of a number of Moravian settlements, having to do with a mysterious Plan of "peace on earth." (IR 188)

After 'assembling' The Gift, "Delia Alton" worked on and had difficulty finishing The White Rose and the Red, a story about Elizabeth Siddal, the wife of Dante Gabriel Rossetti:

I did not want to end the story. But

unexpectedly, I began to live or "see" another story. It is placed in time, at the end of the eighteenth century. It fulfills a latent ambition to 'make use' of notes that I had taken before and after assembling The Gift. I had become very devoted to the Zinzendorf legend and suddenly one of his grand-daughters, another Elizabeth, steps as it were out of history to take the place of the (as yet) vaguely questing Elizabeth Siddall Rossetti....

I am delighted with my idea, as much in-love with my new story as I was in love with the Rose. I have a title for the new story. It is called The Mystery. (IR 200)

A major point to note here, in relation to reading The Mystery, is the connection of persons through their names. Already the name "Elizabeth" has connected three women, and in The Mystery it forms a chain with several more. Name-link produces a link of essence or identity. It functions the way a symbol functions to transmit power, signalling a manifestation of the spiritual network or 'Eternal Order' of adepts. H.D. read the name of Elizabeth de Watteville in August Spangenberg's Life of Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf as merely a name in a genealogical list, but because it is her grandmother's name, it 'hooked' her and opened up memory and a path to the resumption of the Moravian theme.

She read, in addition to Spangenberg, Joseph M. Levering's History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania (1903), a reliable and detailed account of an extraordinary period in American history, and Joseph E. Hutton's History of Moravian Missions (1923). Both authors are Moravians.

Notes on both of these books appear in the "Zinzendorf Notes." But the anti-Moravian tracts of Henry Rimius (1753), Andrew Frey (1753) and the Bishop of Exeter [George Lavington] (1754) stimulated her mind most of all. They told her what the official accounts could not--details, all the more colorful through being distorted by gossip, of the so-called 'Sifting Period' of 1745 to 1750 when 'mysticism' and 'enthusiasm,' supported by Zinzendorf's daring and misunderstood theology, took hold in the Moravian community of Herrnhag and shocked the strait-laced Protestants of Europe and England. But these signs of passion and breaking of limits were what H.D. sought in her spiritual inheritance.

This material lays the foundation for the fictional setting and situation at the beginning of The Mystery, which "Delia Alton" outlines, providing exposition which is not immediately or clearly given in the novel itself:

And now to my last romance which I know is written though I have not yet transcribed it. Elizabeth de Watteville, grand-daughter of Count Zinzendorf, meets her "mystery" in Bohemia. Elizabeth de Watteville and her cousin Henri, the young Count Dohna, make their pilgrimage to the winter-city of Prague, toward the end of the eighteenth century.

They are collecting evidence of their grandfather's spiritual inheritance. Zinzendorf had re-established a branch of the dispersed or "lost" Church of Bohemia. This Church, to my mind, shows marked traces of the still earlier dis-established or "lost" Church

of Provence, the Church of Love which we touch on, in By Avon River [1949]. The fascinating subject of the Hidden Church, the Church within the Church is touched on in "The Secret," the section of The Gift that reveals the child's affinity and actual connection with the old Jednota of Bohemia, or the Unitas Fratrum as re-established by Zinzendorf, across the frontier in Saxony....

In The Gift, we re-trace the path taken by the child, through her mother as a girl and her grandmother ("before she married Papalie"), as Elizabeth Seidel.

The Elizabeth de Watteville of The Mystery, again re-traces the path, through her mother, Benigna von Zinzendorf, and her grandmother, Erdmuth Dorothea de Reuss.

We have not finished The Mystery. That is, we have not yet written it down.

But it is in part the same mystery that is presented in the "Advent" section of the Freud "Writing." [i.e., Tribute to Freud] It is a mystery not uncommon to folk and fairy-tales, the mystery of the appearance of a stranger or a near-stranger, at a time and in a place where he could not possibly have been. (IR 202)

The character with the ability 'to be where he was not'--a reference to another 'supernormal' experience of H.D.'s, that of the Man on the Boat⁷--is Louis Saint-Germain, technically the central character of The Mystery, since the opening chapter and the two final chapters consist almost exclusively of his stream of consciousness. Like the 'twinning' characters Elizabeth de Watteville and Henri (or Henry) Dohna--whose initials are to be noted: H.D.--Saint-Germain is also a figure taken from eighteenth-century history, a reputed alchemist and magician. H.D. gets much of her portrait of him from Éliphas Lévi's History of Magic,

although she undoubtedly also must have known that the theosophists considered him one of their Twelve Ascended Masters.⁸

These three characters are disguises, 'hieroglyphs' or 'translations' of aspects of H.D. herself. Through them is revealed a major aspect of her perennial quest for unity and transcendence of oppositions--the search for love. This search finds its way into The Mystery, as it has into earlier novels and stories, embodied in a revision of the Isis-Osiris myth which H.D. has presented in other disguises elsewhere. Thus "Delia Alton" writes of Madrigal, the novel later published as Bid Me To Live (1960), its heroine Julia Ashton, and Margaret Fairwood, heroine of another story, "Hesperia," to illustrate the commonalty of theme:

It is the eternal search. The mythical or religious love-story continues through all the writing. Margaret...realized, on her return trip from Assuan on the Nile boat Rosetta, that "Osiris is scattered not only along Nile river, but along all mud-banks and sand-banks from Liverpool to Tank-town, Montana."...These are two women, Julia Ashton and Margaret Fairwood. They are of course, they all are, the same woman. She knows, February 1923, on her return from the drowned Isis-temple at Philae, that "women are individually seeking, as one woman, fragments of the Eternal Lover." As the Eternal Lover has been scattered or dissociated, so she in her search for him....She seeks him in fantasy, myth. She has found him, of course. But she can not yet correlate or relate the various entities that make up her own fragments...until she

has progressively retraced her steps,
redeemed not so much the fragments of
Osiris, as of his sister, twin or double,
the drowned or submerged Isis.

This Isis takes many forms, as does
Osiris. (IR 181)

H.D.'s imagination is haunted by the motifs of the
'Eternal Order,' which she found symbolized on earth by
the medieval Knights Templar, and the Isis-Osiris
figures who indeed take many forms as she sets up the
characters and plot of The Mystery. Elizabeth and
Henry, not lovers, are nevertheless extremely close--
"No two could be closer than you and I, Henri," she
says to him early in the novel. They are aspects of
the same questing mentality, united male and female,
yet a version of wholeness, the sought-for Isis-Osiris
union reclothed in Moravian dress and re-enacting their
drama--mystical generation of the holy Child--in
Prague, haunted by the ghost of Jan Hus, martyred in
1415, whose demands for reform of the Roman Catholic
Church initiated Protestantism a century before Luther
and whose adherents founded the Old Church of Bohemia,
the Unitas Fratrum.

The core of the novel's plot is overtly a quest,
an analogue of the Isis quest, patently H.D.'s own, so
much so that Norman Holmes Pearson said in a letter to
her (29 August 1951) concerning the novel: "You are
part of it too: what you are doing is what you are
describing." Henry says that he is writing a book,

just as H.D. is doing. He and Elizabeth read and take notes on Zinzendorf and Moravian history just as H.D. did in the "Zinzendorf Notes," phrases from which are lifted out and dropped out into the novel's text, so one gets a modernist sense of a book being written about writing a book. Layer upon layer of authorship, however, does not conceal H.D.'s close identification with her project, even if she wears the mask of "Delia Alton."

Two other characters in the novel are taken from eighteenth-century history, Count Cagliostro and Cardinal de Rohan. Historically, Cagliostro certainly was the charlatan he is described as in the novel. De Rohan, on the other hand, historically was a fool and a dupe of the Diamond Necklace affair which added fuel to anti-monarchic sentiment prior to the French Revolution. H.D. gives him a measure of dignity and a relationship to Saint-Germain which did not exist. She seems to have relied only upon general history-book information for these characters, although Thomas Carlyle scathingly describes both in essays collected in his Miscellanies.⁹ Stephanus, Saint-Germain's servant, is H.D.'s invention, although his name may well have been suggested by the character in Shakespeare's The Tempest, the reading of which led H.D. to meditate on Shakespeare in By Avon River,

written immediately prior to The Mystery.

In the novel's final chapter, Louis Saint-Germain entertains the "presence" of Count Zinzendorf, also named Louis, the mystic and 'founder of a new religion,' who seems to have arrived from 'another dimension,' possibly the astral plane. But one cannot be sure the "presence" is really there; wording of the passage is ambiguous: Saint-Germain "spoke to the presence opposite whose goblet he re-filled when his own was empty." (M 135) Possibly this apparition is produced by drunkenness, or he may be a product of the unconscious, an indecipherable phenomenon, like H.D.'s tipping table. Through his monologue with the "presence" of Zinzendorf, Saint-Germain receives affirmation of his commitment to a deeper spirituality, repudiating the one-sidedness of his sometime protector and surrogate father, de Rohan. This choice mirrors H.D.'s relation to Freud as his analysand initially, yet later independent of his theories as she constructs her own. She indicates symbolically that her spiritual capacity finally owes more to Zinzendorf's Moravianism and his Plan than to Freud's intellectual system, however useful her contact with that system at one point might have been.

The associations in H.D.'s mind between Freud, Zinzendorf, her grandfather and her father are made

explicit by "Delia Alton":

From the actual family of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, the scientific "Pastor," the part-German or Savonic grandfather [Francis Wollé] (as well as the scientific father who is yet in a way, "from outside"), from a legend of a new way of life, a Brotherhood, dedicated to peace and universal understanding, it is not really such a far cry to Vienna and to Sigmund Freud.

Count Zinzendorf was an Austrian, we were called Moravians, Professor Freud was an Austrian, born as it happened in Moravia.

There is a legend of a Wandering Jew, of a Hidden Church, of an unrecognized Divinity or of a reviled Humanity...these are vague, too facile generalizations. But Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, the childhood, the search recovers its individual direction when we find ourselves, in 1933 and 1934, a student or analysand of the Professor.

Sigmund Freud is known generally as the Professor; my father was referred to constantly as the Professor; that is an obvious association. It is the grandfather really, who comes nearer to Vienna, an educationalist, a direct descendent of the Brotherhood. (IR 189-90)

Freud's interpretation of the 'writing on the wall' as H.D.'s desire for union with her mother came as a kind of permission by the father to rejoin the mother. It placed science at the service of art instead of in opposition to it; rationality anchors irrationality instead of denouncing it. Or so H.D.'s independent mind decided. "The Professor was not always right," she once remarked (TF 18). Her independence appears in her record of a day when together she and Freud studied his collection of ancient statues. He picked up a statue of Pallas Athene:

'This is my favorite,' he said. He held the object toward me. I took it in my hand. It was a little bronze statue, helmeted, clothed to the foot in carved robe with the upper incised chiton or peplum. One hand was extended as if holding a staff or rod. 'She is perfect,' he said, 'only she has lost her spear.' I did not say anything. (TF 68-9)

One 'reads' H.D.'s silence as an eloquent refusal to accept Freud's castration theory regarding women: 'Don't tell me that I cannot write because I have no pen! Don't tell me that women's wisdom lacks power to penetrate!' H.D. did not speak at the time, but when she writes of this incident, she inscribes her symbolic rebuttal, asserting a lasting triumph for her mind, which could never be defeated or persuaded to desert the world of ideal truth and beauty:

He knew that I loved Greece. He knew that I loved Hellas. I stood looking at Pallas Athene, she whose winged attribute was Nike, Victory, or she stood wingless, Nike A-pteros... the Wingless Victory, for Victory could never, would never fly away from Athens. (TF 69)

Despite such differences of opinion, however, her respect for Freud remains untainted. She sees another point of resemblance between him and Zinzendorf, which plays a role in The Mystery: both men suffered public obloquy, the result of ordinary people's failure to understand the insights of the spiritually advanced. H.D. had read the eighteenth-century denunciations by Henry Rimius and George Lavington, Anglican bishop of Exeter, of Zinzendorf for his explicit sermons on

marital sexuality and for his description of the soul as female. She knew that he had been attacked for referring to the Holy Ghost as a "careful mother."¹⁰ As Zinzendorf's tolerance of all denominations of Christianity got him in trouble, she sees, analogously, how Freud's dream-interpretations and views on infantile sexuality have scandalized his contemporaries. These attacks add to his credit in H.D.'s eyes:

Know thyself, said the Professor, and plunging time and time again, he amassed that store of intimate revelation contained in his impressive volumes. But to know thyself, to set forth the knowledge, brought down not only a storm of abuse from high-placed doctors, psychologists, scientists and other accredited intellectuals the world over, but made his very name almost a by-word for illiterate quips, unseemly jokes, and general ridicule. (TF 73)

The key conception, however, which the experience of psychoanalysis combined with theosophy had led H.D. to formulate, is that the unconscious united the ordinary dream, a reality of this world, interpretable in psychoanalytic and symbolic terms, with the exalted religious or spiritual vision of greater eternal realities. Both dream and vision are to be similarly valorized and utilized to break down barriers and open up channels to communication in the world. She develops her conception in a kind of encomium to the "blameless physician:"

He [Freud] had said, he had dared to say that the dream had its worth and value in translatable terms, not the dream merely of a Pharaoh or a Pharaoh's butler...or the Delphic Priestess of ancient Greece, but the dream of everyone, everywhere. He had dared to say that the dream came from an unexplored depth in man's consciousness and that this unexplored depth ran like a great stream or ocean underground....and even if not stated in so many words he had dared to imply that this consciousness proclaimed all men one; all nations and races met in the universal world of the dream;....The picture-writing, the hieroglyph of the dream, was the common property of the whole race; in the dream, man, as at the beginning of time, spoke a universal language, and man, meeting in the universal understanding of the unconscious or the subconscious, would forgo barriers of time and space, and man, understanding man, would save mankind. (TF 70-71)

The characters in The Mystery, even the lesser or 'darker' ones, participate in and are manifestations of this universal consciousness. Through them H.D. constructs a personal myth as well as a myth of history which posits that the unconscious, existing as it does in individuals and manifesting in dream-images and symbols, can actually be put to use. H.D. visualizes the unconscious as a more or less continuous opportunity to bring into history and time the more elevated, refined spirit of love which flowers beyond time. When it comes fully, the result will be "world-unity without war." Perhaps the mechanism for, or precursor of that transition is the work of art, the novel itself.

Part Four: Methodology, Modernism and Genre

Modernist texts are virtually defined by being "obscure" or "difficult," following the tradition consequent on Pound's injunction to writers to "make it new." A new piece of writing will necessarily disrupt a reader's complacent expectations of nineteenth-century literary conventions in poetry or the novel. But The Mystery, as a modernist work, is not merely difficult; it is virtually impossible to read. Since I here present a reading of it, with notes to make it more intelligible, a description of my methods may serve to help other people to read this novel, as well as to validate assertions I make in the process of clarifying The Mystery's technical difficulties. My methods of reading this text led to insights into H.D.'s methods of writing it, which in turn led to an understanding of her special relationship to literary modernism, particularly its practices of language extension, cross-genre experiment, incorporation of psychoanalytic discoveries and desire to be encyclopedic. The nature of this text's difficulties also led me to understand why it was her last effort to write fiction.

I have already stated, however, that this novel is

not an end, but a stage in H.D.'s evolution toward her major epic, Helen in Egypt, and that for this reason it should be read and studied. Having said why it should be read, I confront the next question: how does one read it? When I first looked at it, its obscurities were overwhelming, even as its density and finish strongly impressed me with the importance to H.D. of this novel and its Moravian contents. I thought: "The Mystery is a dense prose poem," sensing that its immediately-observable lack of the traditional machinery of novels linked it to poetry. I saw that I would have to work my way through it, word for word, in the way the old-fashioned New Critics insisted that one must concentrate on a poem.

I began with that kind of close reading but soon encountered massive obstacles. Too many sentences could be read two or more ways, or just didn't make sense at all, even if re-read a number of times. Names were dropped which I vaguely recognized as historical, but why were those personages being brought into this novel? Some characters are catholics, some protestants; is the author taking sides? Where are the clues that reveal her position? It was necessary for me to step outside of the text. The text, in fact, seemed to step outside of itself as a novel; H.D. was using the form to meditate on the Moravian Church of

her mother's family and that church's significance for her, so I had to know more about Moravianism. That knowledge, however, would not untangle enigmatic syntax, it seemed....

Faced with a double problem, I had to devise a double-pronged method of reading and research, which I came to label the "back-and-forth" method. My analysis of the problem revealed two major categories of obstacles to reading. The first category consisted of technical obstacles such as confusing pronoun reference, and the second category consisted of insufficiently glossed allusions to historical personages and events. Obstacles in the first category lie within the text; those in the second lie outside, so my method of decoding, so to speak, or removing those obstacles, had to move back and forth between two traditional approaches to a text--close reading as prescribed by the New Critics and the historical-biographical contextual reading advocated by their predecessors. I had never been convinced of the mutual exclusivity of these two approaches, having been trained in each and seeing each's advantages, notably that poetry is particularly illuminated by attention to every nuance of every word, as is supplied by close reading, and that prose is particularly illuminated by reference to the author's life and previous work as

well as the socio-cultural and historical milieu surrounding the work. As I became more deeply involved in the text of The Mystery, a paradox appeared: if one really wants to read closely to understand every word, one must read widely beyond every word.

On my first reading of the novel, general awareness of history told me a primary fact which the text itself, ostensibly fiction, would not necessarily reveal: that several characters in it--Saint-Germain, Cagliostro, Cardinal de Rohan--had actually lived in the eighteenth century. I therefore suspected that the two principal characters whom H.D. presents as the grandchildren of Count Zinzendorf, already known to me as the founder of the Moravian Church, would be historical figures also. They were--Elizabeth De Watteville and Henry Dohna actually lived, but they were not of an age and no evidence exists that they knew each other or went to Prague together or intended to write a book on Moravianism. That intention is H.D.'s and the book intended is this one--The Mystery itself. Since I also knew H.D.'s earlier novels and the way in which she reconstructs herself through her characters, both female and male, I was equipped to sort out historical fact from H.D.'s mode of fantasy and invention and write footnotes to say which is which. Historical verification, primarily through

sources which H.D. is known to have read, constituted the major part of my research.

The "back-and-forth" method, then, meant that I went 'forth' from the text, so to speak, to find information in libraries--on an historical character, for example, or on a literary quotation such as the lines in Italian which open chapter XIV--and then came 'back' to the text to correlate that information with H.D.'s idiosyncratic use of it. This method therefore produced two kinds of footnotes, one directly supplying missing technical information--pronoun referent, setting--and the other explaining the background of a date, event or personage.

I already knew fairly well all of H.D.'s published writing as well as her biography by Barbara Guest and the major current scholarly studies of her, especially those by Susan Stanford Friedman and Rachel Blau Duplessis, which elucidate H.D.'s lifelong quest and theme: the reconstruction of female spiritual power and creativity. This essential groundwork was therefore laid before I began library research into The Mystery.

I started by reading general sources in European and Moravian history which provided orientation and background--a required stage but a negative one: in it I learned that I was not finding out what I needed precisely to know. It was necessary to pinpoint H.D.'s

particular sources--to read everything from which she had taken the notes recorded in the "Zinzendorf Notes," and to comb her personal library, housed at Beinecke, not only for the books on Moravianism which she owned but also for clues to passages, unrelated to Moravianism, which appeared to be quoted from something she had read. I studied her correspondence with Norman Holmes Pearson and others in hope of finding clues to details that seemed to come from her private life, and, as I became more deeply convinced that The Mystery was not a fictional jeu d'esprit but a complex philosophical meditation, I began to ask questions personally of people informed about Moravianism and about H.D.'s life, so that no vital aspect of these would be missed.

The "back and forth" method therefore also alternated between library study and live contact. I cannot underestimate the value of this interaction, which took on a progressive and sometimes serendipitous character. The more thoroughly I studied, the more precise and useful became the questions I could ask the experts. The Reverend Henry Williams conducted me through the Moravian Museum and Nisky Hill cemetery in Bethlehem and described many details of Moravian life which helped me to feel it as H.D. might have felt it, so the material that I was studying never became cold

or distant. Perdita Schaffner, H.D.'s daughter, not only answered my questions at a late and difficult stage but also let me use the private Bryher library on her estate in East Hampton where I found crucial books, quoted by H.D., without knowledge of which I could not have completed this study.

Meanwhile, these external searches were accompanied, of necessity, by continual return to the text itself. Close reading also took on a double aspect; as I re-read line by line, the configuration of the whole text changed. As my sense of the whole picture changed, smaller knots here and there untied themselves. Throughout this process, especially as it progressed and I could step back to view the whole, a question recurred: how is this novel related to modernism, of which H.D. so consciously considered herself a part? Does an understanding of modernist technical concerns shed light of the obstacles presented in this text? A review of modernist novelistic techniques and of H.D.'s previous practice in fiction shows that such understanding can help the reader.

Despite an initial lack of clues, the overall technique of narration in The Mystery is the familiar modernist stream of consciousness, with past tense verbs and third person point of view--that is, events

are seen through the eyes and mind of a character whom the author refers to as "he" or "she." The stream of consciousness technique is not immediately discernable because H.D.'s language does not signal it and because the content of that consciousness is very unlike that of an ordinary person, so the reader's own experience or possible sense of identification with a character cannot be drawn in to assist the reading.

The stream of consciousness narration is also obscured by the technical peculiarities cited earlier as the first category of obstacle. This category has five subdivisions: 1) delayed exposition--that is, lack of immediate information regarding setting and speaker, including the special problem of the opening chapter; 2) confused pronoun reference--uncertainty as to which of several male characters a given "he" refers; 3) vague pronoun reference through use of impersonal constructions such as "it was" and "there were"; 4) sudden and unexplained shifts in space and time, especially between chapters; and 5) unsignalled shifts in point of view from character to character. Any one sentence or paragraph may contain a combination of these peculiarities and thus be especially ambiguous.

The first, fourth and fifth of these problems often could be partially solved by applying the "back and forth" method to reading the text itself. I

observed a pattern: virtually every chapter opens with a gap in the exposition--one doesn't know who is speaking or to whom or where they are--with, sometimes, an unexplained shift of setting from the previous chapter. Having read ahead to where the appropriate information is given, I go back and supply it where it is needed--in the first footnote to each chapter. To annotate properly the confused or vague pronoun references, however, usually involved more than backtracking within the text, because they are often combined with the second major category of obstacle cited above--the insufficiently glossed allusion. But I applied the "back-and-forth" method in these cases too, going outside the text--principally to what H.D. is known to have read--to get information and then coming back to the text to fit it in. Once an allusion was adequately explained, ambiguous wordings in the sentence in which it occurred could also be cleared up--usually. In a few cases, however, many passes "back and forth" had to be made, and clarity was only reached through an understanding of the overall thematics of the novel ascertained from the continuity of H.D.'s whole oeuvre and her lifetime preoccupations. In this kind of clarification, which has an interpretive edge, H.D.'s memoirs, her biography and scholarly studies of her work assisted invaluablely.

The question remains: why did H.D. write so obstacle-ridden a novel? She is a highly intelligent, sophisticated writer; she had something in mind which led her to write The Mystery the way she did. But what? To answer this question, I believe that we must look at her whole oeuvre, prior novels especially, where two motivations can be seen at work. One motivation has already been discussed in this introduction: her quest to create, throughout all of her writing, a myth which would endow her life as a woman, and all human lives as well, with eternally valid meaning. Her other motivation is to maintain herself fully within the modernist technical tradition while pursuing the perhaps contradictory goal of shaping that myth through her own idiosyncratic vision. She pays tribute to the felt pressure of her modernist peers by trying to shake it off: "I needn't think that I must be Pound-Eliot," she once said.

Susan Friedman testifies to H.D.'s modernist consciousness by saying that she "read and greatly admired the work of Virginia Woolf and James Joyce."¹² H.D. appears quite conscious of Joyce's narrative methods, as one can see in the opening passages of The Mystery, which are technically quite similar to the opening of Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man. The Joyce passage reads:

Once upon a time and a very good time it was
there was a moocow coming down along the road
and this moocow that was down along the road
met a nicens little boy named baby tuckoo....

His father told him that story: his father
looked at him through a glass: he had a hairy
face.

He was baby tuckoo.

Now here is H.D.'s opening to The Mystery:

The name was de Watteville.

It was a mistake to step aside and lift
the curtain for her, it was a greater mistake
to stoop under the leather fold when he
realized in the cold, that she could not open
the out-door. The door was usually left open
but someone must have closed it from outside,
because of the snow. She would dart out.
Stephanus had watched her from outside.

The similarities are that H.D., like Joyce, makes her
first sentence a paragraph as well, and the speaker of
that sentence/paragraph is not identified in it.

H.D.'s second sentence contains the pronoun "he"--the
author's way of referring to the narrator--as in Joyce,
and also without a proper name to which the "he"
refers.

The differences are that Joyce's "Once upon a time"
immediately lets the reader know that a story is being
told, although the next few words of the sentence are
needed before the reader understands that the
storyteller is not the omniscient author, as is usual
in the classic fairy tale which begins with this same
formula. The second sentence comprises a mini-story of
several short sentences joined by conjunctions, and it
ends by pointing to a person, identified as a "nicens

little boy named baby tuckoo." The reader doesn't yet know who "baby tuckoo" is, but does register the childlike diction, a clue that the central consciousness is a child. The next sentence verifies those impressions, clearly introducing the central character whose consciousness is operating here: " He was baby tuckoo."

By contrast, H.D.'s opening sentence gives no clue as to whether an omniscient author is speaking or the thoughts of a character are being conveyed. The name "de Watteville" presumably points to a character, but context is utterly missing. The sentence not only fails to signal the technique of stream of consciousness but actually functions to conceal it.

One might tolerate a single short opening sentence with high ambiguity if the next sentence clarified it. But H.D.'s next sentence begins on a new tangent, free-form, with the impersonal construction "It was a mistake..." leaving unresolved the question of who is making this judgement--an omniscient author or a character. We can look back and see that Joyce's second sentence also breaks a possibly anticipated continuity, but an aesthetic reason exists for the break--it evokes a small child's lack of logical connectives. The break also is only momentarily illogical, clarification coming immediately in the next

sentence. Freshman readers are confused by this opening, but once they are told about stream of consciousness, their own experience of having been a small child comes to their aid and also leads them to observe, in this passage, the five senses at work and the embryonic love and guilt which form the novel's major themes.

The second segment of H.D.'s second sentence introduces a "he" who has opened a door for "her," but the connection between the name "de Watteville" and this woman is not fully explained until the middle of chapter two. Who "he" might be is not hinted at by any special diction or kind of thought. The mysterious operations of a door adumbrate the theme of magical and spiritual power, but the reader is too puzzled by lack of information to pay attention to this theme, which, while a preoccupation of H.D.'s, is hardly part of most people's everyday experience. In fact, the reader is actually misled by the appearance of the name "Stephanus" in the last sentence of this paragraph, which, according to the rules of syntax, should be the referent for the earlier pronoun "he." But it isn't. The reader reads on, increasingly bewildered, until an authorial intrusion names "Brother Antonius" six paragraphs later, and a backtrack and re-reading must ensue.

In the opening section of Joyce's Portrait also, Stephen's proper name is not given until about eight short paragraphs after the beginning, when he remembers his mother saying, "O, Stephen will apologise." The reader need not backtrack to understand that Stephen and "baby tuckoo" are the same person. The next section, with Stephen at school, involves a classmate's asking him his name, so the identity issue is simultaneously clarified for the reader and presented as a major theme centered on the myth of Dedalus.

H.D. is not consciously imitating Joyce, but modernist methods influence her refusal to supply Antonius' proper name at the necessary point. She uses the pronoun "he" instead? Why? A partial explanation may be divined from her prior literary practice. She is using that initial "he" in The Mystery as if it were a proper noun, the way she had used "Her" in her 1927 novel, titled HER, but brought out in 1981 by New Directions--in another of that publisher's editorial divagations from H.D.'s intent--under the title HERmione.

In this roman à clef of H.D.'s youthful concurrent love-affairs with Ezra Pound and Frances Gregg, who appear as the characters George and Fayne, "Her" is short for the name of the central character, Hermione Gart, a not-very-disguised version of H.D.

herself. She deliberately conflated the pronoun "her," in the objective case, with the nickname "Her" in the nominative case, sometimes called the subjective case, in order to play on and pun with grammatical permutations as a means of conveying the theme of fluid boundaries to the central character's sense of identity. She identifies herself with her lover Fayne, not separating her own ego, or "I" named "Her," from Fayne who is likewise simultaneously "I" and "her." A conflict in identities is also conveyed through this manipulation of grammatical case. Her sees conflicting views of herself arising from the so-called 'objectivity' of her family's estimate of her--a failure who has flunked out of Bryn Mawr--which differs profoundly from the 'subjectivity' of exuberance and glowing love, however forbidden, which she experiences internally. Grammatical case is the sign of and external correlative of the conflict between subject and object, Self and Other, which is so inextricably embedded in consciousness that language cannot fail but mirror it. By creating her character's order-disrupting name, H.D. expresses her belief in name as spiritual essence and underlines two themes: the incipient poet's defiance of accepted authority and her sensitivity to words, expressed through the texture of her stream of consciousness with its Steinian

playfulness. Here is an example:

Things did not frighten Her Gart, noises did not annoy her. Agacé. George should see Fayne. Things are not agaçant now I know her. I know her. Her. I am Her. She is Her. Knowing her, I know Her. She is some amplification of myself.... (158)

In HER, the reader is saved from confusion because the narration never departs from Hermione's point of view, as it never departs from Stephen's in Portrait. Furthermore, HER opens with unambiguous introduction of the central character, although the word-play is present and so is the theme of slippery identity:

Her Gart went round in circles. "I am Her," she said to herself; she repeated, "Her, Her, Her." Her Gart tried to hold on to something...she cried in her dementia, "I am Her, Her Her."....

She said, "I am Hermione Gart," but Her Gart was not that. She was nebulous... (3)

While H.D.'s prior practice of modernist stream of consciousness probably influenced her technique in The Mystery, it does not explain enough. Possibly the title, The Mystery, provides a clue. The technical peculiarities I have described create one effect in the reader--that of mystification. Possibly H.D. believes that her techniques reinforce the theme of 'mystery,' creating in the reader a kind of 'objective correlative' of mystification and submission to the irrational. Certainly in this novel she is concentrating on conveying her belief in magic, and in

the existence, perhaps on the astral plane, of spirit-persons who transcend time, like Saint-Germain, who historically was called "the Deathless." Spirit is more powerful than matter. The mundane operations of matter are what ordinary exposition in a novel deals with; these facts can creep in later, she thinks, whereas a door which moves by itself or candles which suddenly extinguish themselves are potent symbols which must be concentrated upon. Realistic details of a particular cathedral count for very little. What matters is that the Cathedral is a Dream, a manifestation of the eternal which presents itself through the unconscious. H.D. at least in part believes, like certain ancient Gnostics, that events on earth occur, not as a result of the forces of history, but that history itself is the result of eternal patterns becoming manifest on earth through reincarnated lives. She apparently joins the Johannite Gnostics, to whom she refers in the novel, in thinking that Jesus' birth and life should be understood allegorically as an episode in the progress of the eternal soul of the Initiate or Adept toward enlightenment.

What is generally thought to be "reality" is not real for H.D., and in writing she bypasses its details as distracting from registration of experience of the

true reality, which is 'super-normal.' The novel can itself be read as an allegory of the soul healing itself through mystical experience. In its final chapter, the stream of consciousness technique lends itself very well, as in Joyce's Ulysses, to the presentation of psychoanalytic free association and suggestive dream symbolism. H.D.'s earlier novel, Hedylus, ends with a similar long monologue expressive of an ecstatic and 'supernormal' state of mind, which may arise as a projection from the unconscious or may be the direct 'vision of God.' In either case, it represents H.D.'s highest aspiration, which is to be caught up, rapt, in transcendent and mystical experience. It is not surprising that she forsakes lesser realism to evoke the greater.

But I am not completely satisfied with the explanation that H.D. creates technical obstacles in order to promote in the reader a mysterious or magical atmosphere. She is not mystified as she writes; she knows the details and the facts, but she doesn't reveal them at the right time. It appears to be a deliberate disregard of timing. Possibly she is always 'living in the eternal,' as the theosophist Mabel Collins advises in Light on the Path, a book H.D. owned.¹³ But history--her mother's history, Zinzendorf's, Bethlehem's--is what she creates this novel to deal

with. She chooses as the setting Prague, a real city which she visited and where she toured the Cathedral of St. Vitus, the details of whose rich decor play a precise role in the novel. She knows the facts which ought to be contained in the exposition, so she must be seen as refusing to put them down in words at the point in the text dictated by rationality as well as literary custom. Considerations of audience response are not on her mind.

She is not audience-conscious, I believe, for three reasons. One is that her prose, largely unpublished, never had much of an audience; she was known as a poet. The second is that what small audience she had was made up of uncritical friends, kindred spirits, aspects of herself, privy to and sympathetic with her thought processes; there would be no need for exposition to such readers. The third reason appears to be that, as she was writing this novel, H.D. remained somewhat self-involved, and, although fundamentally recovered, lingered still in the shadow of the 1946 breakdown which kept her from that time on in constant contact with Küsnacht Clinic. She is writing to herself. She is her own hidden 'narratee,' to borrow phraseology from Gerald Prince.¹⁴ She is two selves, "Delia Alton," the spiritually-attuned mind, writing to H.D., the everyday person--or perhaps it is the other way around. But she thought in

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terms of dual authorship: "We," she said in "H.D. by Delia Alton," her memoir, "have not finished the Mystery. That is, we have not yet written it down." The suggestion is that this text pre-existed in some way, like its central character, Louis Saint-Germain, prototype of the Adept, and that the writer is only a conduit, recording a revelation of eternal truth. If the text exists, a spiritual whole in eternity, the time sequence of the revelation of its data is a matter of no concern.

The best explanation for the existence of the technical obstacles encountered by the reader of this novel is that, for H.D., they were not perceived as obstacles. They were techniques chosen to convey a particular meaning. Her overriding desire in art and life, as has been said, is to achieve a unity which transcends the polarities and contradictions of experience. The time-eternity contradiction is what she tries to transcend by the technique of delayed exposition. By refusing to give information 'on time,' she asserts the primacy of eternity, the larger and more unifying category. Analogously, the contradiction between fixed identity and fluid selves is transcended by the use of pronouns attachable to any referent as distinct from nouns attached only to one. The reader is bewildered by Saint-Germain's multiple disguises--

Franciscan, Jesuit, Freemason, magician, king's son, Zinzendorfian alter ego--which are donned and doffed without warning; these too are constructions designed to transcend fixed identity, a condition of creative and spiritual dead-end through incapacity to change--that is, to reincarnate. The unglossed allusions permeating the text do not need explanation or mundane amplification; in H.D.'s eyes their symbolism is self-evident and stands self-sufficient, without external support. We may feel that she misperceives what her language embodies, but her intent appears clear.

The novel's major time-eternity opposition, however, is not adequately dealt with by these various techniques, since the whole problem of history, particularly the history of the Moravian Church and what it has lost through time, is what H.D. wants to explicate. Fascination with this history--her mother's and therefore her own--led her to begin the research recorded in the "Zinzendorf Notes" and alluded to within the novel itself. In chapter VIII, her alter ego, Elizabeth, is recounting to Henry Dohna how the first Moravians arrived at Zinzendorf's Saxon estate in 1722. He says to her, "Why not just write the story?" H.D. was plainly asking herself this question about this book.

But she decides not to write history; she cannot

capitulate to the limitations of a time-bound genre. She wants something larger. What is larger than time and history? Eternity and myth. H.D. called this novel "a romance" in "H.D. by Delia Alton," and romance can be seen as allied with myth. Both, as Northrup Frye points out, "belong in the general category of mythopoeic literature."¹⁵ Romance suits H.D.'s purposes at this point, for it sets against the rugged intractability of history something close to "a wish-fulfilment dream," as Northrup Frye says, at the center of which is "the element that gives literary form to the romance, the quest."¹⁶

Quest is always H.D.'s theme, and in The Mystery, characteristically, it takes a dual form; there are two quests. Elizabeth and Henry, twinned female-male aspects of the author, are on a rational intellectual quest for the truth about the Moravian Church. Saint-Germain, the aspect of H.D. as eternal spiritual adept, has embarked on the knightly quest specified in medieval chivalric romance and Provencal troubadour poetry. He will give his life to the highest ideals represented by the Lady to whom he has pledged fealty. This knightly quest, perennially recurring, is commingled with the quest for the true occult magic or enlightenment which overarches all religions, yet it also comes down to earth to take place in the finite

historical circumstances of the French Revolution, one of the multiple forms of the Lady being the Queen of France, Marie Antoinette, for whom Saint-Germain is willing to die. In this effort to write a romance but yet place it in a realistic setting, and to deal with history but yet deny the existence of time, H.D. wrenches apart and virtually destroys the novel form.

This act of deliberately defying and bursting the bonds of genre seems to me to be central, and brings me back to my first intuition: The Mystery is a dense prose poem. Its lack of exposition, its terse ellipses in place of rational explanation, its rapid unprepared-for changes in scene, its unglossed allusions to an enormous variety of persons, events, texts and doctrines, familiar and arcane--all these techniques characterize modernist poetry far more than modernist prose. H.D., with her own agenda, is trying to write a novel the way Eliot wrote The Waste Land, which also ended up needing footnotes. The result of H.D.'s effort doesn't read like a novel because it really isn't one. It is in part romantic projection, in part philosophical meditation on the founder of a new religion, in part her psychoanalysis revisited in which she salutes Freud while escaping the pressure of his authority and reinvesting herself in the mythicized figure of her mother, increasingly incorporated in herself.

My ultimate method of reading The Mystery was to be ever aware of the modernist desire to be encyclopedic, to exclude nothing, of which H.D.'s quest for unity is her specific corollary, and to see in this novel her enactment of this desire, the feminist version of which was expressed by the nineteenth-century militant, Lucy Stone: "Do everything." In this novel H.D. tries to "do everything," that is, include as many genres, languages, literary devices and insights as possible. In reading I therefore also had to "do everything" that I could think of to compass her sweep. The result of my methods is the creation of a meta-text, adjoining the original, to be read back and forth with it. Perhaps it too can be seen as a kind of hybrid modernist genre.

H.D. goes even further in her desire to burst boundaries. She wants to "be everything" as well--lover-beloved, daughter-mother, artist-scientist, female-male, priestess-priest, goddess-god. The genre which stretches furthest in the direction of this impossible comprehensiveness, expanding the language most radically, is poetry. At the end of The Mystery H.D. already beginning to think, and therefore to write, of the shifting selves who manifest in every form until they coalesce palimpsestically in H.D.'s Cantos, the feminist and revisionist epic Helen in Egypt.

Part Five: A Solution to The Mystery

What is it, then, exactly, that the Moravian Church lost which it had possessed in the time of Zinzendorf? What is the solution to the mystery? It is not that a member of the 'eternal order' comes to a higher spirituality through the presence of Divine Love, or that he will die in the service of the deficient but not ignoble military honor-code of knighthood, or that Osiris is again dismembered but still always to be sought by Isis as Our Lady. The condensed ending of H.D.'s novel does not tell us enough, just as the official histories did not show her the mystic founder of Moravianism. The twentieth-century mind has no idea why Zinzendorf's "mysticism" should be labelled "gross and scandalous," since virtually everyone is a mystic, deciding on his or her own 'vision of God.' But Zinzendorf's mystical vision was more than private; it was communal. It shaped history. It led to the establishment of Bethlehem, which H.D., at one point in The Mystery, refers to as "their little city of God." (56) Through her search into and reconstruction of Moravian history, she re-envisions her birthplace--at least in its beginnings--as the ideal harmonious community, a possible model for the peaceful world she

so desires. But it has lost something, and we need to know more precisely what that is.

H.D. feels both a connection with her birthplace and a sadness of unrealized potential associated with it, which she also felt with her mother. Bethlehem is her mother's city primarily but also the city inspired by Count Zinzendorf, its spiritual father. He modelled it after Herrnhüt, the community on his estate in Saxony where members of the old Unitas Fratrum took refuge to avoid persecution. And many other colonists came also to Pennsylvania in search of religious freedom. Like Herrnhüt, Bethlehem was formed as an "ecclesiola in ecclesia"--a little church within the Church, as the Pietist Spener had suggested as a model of reform. H.D. read Spangenberg's Life of Zinzendorf (1838) and recorded in her "Zinzendorf Notes: "1741--America with Benigna. Bethlehem model of Herrnhutt."(ZN 14 [10])

But the little girl Hilda learns that something has been lost in the years between Bethlehem's founding in 1741 and her own childhood. Her grandmother, "Mamalie," Elizabeth Weiss--descended from Matthias Weiss, (b. 1709), who came to Bethlehem with the Second Sea Congregation in 1742--tells her of the loss. Once, while Hilda listens, Mamalie recalls the words of her first husband, Christian Henry Seidel, describing how Wunden Eiland, "Isle of Wounds," in the Monocacy river,

near Bethlehem, had been washed away:

Christian said it was symbolic. He felt that the Church had lost the thing that the meetings at the Sanctuary had held together. (...Zinzendorf himself started it or was part of it).... The thing was symbolized by the star that Cammerhof had had designed and cut into one of the foundation-stones of the new Brother's House that they were building. The carved words Vater, Mutter, Lieber Mann Habt Ehr vom Junglings Plan, meant more than just the words. Mutter wasn't just the Holy Ghost, it was a special spirit that some of the Crusaders had worshipped. That was the Society, and Plan didn't mean, Christian said, just plan or company, but referred to some secret society or organization. (V,12)

This passage introduces the question which persisted in H.D.'s mind and which The Mystery takes up again: What is the connection between what was lost and the Plan? What does this word really mean? Does it indeed refer to a secret society? Is it connected with the 'special spirit' which is female, Mutter or mother, which was "worshipped" in the Crusader period long before there was a Moravian Church or even the Old Church of Bohemia, yet which Zinzendorf and other Moravians mystically knew?

H.D. is drawn to 'the secret,' which she sees as deeper than the plain Biblical words, so deep that when anyone begins to act in accordance with the 'secret', those actions cause scandal. Therefore she reasons that what is 'scandalous' may well be evidence of this special Spiritus Sanctus at work, that scandal or derogation must not taken at face value. She feels that

she learns more of Zinzendorf and his "heart-religion" from eighteenth-century anti-Moravian broadsides than from accounts by his friends or the official church records. The novel, The Mystery, is a specific working-out of this unorthodox interpretation of history: that 'scandal' and 'heresy' are labels concealing truths which conventional thinking evades and suppresses. Knowledge of these truths, H.D. suspects, is what Bethlehem's Moravianism had once possessed but which is now gone.

The Mystery springs from a second and correlated motivation--H. D.'s interest in her family's genealogy and her idea of a special connection with Count Zinzendorf himself, possibly a genealogical connection, through his daughter, Benigna, who married John de Watteville in 1746. Their daughter Elizabeth, born in 1754, was married in 1779 to Hans Christian Alexander de Schweinitz, first official administrator of Bethlehem. All Zinzendorf descendents in present day America--there are quite a few--stem from the de Schweinitzes. H.D., in a letter to Norman Holmes Pearson, dated 16 April 1951, says that she "was told (but perhaps legendary) that there was a thread with de Wattevilles" and mentions having gone to school with "the real de Schweinitz children." The names of de Watteville and de Schweinitz are therefore prominent in The Mystery,

through the weight which names always carry for H.D.

Repeated several times in the novel is the statement that Zinzendorf met Christian David, leader of the refugee Bohemian Brethren, "at the house of the master of the horse in Schweinitz," a line directly quoted from Spangenberg's biography. H.D. feels personal connection to the name "Schweinitz," but she is not, evidently, a blood-relative of any de Schweinitzes. None of her relatives--no Weisses or Wolles--appear in the lists of Zinzendorf's descendents. What exactly then might be this "thread" of which she was told? Does Bethlehem hold a clue?

Whatever the "thread" might be, it is strong enough in H.D.'s mind to govern the opening of her novel, the first sentence of which reads: "The name was de Watteville." Elizabeth de Watteville, Benigna's daughter, is its heroine, using her mother's last name, not her husband's. Elizabeth is of course also the true name of "Mamalie," H.D.'s grandmother.

In a pattern characteristic of H.D.'s earlier novels as well, this principal female figure has a male counterpart, or 'mythic twin'--here Henry Dohna, who was historically Elizabeth's first cousin, as we know from the genealogy of Zinzendorf's descendents in the "Zinzendorf Notes" which is nearly identical to that in Spangenberg. She notes: "Henry Lewis (son of Maria

Agnes and Count Dohna) d. 1833 without issue."

These cousins are embarked on a quest, readily recognizable as a version of H.D.'s own quest. Elizabeth and Henry have travelled from Herrnhüt, the original Moravian community on Zinzendorf's estate in Saxony, to Prague in November 1788, on the eve of the French Revolution, to investigate 'the mystery' of the origins of the church of the Bohemian Brethren. In Prague they meet a third person, Louis Saint-Germain. He is also a figure in eighteenth-century history, a reputed alchemist and magician, said to have drunk the Elixir of Life, who was seen all over Europe in that period, sometimes, it was rumored, seen in two places at the same time. Saint-Germain therefore was called Der Wundermann and "Saint-Germain the Deathless." Rumors also circulated that he was the illegitimate son of the French king.

In H.D.'s novel this Saint-Germain of the multiple identities is disguised as a Franciscan lay-brother, Antonius, but his mind is Jesuit. He and de Rohan have joined in a secret 'order,' a revival of the Knights Templar, and have taken on disguises in order to infiltrate the Parisian orgies of Cagliostro's "Egyptian Masonry" and turn the names of participants over to the Inquisition. In Prague Saint-Germain continues this mission, split between his two identities, French count

and humble monk, but he becomes uncertain of the military and militant ideals of the secret Templar-Jesuits to whom he has pledged himself. In him H.D. poses another question which the novel attempts to answer: what is the difference between true mysticism and false? The strain of discriminating the two may bring one to the brink of madness, as it does Louis, but the truth comes to him paradoxically through his disguise. By posing as a humble religious, he becomes more like one. As Antonius, he meets Elizabeth and intuits her special powers over the natural world. He sees that church doors mysteriously blow open before her and candles in windless chapels blow out behind her.

Gradually it is revealed to Elizabeth, Henry and Louis, that they are instruments of forces external to themselves, manifestations of a pattern which extends back through time into timelessness, into "another dimension." In this state of timelessness, several incarnations may coincide. Thus, through the "thread" or link of name, Elizabeth feels she might also be Elizabeth of Bohemia, daughter of the Winter Queen, Anne of Bohemia, whose husband's defeat in 1620 led to the persecution of the Protestant ancestors of the Moravians who, a century later, fled to Saxony.

Elizabeth and Henry tell Saint-Germain the history of Zinzendorf and the Moravian Church with its ancient

connections, to which Louis feels mysterious affinities. But Elizabeth feels that "we are deflected from the Plan, the mysterious plan of a Jednota, a unity, a world-unity without war." The novel, however, shows that H.D. believes that this unity is not lost but hidden. It still exists and can manifest anywhere, in anyone, and especially through those whom conventional religion despises: magicians, alchemists, mystics, 'initiates' and 'adepts' of the occult, of whose company H.D. knew herself to be one.

All these make up an eternal 'secret society' or 'eternal order' extrapolated by H.D. from theosophical doctrine. Zinzendorf is one of this order; the attacks on him validate his authenticity, rather than impugning him. She interprets the evidence supplied by Zinzendorf's attackers to reach conclusions directly the opposite of those intended by their authors. Two of these attacks are particularly important: The True and Authentic Account of Andrew Frey (1753), the title of which is quoted directly in The Mystery, and A Candid Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Herrnhuetters commonly called Moravians or Unitas Fratrum by Heinrich Rimius (1752), many quotations from which appear in the "Zinzendorf Notes" and are incorporated in the novel, particularly in the speeches of Henry Dohna.

Chapter three of The Mystery opens with Henry re-examining notes he has taken on his reading concerning the Moravians, duplicating what H.D. herself must have done as she began work on the novel:

He had given up search in the official records and Spangenberg's ponderous biography. There was actually more to be found in the broadsheets and pamphlets of his grandfather's detractors....who had given life and character to a portrait, otherwise presented in austere reflection. (13)

There is "more to be found" because the detractors recount in detail what shocks them, particularly in relation to the so-called "Sifting Period," roughly 1747 to 1750, when, especially in the Moravian community at Herrnhag, near Frankfort, Germany, there were "excesses" or "extravagances" in behavior and language relating to 'Blood and Wounds' theology.

Not only Zinzendorf's theology but his politics offends Rimius. He has a conspiracy theory of Zinzendorf as a power-mad dictator, who "formed from the tenth year of his age a Design" (CN 20) or secret plan to take over and rule the world--an elitist plan, in Rimius' mind, which he accuses Zinzendorf of concealing from his followers. H.D.'s notes quote Rimius:

I am personally acquainted with some of the Herrnhuters or Moravians, & take them to be just & upright in their Dealings; but then they are wholly ignorant of the Arcana or Secret Counsels of their Leaders (II,

2)....They [the leaders] are likewise expert at concealing their names....they have not the truth in view, but the execution of a favorite Plan. (CN 9,14; ZN 2,3)

Later Rimius stresses secrecy as a component in this conspiratorial "plan", and again H.D.'s notes quote him:

(72--Secrecy with respect to their doctrines)
83. Secrecy in all their Transactions. They have People in almost all Parts of the World... whom...they can easily bring together.

This passage appears in the novel as Henry Dohna is prompted by his notes to recall a conversation with Wolfgang Goethe:

"Is it true that you have people in almost all parts of the world whom you can easily bring together?"
"It was true in my grandfather's day."
"The Plan was to form a World State of the Lord's Watch?"
"Not political."

Chapter three reverts to Bethlehem as Henry Dohna reads on:

In the margin of the next entry, he had indicated a query. "Pennsylv. Serm. or Serm. at Zeist?" The entry was, "It is a house which shall be in being, or perhaps will scarce be finished, when the Saviour comes; He shall lodge and walk about in it, the chandeliers in it shall be lighted for Him."(15)

The "Zinzendorf Notes" show this passage followed by the words "Serm. at Zeist, p. 104" and that Rimius cites it in a later broadside, A Supplement to the Candid Narrative... (1755). It is preceded by a quotation from Zinzendorf's "Pennsylv. Serm. T.1. p.233," about Christ's last coming, in which he will

"establish his new plan, which he promised his disciples." (ZN 34). H.D. wrote PLAN in caps next to this line. What impressed her was Zinzendorf's declaration of the existence of the "Plan" after time has come to an end, that is, for her, when timelessness or the eternal dimension comes fully into being.

H.D. plainly liked the image of the "chandeliers lighted for him," associated as it is for her with the lighted bees'-wax candles held by every Moravian in the Christmas Eve service in Bethlehem's Central Church. She admired Zinzendorf's aristocratic style as well as his devotion to Jesus and the democratic anti-sectarian acceptance of all human beings which led him to send the first missionaries to the American Indians. She has Henry Dohna comment on Zinzendorf's character:

It was characteristic of his grandfather to recall an eighteenth-century elegance...Even as it was in character to announce on Christmas-eve [1741], in their First House in America, that the town that should grow from that one log-cabin, with its cattle-stall adjoining, should be called Bethlehem. (M 15)

As the Christian religion originally spread from the birth of the child Jesus at Bethlehem in the Holy Land, H.D. takes seriously and positively the evidence of a universal "Plan" which Rimius finds so abhorrent.

But Rimius presents in his diatribes the facts that H.D. wants to learn and has been unable to find in the official records. What he hates most in Zinzendorf

is the statement of what H.D. sees as a compelling truth: the Holy Ghost is female. Zinzendorf repeatedly makes this assertion in his sermons. Absolutely central to H.D.'s thinking is the idea that whatever is called Spirit or God contains--indeed is--the female, maternal element, not solely the male element canonized by the "Father" and "Son" terminology of traditional Trinitarian formulation.

Both she and Rimius are aware of the Gnostic precedents for this mother-father unified God. H.D. takes many notes on this feminine aspect of Godhead, writing down Zinzendorf's statement that the Holy Ghost is a 'careful mother' to the Christian soul and that the soul itself (anima) is female, a spouse of Christ. He also refers to the soul as a "Christess"--a female Christ. H.D. continues to note Rimius' comments:

Carpenter Jesus...is called their Lamb, their little Lamb, their little Jesus. They make his Name of the feminine gender, calling him their Mother, their Mamma Jesua. (ZN 41)

In The Gift that imagery of the mother-father unified God, producer of Jesus, was linked to "the plan:" Father, Mother, Beloved Man, You are of the Young Man's Plan. This verse was ordered carved in stone for the Single Brothers' house by John Cammerhof, an 'enthusiast' from Herrnhag but who later gave himself so completely to work among the Indians that the strain killed him. Cammerhof's word for "young

man," Jüngling in German, is similar to Der Jünger, meaning "The Disciple," which, according to Levering, was a name given to Zinzendorf in later years. (153)

The German word "Plan" here has a practical sense, "organization" of the community, which is the way present-day Moravians generally hear it, but Zinzendorf used it many ways, according to Levering. (199) H.D. understands a number of its overtones, and, in this verse, there is practical advice from Zinzendorf: actual Moravian mothers and fathers are to take themselves as participant-creators of the ideal Christian community. But she also sees something even larger and more unorthodox in Zinzendorf's idea of a "Plan." It is world-wide and universal, extending even beyond time.

In The Mystery, the mother-father unified God is associated both with the Isis-Osiris myth and with H.D.'s notion that in some spiritual sense great leaders reincarnate and can be recognized through a repetition of a pattern of relations. Elizabeth, Henry and Louis, form such a pattern. Their 'triangle' mirrors the romantic 'triangle' of Zinzendorf's youth, when he fell in love with his first cousin, Theodora de Castell, but gave her up to his best friend, Henry Count Reuss. Zinzendorf later married Reuss' sister, Erdmuth. H.D. is suggesting that her characters are

reincarnations of personages in their grandparents' generation--that is, that they all somehow live in the timeless dimension--and so she associates them also with the Moravian three-part formula, Father, mother, beloved man, which becomes personalized. Louis Saint-Germain is a soul to be saved or re-directed by the paired mythic and theological powers embodied in the spiritual mother-father figures of Elizabeth and Henry, but with emphasis on Elizabeth as a Beatrice-like figure of Divine Love.

A climactic point in the novel is reached when Louis undergoes a mystical experience in which the world 'veers around,' making him see what was on his right hand as on his left. He is so disturbed by this disorientation that he becomes ill. The episode is possibly suggestive of H.D.'s own experience during her 1946 breakdown, but here illness is viewed positively as a trance-like 'out of the world' state which signifies mystical contact with something 'beyond,' a necessary further initiation for the 'adept' to undergo. Thus illness is the necessary prelude to healing and spiritual growth.

Louis is nursed by Elizabeth who, wearing the white cap of the Moravian sisters, gives him herbal remedies learned from the Indians. Thus Louis is restored through a form of healing once denounced as

witchcraft but here seen as the cooperative beneficence of Indians and Moravians--another aspect of the issue of discerning true magic from false. That which heals is true. One surmises that H.D. viewed her own mystical experiences this way: if they give her health and strength, they are genuine.

The old community life of Bethlehem, with its communal houses and the converted Christian Indians present and nearby, is part--but not all-- of what has been lost historically, as H.D. sees it. Zinzendorf inaugurated a local manifestation of "world-unity without war" when he met with the Iroquois leaders of the Six Nations in Conrad Weiser's house at Tulpehocken, about 20 miles northwest of Reading, in August of 1742. Here Zinzendorf concluded a covenant of peace with the Indians, who sensed that he was a man of spiritual power. "We know you are of the Great Spirit," they said to him in the opening speech of their negotiations. H.D. underlined in the "Zinzendorf Notes" a passage from page 92 of Joseph Hutton's History of Moravian Missions:

"he was handed by the six kings a fathom of hundred and eighty-six white beads," white, symbol of peace and goodwill, "Safe Conduct."
(ZN 20)

Zinzendorf immediately gave this belt of wampum to Spangenberg for use in his dealings with the Indians, since whoever carried it would be guaranteed safety

while working or travelling in any of the territories of the Six Nations. This symbol therefore tangibly continued to keep the peace for many years.

Historical evidence is contradictory, but it is likely that Benigna was actually present at this scene, for she had come to America with her father in 1741 and often travelled with him through the wilderness to visit Indian camps. H.D. not only places her at the historic meeting at Weiser's but also sees her as the presiding spirit, with whom her daughter Elizabeth identifies:

She was the child Lilie, Sister Benigna's daughter and they had spoke much to her, in her mother's absence, of the miracle and mystery of Benigna and the Indians....They were all, after Benigna's first visit to Bethlehem, received formally into the family or Brotherhood of the Six Nations, and the Six Nations into the Unitas. (94)

Elizabeth sees unification as a mission which she has not chosen but has been given or has "inherited" from her Moravian family:

It was her inheritance. She would meet and confer with the Kings of Bohemia--that is, the tribes of gypsies. Yes, she remembered, like Benigna with the Six Nations, Lilie would hold the tribes together, wanderers, sometimes with tents. She would bring the gypsies into the Unitas, as Benigna had brought the Indians. (97-8)

That is, H.D. sees herself desiring to bring together the outcasts and wanderers of the world into some new unity. The means for accomplishing this unity is to blend her identity, through dreams or visionary

openings into the unconscious, with her spiritual ancestors.

According to the meaning of acroamatique, H.D. is acting out, through the creation of Elizabeth, the legend of the Moravians for herself. She, like Zinzendorf, is an initiate who has had mystical experiences and "visitations," which are akin to the Biblical angel entertained unawares. The "Visitor"--a spiritual force become material--arrives when some deep thought or act of will, perhaps unconscious, presses itself into form, an extension of the 'thought-forms' which the theosophists had spoken of.

In the last chapters of The Mystery, after visits from Elizabeth and Henry, the "presence" of Zinzendorf arrives. He evokes from Saint-Germain a concentrated statement, almost too brief, of what H.D. most values in Moravianism:

I would only say that your Mysticism is naturally repulsive to men, who would at all costs elevate the Father above all, and above all, above the Mother. Your poem--I will not quote it--was enough to burn you at the stake....Your heresy goes deeper....You worshipped the Wounds of Our Lord--the wound in excelsis in Our Lord's Side, as the rosa mystica. This, my friend, is gross and scandalous mysticism... (M 140)

The side-wound of Christ had been loved by the Moravians of the "Sifting Period," who were simple people on the whole imitating, rather than

internalizing, the fervor of their charismatic leader. But if they did not make the symbolic link of the bleeding wound with female genitalia, the theme of the sanctifying of the sexual aspects of marriage was one which Zinzendorf preached on at length, as Rimius informed H.D. As "all souls are of the feminine sex," the soul is like a bride, and Christ is like a bridegroom. Sexual relations are then an imitative enactment of the soul's contact with its Saviour.

Rimius quotes Zinzendorf's view of marriage and the sexual union of female and male:

Marriages are...the Root of the Root of the Society's Tree...the greatest Mystery...whereof the Key is given us: why? not on account of the exterior Circumstances, but for the sake of the principal Plan, which the Lord who knew every Thing, had in his own Breast. (CN 64; ZN 52)

What scandalized Zinzendorf's orthodox contemporaries most was not simply the notion of the Holy Spirit as female, but Zinzendorf's many sermons in which he allegorized, in explicit imagery, the conjugal act, sexual contact in marriage, as representing the spiritual union between Christ and his Church, between God and the soul. Sexual contact is seen as more than a symbol; it is a sacrament creating that union. This imagery is ancient and Biblical, in fact, but Zinzendorf's contemporaries, especially Lavington, found it heretical and linked to Gnosticism. Lavington quotes Irenaeus' attack on the Valentinians, followers

of the Gnostic Valentinus (3rd century A.D.), whom Irenaeus accuses of having "esteemed Copulation as a most sacred mystery (109). The Moravians perpetuate the same heresy, asserts Lavington; they also, like the Gnostic heretics, teach "Incontinence to be obligatory, as a Law" (105) and "cover all their sensualities with the Wounds of Christ." (63)

Moravians, in Lavington's eyes, are not only heretics and Gnostics but Papists. The logic is that the Holy Ghost, conceptualized as female, is called by the Gnostics Sophia, and "Popery is indebted to the worst of heresies, in transferring such Honours [those attributed by the Gnostics to Sophia] to the Virgin Mary." (17) The Gnostic heresy, according to the orthodox, comes from Simon Magus. Lavington quotes Rimius' attack on Zinzendorf's "Plan," and says:

Is it not manifest that they have copied their whole Plan from Simon Magus, and the succeeding gang of infamous heretics? (132)

In Lavington and his fellow detractors, anti-catholic and anti-woman attitudes combine to find theological justification. Women represent the sexual and non-spiritual in such thinking, the detractors being unable to conceptualize the notion of a redeemed sexuality. They express contempt for "the conjugal Bed, where the Moravians keep a daily Worship, and the Man adoreth in performing his Office." The concrete

imagery in Zinzendorf's hymns lent fuel to this sort of accusation and numerous citations of sexual misconduct and licentiousness at Herrnhaag. (Lavington 89-103) In the Zinzendorf Notes," H.D. copied from Rimius the English translation of several such hymns:

Hymn 2172, v.4,5. He (Christ) comes into their Juices, with his Wound-Juice, & in the Conjugal Business makes them Creator-like; he anoints & macerates them; he deadens & enlivens them in Holy Harmony. And when the Anointment-Oil flows, since God the Creator will have it so, then the Couple is greeted by the Matrimonial God of the Church. (ZN 66)

This attempt to elevate and spiritualize sexuality yet keep it vivid through allegorization evolves from the "Blood and Wounds" imagery, which Zinzendorf employed in contradictory ways. He wanted to make the sufferings of Christ on the cross vivid and real to his hearers at the same time that he wanted them always to translate the physical "Blood and Wounds" into an abstract and spiritual allegory of the soul's salvation. What results is at best a badly-mixed metaphor or wild overstatement, at worst a ludicrous and vulgar set of unavoidable associations.

H.D. quotes from Rimius several such hymns, copying out the German text as well as the English. One whole page in the "Zinzendorf Notes" (ZN 60) is occupied by Hymn #1945, quoted by Rimius in another anti-Moravian tract, A Second Solemn Call... This

hymn repeats the word "Wounds" thirty times in two stanzas; the effect is incantatory and trance-inducing. This effect evidently fascinated H.D., or she would not have copied the hymn at full length. No reference to it, however, appears in The Mystery.

Very little, in fact, of the "Blood and Wounds" theology and the sexual imagery which Rimius deplored finds its way linguistically into The Mystery or into the later poems. And it must be made clear that H.D. never heard any hymns containing this sexual imagery sung in the Moravian Church of her childhood. These hymns, written in German, appeared in the Twelfth Appendix to the hymnal of the 1740s; the Appendix was suppressed by Zinzendorf himself in 1750 when he instigated reforms out of remorse for the damage done by his lack of awareness of the effects of his sermons and his inattention to discipline at Herrnhag. (Hutton Church, 281) Even if a copy of the suppressed Twelfth Appendix had fallen into H.D.'s hands as a child, she would not have been able to read the foreign language. (She learned German later, as an adult living in Europe, but the analysis with Freud was conducted in English.)

A portion of the Twelfth Appendix, "The Litany of the Wounds," translated into English, was included in A Collection of Hymns (1754) and The Litany Book of 1759

(Sessler 238-9) These hymnals went out of use as the Moravians changed their style of worship, especially after Zinzendorf's death (1760). In 1775 the Moravian General Synod declared that the "Litany of the Wounds of Jesus" was "to be discontinued where it was not understood." (Sessler 221) Furthermore, the Moravian hymnals underwent extensive revisions--in 1778, 1789, 1801, 1826, 1849, 1851, and 1876--before the Offices of Worship and Hymnal of 1891, which "came into use about the year H.D. started school." (H. Williams, letter, 12 Nov. 1987) The hymns from this hymnal were the ones H.D. heard in childhood sung during School chapel, which the memoir, A Moravian Heritage, by her cousin Francis Wolle, has recorded their having attended.(15) By that time, the characteristic theme of "Blood and Wounds" had been greatly modified and subdued. (Sessler 216)

So it is safe to assume that the explicit imagery of the 'blood and wounds' hymns could have had no influence on H.D.'s writing before the 1940s, when her earliest researches into Moravianism began. She learned of these hymns through reading them in Rimius, and while they held enough fascination for her that she copied them extensively, she fortunately took no linguistic interest in them. She read them in a wholly spiritual sense as evidence that Zinzendorf was a true mystic, one who saw Christ's wounds in wholly

transcendent terms, as the enraptured Dante saw the great rose of his Paradiso. Thus strengthened in her own convictions, she creates the transcendent vision of erotic and divine love united in the rosa mystica of the last chapter of The Mystery.

So what had Bethlehem really lost that H.D. wishes it still had? "Gross and scandalous mysticism"-- that is, "extravagances" and the rich elegance of "chandeliers lighted for him," all of which signify radical joy, celebrations and abandonment of conventional religious demeanor. Bethlehem had lost Zinzendorf's supreme confidence that all aspects of life, including the sexual, are redeemed by the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross--a perfectly orthodox Christian position, by the way, but one that can be dangerously misapplied in practice, like St. Augustine's "Love God, and do as you please." The General Synod of 1775 began the retreat from Zinzendorf's theology:

The Brethren were to be careful in the use of the word 'Mother' in relation to the Trinity....The Fatherhood of God was to be emphasized.

No doubt the distortions of the "Sifting Period" had to be rectified, but along with increased emphasis on Trinitarian orthodoxy came the loss of the understanding of the equality of female and male in the godhead. Lost too is the vision of Sophia as Spiritus

Sanctus--the female principle within Divinity.

With the loss of the female as divine, Moravian thought loses its vision of love which H.D. saw in Zinzendorf's hymn-language, bizarre as it sometimes appeared--that is, the vision of a union in love inseparable from sexual union. For H.D. the inseparability of the erotic from the spiritual means that the material world and the spiritual world are one, united in love.

This wholeness in love is dramatized in The Mystery by H.D.'s invention of the existence of love-letters from Zinzendorf to Theodora de Castell. These letters do not exist historically, as far as is known, but she makes them an 'objective correlative' to express the love which is central in "the Plan," as she saw it, and to the flowering of the creative Logos on earth. The love-letters underline the parallels between the religious leader who loved his cousin and Louis who, unawares, loves Elizabeth, who is his Beatrice, his Divine Philosophy, the Eternal Feminine, the healer.

But more than a parallel appears here. A reincarnation is suggested by Louis's psychic sensitivity to the feminine soul, his experience of disorientation which signals a time-dimensional shift and his uncertainty of identity. And his name is also

the second name of Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf, whose Presence as spirit has entered his consciousness, transforming him.

But who is it who instigates this transformation? It is Henry Dohna. And who is Henry Dohna? He is H.D., the artist--to whom Freud had put that potent question many years before: "Do you want to be the founder of a new religion?" And this H.D. is not one, but two-in-one, Elizabeth and Henry, the female-male 'mythic twins,' Isis-Osiris, conjoined mother-father, the Mutter...Gott Vaters ewiges Gemal of Moravianism. H.D. herself, transformed through the veils and disguises of art, is therefore a manifestation and bearer of 'the Plan.'

As the poet founds 'a new religion' through her writing, she envisions the transformation of the cosmic 'side-wound' of Christ. It may be the roseate penis-less female, but, since Christ is the 'husband,' or male principle, that wound may also be seen as castration, the tearing away of crude phallic overlordship. H.D., by seeing it through the mystical eyes of Zinzendorf, redeems the dark Freudian determinist view of sexual suffering and repression and patriarchal combat. The wound is celebrated in excelsis, as the Christmas hymn sings Gloria in excelsis Deo--"Glory to God in the Highest"--and called

the rosa mystica.

The symbolic meaning of the "highest" rose, the Mystic Rose, mirrors closely the descriptions given in a book heavily annotated by H.D., The Inner Radiance by Harriette A. Curtiss and F. Homer Curtiss. Chapter XIII, titled "The Mystic Rose," has an epigraph from the Song of Solomon (ii, 1), which supplies the key to interpretation of the final speech of The Mystery:

I (the Real Self) am the Rose of Sharon and
the lily of the valleys.

The Rose as the Real Self creates imagery reinforcing H.D.'s psychological overlay onto, and personal identification with, the medieval allegories of Dante's Paradiso and the Roman de la Rose. But she also accepts the Curtisses' assertion that, primarily, the rose symbolizes the oneness underlying the many, or unity in diversity. They explain the symbolism:

The Rose symbolizes Divine Love and the spiritual unfoldment of mankind because it pictures forth the various stages of the mystic unfoldment of Divine Love within the heart of man...that Image or Higher Self of man which is destined ultimately to blossom as a Mystic Rose.... (112)

For some souls many incarnations may be required
"ere their Mystic Rose can come into perfect bloom."
(114) But there is hope, since goodness always exists
in everyone:

The golden center is found in the heart of all
roses, just as the Golden Light of the Christ-

force is found in the hearts of all Mankind. (115) Zinzendorf might have said these words himself, from his intimate knowledge--which H.D. fully recognized in him--of the "Christ-force" all of his life.

Saint-Germain finally speaks of taking the letters to Our Lady, whom he calls "her with the Star five-pointed." Again Christian theosophy is evoked, with its emphasis on the number five, which is also the number of Christ's wounds exalted by the Moravians of the "Sifting Period." Divine female, wounds, star and light are united in this imagery. Christ is the Light-bearer; he is the Christ Star.(337) When he comes, the new age will dawn:

Since the Christ Star ushers in the Sign of the Son of Man, Aquarius, and the number of Man is five--man himself forming a five-pointed Star when he stands erect with arms and feet outspread--this Christ Star must ultimately manifest in a five-fold manner and have five Points, each point being a synthetic center of Radiant Light, Life and Love. (340)

"As the rays of the Christ Star draw closer to the earth," say the Curtisses, "they tend to focus in five types of seekers...." H.D. is a seeker, and her inheritance from Moravianism connects her to the 'Plan,' the body of those who are seeking, which she understands as what her grandmother called the Hidden or Invisible Church. This church, said Mamalie, "wasn't really destroyed. It ran underground."(Gift

V, 14) H.D. is suggesting in The Mystery that the Invisible Church periodically becomes visible again-- and that the female, equally with the male, facilitates this re-entry into the world. The Invisible Church becomes visible through spiritual reincarnations engendered by name-link, through 'little churches' within the larger church, and through the 'heart-religion' which is that light at the heart of the Rose and shining from the Star of Bethlehem. In that light the world can become inspired and ideal, as H.D.'s home town once was when it was their "little City of God."

NOTES

- ¹ Chapters III and XIV through XIX were privately published by Eric W. White, in a volume titled Image of H.D. & from The Mystery (London: Enitharmon Press, 1976). White's anecdotes of H.D. give only slight information on the novel's genesis.
- ² Simone Weil interprets the Iliad as the 'poem of force' in an essay translated from the French by Mary McCarthy titled The Iliad or the Poem of Force, published in the November 1945 issue of Politics and reprinted as a pamphlet by Pendle Hill Press, Wallingford, Pennsylvania. Weil's analysis underlines the necessity for a redaction like H.D.'s, although there is no evidence that H.D. knew Weil's essay.
- ³ Arthur Bhaduri, called "Manisi" in The Sword Went out to Sea, conducted seances in London which H.D. attended. His two books, Threefold Development and The Key to Health, both published by Aquarius Press in 1952, are in the private Bryher library in East Hampton, New York, shelved next to the Curtiss books.
- ⁴ Sir Hugh Dowding is called "Lord Howell" in The Sword Went Out to Sea. In life he was a mixed character, intellectual, conservative and isolationist. He was called "Stuffy" Dowding. As Air Chief Marshall for Britain and having the cooperation of Lord Beaverbrook, he devised the strategies which turned back the Nazis and won the Battle of Britain (1940-42), paving the way for the Allied offensive and victory. Despite his brilliance as air marshal, he was removed from office; he had made enemies and Churchill did not like him. (Guest 260-62) Besides Many Mansions (1943), he also wrote Lychgate (1945).
- ⁵ The term "spiritual realism" is H.D.'s. Cf. Susan Stanford Friedman's Ph.D. dissertation, "Mythology, Psychoanalysis, and the Occult in the Late Poetry of H.D." (1973), p. 397.
- ⁶ H.A. and F.H. Curtiss, Letters from the Teacher, v.I, 106. H.D.'s bookplate is in eight large volumes by the Curtisses now in the Bryher library in East Hampton. These contain H.D.'s signature, "H.D. Aldington." The dates 1933, 1934 and 1935 and the address, 49 Lowndes Square, London, are written in several.

7 The episode of "The Man on the Boat," who appeared where 'he was not,' is described in Tribute to Freud on pp.156-62. His name was Mr. Van Eck; H.D. later tried to locate him in London and found that he had entered the Church of England. He is also referred to in her writing as Peter Rodeck. The reversal of direction in this experience also foreshadows chapter five in The Mystery.

8 The History of Magic by Éliphas Lévi, translated by A. E. Waite, was published in 1913. The copy used by H.D. is in the Bryher library. See pp. 295-308. The encyclopedia Man, Myth and Magic (1983) reports Saint-Germain as an Ascended Master. (2461)

9 See Critical and Miscellaneous Essays, v. III (London: Chapman, 1857), pp. 243-96 for Cagliostro and v. IV, pp. 1-60 for "The Diamond Necklace."

10 See Henry Rimius, A Candid Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Herrnhuters... (London: A. Linde, 1753), p. 42.

11 Letter to Norman Holmes Pearson, 14 October 1951.

12 Friedman, Psyche, 67.

13 Mabel Collins, in Light on the Path and Karma, says: "Live neither in the present nor the future, but in the eternal." (4)

14 Gerald Prince, "Introduction to a Study of the Narratee." Reader-Response Criticism. Jane P. Tompkins, ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 17-25.

15 Northrup Frye, Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays, New York: Atheneum, 1966. 188.

16 Frye, Anatomy, 186-7.

H.D. Aldington

Villa Verena

Küsnacht

bei Zürich

THE
MYSTERY

By

DELIA
ALTON.

H I

This Revelation
of
The Mystery
through fact and fantasy
is inscribed
to
Rachel.

I

The name was de Watteville.¹

It was a mistake to step aside and lift the curtain for her, it was a greater mistake to stoop under the leather fold when he²realized in the cold, that she could not open the out-door. The door was usually left open but someone must have closed it from outside, because of the snow. She would dart out. Stephanus³had watched her from outside.

The snow had already drifted inside, before they shut the door, or it had blown in under the door, afterwards. Himself, he had a little trouble drawing the half-door inward. He noticed the circle it marked

¹ De Watteville is the last name of a woman for whom the narrator is now remembering having opened the Cathedral door earlier in the day. Her first name is Elizabeth. This character is fictionalized from the historical figure of Zinzendorf's granddaughter, Elizabeth, born 25 April 1754, to his daughter, Benigna, who had married John de Watteville in 1746. The novel's setting is Prague, in and near St. Vitus' Cathedral, in December 1788.

² "He," the narrator, is Brother Antonius, who wears the robes of a lay-brother in an unnamed order, probably Franciscan. He had been meditating in the Cathedral when he saw that Elizabeth was having trouble opening the heavy church door, which has a leather curtain over it to keep out drafts.

³ Stephanus is the servant of Antonius.

in the fine drift, on the inner pavement. Her scarf caught in the wind. It was howling from the river,⁴ into the narrow passage of the street of the Alchemists.⁵

It was a mistake that he bowed slightly.

In return, her curtsey might have been a belated genuflection. She did not genuflect but inclined her

⁴ The river Vlatava, (Ger: Moldau) making a huge curve through Prague, is visible from Hradčany hill on which St. Vitus' Cathedral stands as the principal monument within Hradčany Castle, a huge fortified complex built by ancient Bohemian kings. The Cathedral was founded by the king-saint Wenceslas (Vaclav) in 925-29 when he built the Rotunda of St. Vitus, "the first stone edifice in Bohemia" (Praha 1958), where pre-Christian sacrifices had been made to the heathen god of fertility, Vitus, christianized to St. Vitus, whose name in Czech is also Vaclav.

⁵ "The Street of the Alchemists," Alchimistengässchen, also called Goldenes Gässchen, contains tiny wooden cottages, now restored, "in which in the time of Rudolf II [1552-1612] alchemists were housed." (Michalitschke 147) Also "Rudolf II's goldsmiths and goldbeaters plied their craft here." (Praha 1958) The street's dual name, connecting gold and alchemy, apparently arose from Rudolf II's interest in alchemy. In 1584 the Englishman Edward Kelly (or Kelley) was appointed "court alchemist" by Rudolf who had been convinced that Kelly possessed the philosopher's stone and could produce gold by transmutation. In 1585 Kelly bought a house where "Prince Wenceslas Opavský had already installed an alchemist's laboratory," no. 502-40 Charles Square, which later became known as the "Faust House" as it was said that the "Czech Doctor Faustus" lived there. (Wechsberg 57) Although not near the Street of the Alchemists, this house and its story account for an association of Prague with Faust and magic. H.D. said in a letter to Norman Holmes Pearson (20 August 20 1951), written from Lugano, where she composed the second half of The Mystery: "I was in Prague once, en route to Vienna and was much impressed with it, the street of the Alchemists, the Chapel of Saint Wenceslas and the rest." This trip took place in 1932; H.D. was on the way to Vienna to consult Dr. Hanns Sachs, who recommended that she go to Freud.

head before the altar. She did not touch the Holy Water. She was to be found, deep in abstraction or meditation, for the most part, in the chapel of Saint Wenceslas.⁶

It was a mistake to wait and watch her blown like a wraith, down the Alchemists' Lane. Stephanus could be depended upon to report that her servant was waiting as usual, in the porch of the Grape Cluster. Now, not only might Stephanus reprove his⁷ Superior, but the lackey by the Grape might note the incident.

The lackey was a Schweinitz.⁸ They had found that

⁶ St. Wenceslas' Chapel, judged the most beautiful of the twenty-one chapels in St. Vitus' Cathedral and "a crowning work of Czech Gothic," has walls "encrusted with Bohemian semi-precious stones...1,345 polished amethysts, agates and jaspers, with gilded mortar as a bond" and decorated with scenes of Christ's Passion and of St. Wenceslas' life. (Svoboda 70) St. Wenceslas is buried under the Chapel, erected on the site of the old Rotunda, within St. Vitus, the Gothic structure built by Charles IV (1316-1378) with Narbonne cathedral as model.

⁷ "His Superior" refers to Antonius, who thinks that Stephanus will reprove him for watching the woman, although it is not clear why that would be wrong.

⁸ De Schweinitz is a major name in American Moravian history. Hans Christian Alexander von Schweinitz was appointed Bethlehem's first official community administrator in 1770. He married Elizabeth de Watteville, Zinzendorf's granddaughter, in 1779 in Bethlehem. They had seven children. The oldest, Ludwig, changed the name to "de Schweinitz." He had three sons, all eventually prominent in the Moravian Church: Emil, a bishop; Robert, a pastor; and Edmund, bishop, theologian and historian. The grandchildren of Robert and Paul may well have been the "real de Schweinitz children" with whom H.D. went to school, as she wrote NHP on 16 April 1951.

out. At least, there was some connection with the house of the Master of the Horse in Schweinitz.⁹ This information, however, had yet to be translated.

Was Schweinitz, Schwein, hog, pig? Or Schweiss, sweat? Or Schweitz, Swiss? Was it one or all of these things? Her name was French, but he believed it to be of French-Swiss extraction. It was perhaps some indication. This Schweinitz looked and acted like one of the Royal Guard¹⁰ before the palace. It might be permitted to presume that the Queen¹¹ had granted congé for a short space, to one of her waiting-ladies, or sent her on some secret errand. One might reason that one of the Swiss guard should never be far absent.¹² "It is not

⁹ Zinzendorf met Christian David, leader of the refugees from the old church of Bohemia, the Unitas Fratrum or Bohemian Brethren, "at the house of the Master of the Horse in Schweinitz" in 1722, says A.G. Spangenberg, Zinzendorf's friend and biographer. (AGS 39) H.C.A. von Schweinitz was born on family estates at Nieder Leuba in Upper Lusatia (Ober Lausitz).

¹⁰ Because the name de Watteville has French-Swiss associations, the narrator is reminded of the Swiss Guard, the "Royal Guard" assigned to protect the French royal family, in this period King Louis XVI and Queen Marie Antoinette. The phrase "Swiss Guard" two sentences later clarifies the reference.

¹¹ The words, "the Queen," refer to Marie Antoinette, but Antonius is also thinking of Elizabeth as queenly.

¹² The Swiss Guard's duty was always to protect the French royal family as it had been the Praetorians' duty to stay close to the Roman Emperor. The Swiss Guard were massacred by revolutionaries in 1789 after they refused to abandon Louis XVI's palace, even though he and his family had left it.

reasonable reasoning," thought Brother Antonius.¹³ He recalled the rigour and rule of the Exercitia.¹⁴ But he was, as it were, roaming at large and even his thoughts were his own, for the time being. He repeated, nevertheless, Saint Ignatius' formal vow of dedication¹⁵ before he prepared to rehearse in his mind, the day's events, preliminary to the withdrawal.¹⁶ "But I

¹³ This first use of Antonius' name and title makes clear the narrator's identity and the church setting.

¹⁴ Exercitia is short for Exercitia Spiritualia S.P. Ignatii de Loyola, the Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), composed in 1548. "Making the exercises" as a daily discipline is expected of members of the Jesuit order.

¹⁵ No "formal vow of dedication" appears titled in that wording in Loyola's Spiritual Exercises. Probably the reference is a prayer of dedication composed by St. Ignatius and wellknown outside of Jesuit circles:
 Take, Lord, all my liberty. Receive my memory,
 my understanding and my whole will. Whatever
 I have and possess thou has given to me; to
 thee I restore it wholly, and to thy will I
 utterly surrender it for thy direction. Give
 me the love of thee only, with thy grace, and
 I am rich enough; nor ask I anything beside.
 Possibly, however, another famous prayer of Ignatius is being referred to:

Teach us, good Lord, to serve Thee as Thou
 deservest:
 To give and not count the cost;
 To fight and not heed the wounds;
 To toil and not to seek for rest;
 To labour and not ask for any reward
 Save that of knowing that we do Thy Will.

¹⁶ Part of the Exercitia is self-examination by the method Ignatius calls "the particular survey," done several times a day by the retreatant: "...toward the end of the morning...he makes his first survey of the day....he exacts of himself acknowledgement of each moral failure regarding the particular sin or

must not withdraw to mystic vision," he thought. It was necessary to remind himself that he was, at the moment, a not important lay-brother. He had forgotten and for the first time, the part that he was playing.¹⁷ "There is no excuse," thought Brother Antonius. He denied himself the pleasure of his usual Exercitia in the Chapel.

"The floor-stones are uncommon hard," he thought, though wrapt¹⁸ in meditation, he had not thought of the cold. "England," he thought, "France, Venice, Spain, Naples--the last two fairly recently and within a year of one another."¹⁹ Then Clement XIV had suppressed the

fault...reviewing each portion of the day...up to the present moment." (Delmage 17) Ignatius advised those "occupied with public affairs" to use this method, adding: "In this way Father Antonius Possevinus made the Exercises when he was secretary of the Society..." (Longridge 20) This passage possibly suggested to H.D. the name Antonius for her character. "The withdrawal" can be seen as a reflection of Ignatius' idea that earthly things were meant to aid man to save his soul and he should "withdraw himself" when they hinder him. (Longridge 29)

¹⁷ These lines reveal that Antonius is in disguise; he is only "at the moment" playing the role of a poor lay-brother. His Jesuit thoughts have been intended as a clue that he is a member of the suppressed order.

¹⁸ "Wrapt" is an old form of "wrapped", an apparently deliberate archaism. Both "wrapt" and "wrapped" with "in" mean "deeply absorbed in" but here punning connotations of "rapt," as in a trance, appear intended.

¹⁹ The cold stones remind Antonius of the Freemasons, whose fraternity evolved from a medieval stonemasons' guild and whose members are always Protestants. He recalls the rapid expansion of

Society of Jesus.²⁰

The Holy See however, was to be kept informed, through their last secret stronghold in Prague, of the activities of the franc-maçon.²¹ If the information could be delivered in time, it might serve to reclaim the lost Foundation.²² It was no mere rumor, his Superior had informed him, that the new nuncio was ready to discuss the re-establishment of the Society, at the next election.²³

Freemasonry from England into Europe after a grand Masonic lodge was established in England in 1717. Then came one in France in 1725 and others in Spain and Italy--the places Antonius is naming in his thoughts, disturbed because Masonry is an enemy of the Church.

²⁰ In 1773 the Pope, jealous of Jesuit power, suppressed the Society of Jesus, the very agents who were educated, organized and widespread enough to help him combat the spread of Protestant Masonry. The franc-maçon, the French Freemasons, posed a particular danger as they were said to be instigating a revolution against the Crown of France.

²¹ "Their" in this sentence refers to the remnant of loyal Jesuits, not to the Holy See nor to the franc-maçon, the Freemasons, who are Protestant. Antonius is thinking that, as a Jesuit, he will work to supply the Pope with information on the Freemasons. His usefulness might move the Pope to reinstate the Society of Jesus. Loyola was apparently influenced by Freemasonry when he established degrees of initiation for the Jesuits "like those of the Freemasons." (Ency.Rel. Eth. vii, 500-505)

²² "Foundation" alludes to the Society of Jesus. The term "foundation" often also means the local physical establishment or community in which monks and nuns live.

²³ The current Pope, Pius VI (Pope from 1775 to 1799), was elected with the understanding that he would not restore the Society of Jesus. But a new Pope will eventually have to be elected; the nuncio will then approach the new Pope to restore the Order.

Loyola! War had conditioned him and the wound received at Pampeluna²⁴ had been the instrument of Grace. It was war, the creation of a military order, spiritually to uphold the Church, as in the old days, the Praetorian Guard²⁵ had sustained the Emperors in Rome--that was Loyola's object. But the consecration of a Paul III²⁶ could be annulled by a later Clement. As the crow flies, thought Brother Antonius, the Praetorian endured three hundred years, it protected yet controlled its Emperors, from Augustus to Constantine. Loyola's Praetorian had suffered its first defeat in England, only fifty years after its

²⁴ Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556), Spanish courtier and then soldier, was converted to the religious life in 1521 while recovering from a battlewound received at Pamplona, the capital of Navarre, for which H.D. uses the older spelling, Pampeluna. His mystical experiences led him to found the Society of Jesus as "soldiers of Christ," military in discipline but religious in motivation.

²⁵ Augustus Caesar, first Roman emperor (63 B.C.-14 A.D.) created an imperial bodyguard, the cohortes praetoria, consisting of nine cohorts of 1,000 men each, some of which were always with the Emperor. The only body of troops in the city of Rome, they became an elite possessing decisive political power, as when they made Claudius emperor in 41 A.D. The Praetorian Guard lasted until the division of the empire after Constantine (d. 337) H.D. is stressing the analogy between the Christian and the non-Christian organizations.

²⁶ Ignatius organized the Compañía Jesus Christus (Company of Jesus) with six friends, including Francis Xavier, between 1534 and 1539. Pope Paul III formally established it in 1540, translating its Spanish name into Latin as Societas Jesu, Society of Jesus.

foundation. That was to be expected from the daughter of the traitor and renegade, Henry VIII.²⁷ But fifteen years later, there was the more vital blow, the suppression of the Order in France.²⁸ Was that English machinations--and whose? Certain of the Queen's²⁹ gentlemen had been conspicuous in Paris, before Bartholomew.³⁰

²⁷ Queen Elizabeth I of England, daughter of Henry VIII, continued her father's anti-Roman Catholic policies. The Jesuit "defeat" just mentioned as "fifty years" after their founding (c.1531) evidently refers to the execution in 1581 of the Jesuit Edmund Campion as a traitor under the penal laws. Campion, Robert Persons and other English refugee Jesuits returned secretly from Douai and Louvain to England to support Catholics there. While they themselves were non-political, the Romanist revival they stimulated in the 1580s led to attempts on the queen's life by those who hoped to restore a Catholic monarchy. Her response was to execute Jesuits and other purported instigators. (EB 1957, 4: 685)

²⁸ "Fifteen years after" the Jesuit difficulties in England gives a fairly precise date for the suppression in France alluded to. Around 1594 Henry IV, who had made a political conversion to Catholicism in 1593, was attacked by a man named Jean Chastel, who knicked the King with a knife-blade. "In order to deflect blame from themselves, outspoken critics of Henry's cause threw blame on the Jesuits. The king confiscated their college, Clermont, in Paris and had several executed. Later in gratitude for the work of a Jesuit cardinal, Toletus, in having him reconciled to the Church, Henry gave the college back. Any suppression was temporary." (W. Faherty, S.J., St. Louis University Department of History, letter to the author 29 October 1987.)

²⁹ This queen is Elizabeth I of England.

³⁰ The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre took place on August 24, 1572, in Paris, instigated by King Charles IX under the influence of his mother, Catherine de Medici, who was jealous of the increasing power of

Brother Antonius knelt before the altar containing the relique of Ludmilla, the martyred grandmother of Saint Wenceslas.³¹ It was not his custom however, at this hour, to leave by the main entrance. He had been wont to return to his rooms (Antonius' rooms) by the side-door behind the altar. Stephanus would wonder what had kept him. He³² was on duty in the study that

Admiral deColigny, a Huguenot adviser to the King. Since many Huguenot nobles were expected to come to Paris on St. Bartholomew's Day for the wedding of Catherine's daughter, Marguerite de Valois, to the Huguenot Henry of Navarre, later King Henry IV, a mass slaughter of them was arranged and carried out. Murders of Huguenots continued throughout France until October, with a conservative estimate of over 2000 slain. Antonius thinks that Queen Elizabeth's agents made contact with Henry and other Huguenots at the time of his wedding and so were able later to persuade him that the Jesuits were responsible for Chastel's attempt on the king's life. By seeing to it that blame was cast on the Jesuits, Elizabeth could feel justified in her continued persecutions of them.

³¹ Ludmilla, or Ludmila, (c.860-921) married Borivoy, Duke of Bohemia, and became a Christian with him after he was baptized by St. Methodius. Their son Ratislav married a Slav princess, Drahomira, who bore a son, Wenceslas, in 907. Ludmila arranged to take charge of his upbringing so that he would be a Christian. When Ratislav, who ruled Bohemia after 915, was killed in battle, Drahomira became regent, pursuing anti-Christian policies favored by the semi-pagan nobility. Ludmila urged Wenceslas, by then about 22 years old, to assume leadership. To block her plan, two nobles went to Ludmila's castle at Tetin and strangled her on 16 September 921. She was hailed as a martyr and heroine of Bohemia. Although her 'relique' is mentioned here, her body actually lies in St. George's Church, near St. Vitus in the Hradčany Castle complex. Wenceslas became king but was murdered by his younger brother Boleslas in 929. Immediately venerated as a martyr, Wenceslas became and remains the patron saint of Bohemia. (Thurston, Butler III: 570; 663-4.)

³² "He" refers to Stephanus, not to Antonius.

overlooked the court-yard, until the return of the scholarly lay-brother³³ whose work lay, for the most part in the cloister. Antonius would have preferred a choir of the younger children, but his Superior's wish was that he should insinuate into his lessons on the counter-reformation, hints as to the earlier value of Jesuit activities. Antonius felt he could have been more helpful with the youngest, always remembering Saint Ignatius Loyola's precept, "give me your child until he is seven and you can have him afterwards."³⁴

He saw her, nun-like.³⁵ She was a child in serenity. What Convent had she attended? Why was she in Prague? The rooms she occupied below the old Tower, were still the property of the House of Köstritz.³⁶

³³ The "scholarly lay-brother" is Antonius himself, not a new character. He is seeing himself as Stephanus and the world sees him, in his disguise, part of which is that he is a scholar, assistant to the abbot of the cloister near the Cathedral. In Hradčany Castle, there is a Capuchin cloister, the oldest foundation of that order in Bohemia. (Praha 66)

³⁴ Although this statement circulates popularly and is attributed to St. Ignatius, it was not made by him, according to Jesuit authorities. Jesuits did not teach in elementary schools in Ignatius' lifetime nor operate in situations with small children. (Faherty, op.cit.) This idea appears to come from anti-Catholic sources.

³⁵ He is not seeing her in actuality but in his mind's eye, as she was kneeling in the Chapel earlier.

³⁶ The Reusses are nobility, belonging to the House of Köstritz (also spelled Köstritz). Spangenberg says that Elizabeth de Watteville's younger sister, Maria Justine, married "Henry the 55th Count Reuss of the

Polish, Bohemian, Prussian?³⁷ Frederick had consolidated the Protestant Principalities.³⁸ She was more likely, Austrian.³⁹ Viduae et Virgines.⁴⁰ Was she

House of Köstritz." (AGS xxxi). The list of Zinzendorf's descendents and a memoir confirm that Count Henry LV was born "at the family seat at Köstritz, near Gera" in Thuringia 45 miles SSW of Leipzig. (Memoir, Henry LV, 1846: 5) Gera had been the property of the Reuss family since the 12th century. Justine apparently married a distant cousin, since her grandmother, Zinzendorf's wife, Erdmuth Dorothea, was also a Reuss, and therefore a member of the house of Köstritz. She was a descendent of George of Podiebrad or Podesbrad, King of Bohemia from 1458 to 1471, the only native and non-Catholic king of Bohemia. Through this connection the house of Köstritz might well have come to hold property in Prague Castle, or perhaps they obtained it even earlier, since it was emperor Sigismund (1368-1437) who gave the family "the dignity of the Counts of Reuss." (LV 5) I have been unable to find historical verification of such ownership.

³⁷ Antonius is questioning which of these nationalities might be Elizabeth's.

³⁸ Frederick the Great (1712-86) is evidently being referred to. In 1740 he succeeded his father Frederick William I as king of Prussia and during his reign, by brilliant military strategy and diplomacy, greatly expanded his kingdom, acquiring Silesia in 1745 and part of Poland in 1772, areas just thought of by Antonius as possible homelands for Elizabeth. Frederick's efforts checked Catholic Austria and so amounted to a consolidation of Protestant principalities. Antonius' disjointed train of thought results from his suspicion that she may be Protestant. (EB, 1957, 9: 716-19)

³⁹ Antonius guesses that she is Austrian because, although he does not know that she is Zinzendorf's granddaughter, H.D. knows that the Zinzendorf family originally came from Austria. (AGS v)

⁴⁰ These Latin words mean "widows and virgins," categories of women who become nuns. If Austrian, Elizabeth must be Catholic and therefore probably fits into one of these categories. In H.D.'s handwritten first draft, she wrote "widows and virgins" but crossed out those words and wrote in the Latin above.

a widow or had she never married? He crossed himself with a faint apology to Saint Ludmilla. His thoughts had not been with her.

II

"But you are the only one who cares," said Elizabeth.¹

"You would not think so, if you heard grandpappa on the Dohna legend."²

"I have heard your grandpappa on the Dohna legend," said Elizabeth. "I have as great a reverence as he has, for the Dohna legend. But to your grandfather and your father even, it has come to an end. We have not eloped. We are not even lovers. But no two could be nearer than you and I, Henri. Why did we come to Prague? It is no insult to the memory of the late Hans Christian

¹ This use of Elizabeth's name shows that she is the woman observed by Antonius. The setting is her apartment in the "Old Tower." No tower in Hradčany Castle goes by this exact name, but one of several old towers may be in H.D.'s mind, possibly the White Tower, which has dwellings in it, in Vikariatsgasse, behind the the Cathedral, or the Black Tower at the end of the Street of the Alchemists, at the east entrance to the castle.

² The speaker is Henry Dohna, whom Antonius thought was a "lackey" named Schweinitz. Henry is Elizabeth's first cousin; she uses the French form of his name. They are the grandchildren of Nicholas Louis Count Zinzendorf (1700-1760), founder and first bishop of the Moravian church. The allusion here, however, is to Henry's Dohna grandfather, Christoph, who was commanding general of the Prussian army in East Prussia during the Seven Years War; his "legend" is very likely a military one.

Alexander von Schweinitz,³ my husband. We are still, as in your other grandpappa's⁴ day, one family and a legend. I do not speak of the Dohna legend, but of that of your mother, my mother and our Aunt Elizabeth. But mamma⁵ and Aunt Elizabeth, Benigna and Elizabeth von Zinzendorf, repeated the same pattern when they married John and Frederick de Watteville.⁶ At least, your mother, my Aunt Agnes,⁷ the middle one, showed curiosity and a desire to explore outside the Lord's Hedgerows,⁸

³ Elizabeth historically outlived her husband; he died in 1802 and she in 1813, dates not fitting the novel's scheme.

⁴ Count Zinzendorf is the "other grandpappa."

⁵ Elizabeth's mother is Henrietta Benigna Justine von Zinzendorf (b. 28 December 1725), Count Zinzendorf's oldest daughter and one of four of his twelve children to survive to adulthood. In 1746 at Zeist she married Baron John de Watteville (b. 18 October 1718). His true name was John Michael Langguth, and his father a Lutheran pastor, but he was adopted by Zinzendorf's lifelong friend, Baron Frederick de Watteville, and thus obtained the title "Freiherr von Watteville."

⁶ Frederick Rudolph de Watteville, biological son of Frederick Baron de Watteville, was born in Montmirail, Switzerland, in 1738. He was therefore the adopted brother of John de Watteville. Elizabeth von Zinzendorf, Benigna's younger sister (b. 25 April 1740), married Frederick in 1768.

⁷ Maria Agnes von Zinzendorf was born 6 November 1735 and is therefore the middle sister.

⁸ "The Lord's Hedgerows" is a translation of Herrnhaag, the name of the Moravian community near Frankfort-am-Main, founded in 1736 after Zinzendorf was banished from Saxony in 1732 and shortly before he was ordained as bishop of the Moravian Church (20 May 1737).

when she married Maurice, Count Dohna, your father."⁹

"You have forgotten Justine, your own sister."

"Justine was the least original of them all. I have yet to find out why her Henry is Count Reuss 55,¹⁰ when the famous Ignatius,¹¹ nephew of the Countess,¹² was Count Reuss 28. Is it worth the

⁹ Agnes married Maurice (Moritz Wilhelm) Count Dohna (b. 2 December 1737) in 1767 in Fulneck, England, a Moravian settlement. Their son, Henry Lewis (Heinrich Ludwig), was born 22 October 1772.

¹⁰ Marie Justine de Watteville (b. 18 November 1762) married Henry Count Reuss 55 (b. 1 December 1768); his birthplace was Köstritz. Since her grandmother, wife of Count Zinzendorf, was a Reuss, as becomes clear in the next paragraph, Justine's husband is also some sort of cousin, though perhaps distant. By marrying a relative Justine has repeated the pattern and is therefore "the least original of them all." H.D.'s "Zinzendorf Notebook" records the numbers of these von Reusses. (ZN 1,2,[11,13]) "A curious custom prevailed in the house of Reuss. The male members of both branches of the family all bore the name of Henry (Heinrich), the individuals being distinguished by numbers." (EB, 1957, 19:238; H. Williams, 24 October 1987)

¹¹ Since this Ignatius Reuss is identified as "the Countess' nephew" and is also called "Count Reuss 28," he must be the same as "Count Henry XXVIII. Reuss." mentioned by Spangenberg as one of Zinzendorf's closest companions and present at his deathbed--hence "famous" among Moravians. (AGS 501) He would seem to be the son of Count Henry Reuss XXIX, the brother of Erdmuth Dorothea von Reuss (b. 7 November 1700) whom Zinzendorf married in 1722. (ZN 12, 13; Levering 271) In daily life the Henry Reusses who were brothers must have been called names other than Henry.

¹² Here the title "The Countess" refers to Erdmuth, showing that she comes from the aristocracy. In her "Zinzendorf Notes" H.D. observes that Spangenberg always refers to Zinzendorf as "The Count," implying that none of his followers forgot his rank. (ZN 8)

reckoning? But I contradict myself, for my intention has been from the beginning, to inform the old pattern with new life. To become impatient with the Reuss threads is no good beginning, when the first and most important is grandmamma's¹³ contribution to the pattern. We are not likely to forget that the Countess von Zinzendorf, Erdmuth Dorothea of Reuss, was related to Podiebrad, King of Bohemia."¹⁴

Anna Dorothy Elizabeth de Watteville von Schweinitz was resting on the divan. There was the crackle of the wood-fire and the mellow flame of candles, in branched candelabra. There was the silver coffee-set and the Sèvres cups on the small table at her elbow.

"You pour, Henri, if you want more coffee," she said. "Coffee was a ritual with them,¹⁵ do you remember?

¹³ This "grandmamma" is identical with "The Countess," that is, Erdmuth, wife of Count Zinzendorf.

¹⁴ George of Podiebrad (1420-1471), a hero of Bohemian nationalism, was crowned King of Bohemia in 1458, establishing it as a Protestant country after the martyrdom of Jan Hus (1415) and the Hussite wars (1416-1436) challenged the right of the Holy Roman Emperor, a Catholic, to rule it. Hus's followers became the "Bohemian Brethren," members of the Unitas Fratrum.

¹⁵ The serving of coffee and buns is the Moravian "love-feast," the equivalent of Holy Communion, a ritual which H.D. must have witnessed, since it was frequently performed at the Central Church in Bethlehem which her mother's family attended. The custom began soon after the founding of Herrnhüt (1722) with the simple serving of ryebread and water and recitation of a prayer at the end of small evening meetings in the first settlers' houses. (Hutton Church, 220)

With us, it is more in the French fashion.¹⁶ It is fortunate that Justine's in-laws still hold the old writ for the Prague property.¹⁷ Back and forth as ambassadors--I suppose there is trouble in Vienna¹⁸ again, though I didn't inquire too closely. The only thing that really mattered was the Tower, and Dorothea¹⁹ told Justine they wouldn't want it till after the New Year. The two servants, she assured Justine, were diplomatically instructed and could be relied on not to gossip. Justine told Nicholas²⁰ you were writing

¹⁶ Elizabeth and Henry are having coffee in French china cups indicating an intimate, elegant, personal version of the public love-feast of their Church.

¹⁷ The implication is that Erdmuth's family, the Reusses, having descended from a king of Bohemia who had undoubtedly occupied Hradčany Castle, were still holders of property--these rooms in the "old Tower"--through that connection. I am unable to find historical evidence of such ownership.

¹⁸ Since the Reuss family is Austrian but with property in Bohemia, they can mediate as ambassadors from Prague to Vienna, the seat of Empress Maria Theresa. The "trouble" is linked to the incipient French Revolution. Queen Marie Antoinette of France, Maria Theresa's daughter, at this time sent ambassadors to ask Austria's aid in support of her husband.

¹⁹ This Dorothea is Justine's mother-in law, Dorothea von Reuss, the mother of Justine's husband, Henry von Reuss. Details are pointing to a clarification of the date of this novel as 1788, so this presently-living Dorothea should not be confused with Erdmuth Dorothea von Zinzendorf (née Reuss), who died in 1756.

²⁰ This Nicholas is Nicholas von Reuss, Justine's father-in-law. He should not be confused with Nicholas Count Zinzendorf, who died in 1760. H.D. is deliberately showing the repetition of identical names.

a book and wanted fresh material on the Old Church.²¹

Not that you are likely to get it in Bohemia."²²

She didn't know if her cousin, Henry Lewis, the only son of Maurice, Count Dohna, were listening.

That is the best thing about Henri, she thought. I can think out loud or I can talk without thinking or I can go on talking to myself and it's the same as if I were talking to him. Henri is there. He will tell the story. I don't mean grandpappa's three hundred voyages²³--or the three hundred voyages taken in his

²¹ The term "Old Church" designates the original church of the Bohemian Brethren, founded by brothers from Greece, Sts. Cyril (827-869) and Methodius (825-885), the "apostles to the Slavs," who christianized the Danube region. They translated the Scriptures into the language later called Old Church Slavonic, inventing for the purpose the Cyrillic alphabet. The Church of the Bohemian Brethren has for centuries focussed Bohemia's desire for national and ecclesiastical independence. After Jan Hus's death and later, after the Protestant defeat at White Mountain in 1620, the Brethren went "underground" to escape persecution, which continued for a hundred years. Some Brethren went to Lissa, Poland, where Daniel Ernest Jablonsky, who later became a bishop, was born. In the 1720s, groups of Bohemian Brethren crossed into Saxony and took refuge on Zinzendorf's estate. Jablonsky later was the bishop who consecrated Zinzendorf as bishop of the Bohemian Church on 20 May 1737. (EB, 1957, 6:939; 15:361)

²² Because Bohemia is ruled by Roman Catholic monarchs who suppressed the Old Church, information on it would be hard to find in Prague.

²³ Zinzendorf and his followers actually made about three hundred missionary voyages, to Greenland, Tibet, South Africa, the Caribbean and the United States, where they founded towns in the Carolinas and in Pennsylvania. Foremost among these are Nazareth and Bethlehem, where H.D. was born on 10 September 1886.

name. I don't mean the Sixteen Discourses²⁴ and the other momentous works of the illustrious Count Zinzendorf, Bishop of the Ancient Moravian Church.²⁵ I don't mean the Theocracy or the Hierarchy or whatever it came to be called by his detractors.²⁶ I don't mean

²⁴ The titles of two collections of Zinzendorf's sermons begin with the words Sixteen Discourses, one published in 1740 and one in 1751. (Sessler 250)

²⁵ "The Ancient Moravian Church" was the appellation given to Zinzendorf and his followers after they were unable to continue as part of the official Lutheran church. Because the church of Bohemia was descended from the Greek Orthodox Church, their clergy and bishops were ordained in the apostolic succession. When Zinzendorf was made a bishop, the "Renewed Church" of the Unitas Fratrum, the United Brethren, was created. Archbishop John Potter of England, among others, certified that the Unitas Fratrum--a name Zinzendorf preferred to Moravian--was "an 'ancient Protestant episcopal church,' the legitimate successor of the Bohemian Brethren." (Weinlick 197)

²⁶ Zinzendorf's detractors issued a number of publications in the 1750s, after the excess "enthusiasm" and abuses of the "Sifting Period" of 1747-48 became known. H.D. read two of these, both published in 1753: The True and Authentic Account of Andrew Frey, an autobiographical account by a former Moravian who had lived in the Herrnhag community at Marienborn in the 1740s (Weinlick 214) and Henry Rimius' A Candid Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Herrnhuters... H.D.'s "Zinzendorf Notes" notes the term "Theocracy" from Rimius. (ZN 36) She also owned a copy of Moravians Compared and Detected by George Lavington, the Bishop of Exeter, which denounces Zinzendorf for his similarity to the heretical Gnostics, but no notes on it appear in ZN. Spangenberg, as official biographer, omits details when discussing this period in which Zinzendorf's judgment and church discipline lapsed. The term "Sifting Period," taken from Luke 22:31, refers to the years 1747-50 as a time when 'Satan almost prevailed' but conversion occurred afterward. Moravians used the term recuperatively to suppress scandal and show that they had "cleaned house."

Ludovicus Moraviensis.²⁷ "Who do they think you are, at the Grape Cluster?" said Elizabeth de Watteville.

"I don't know in the least how it happened, but they connect me with the Master of the Horse in Schweinitz."

"But Henri, that sounds familiar."

"Mine host²⁸ addresses me as Schweinitz."

"Surely, Maria and Jacob²⁹ here, have not been talking?"

"Of that, I am quite certain."

"Justine forwards our letters, re-addressed to Nicholas,³⁰ with ambassadorial discretion. But I suppose it would be inhuman not to expect the post-diligence to carry gossip. They still think you are my servant?"

²⁷ Rimius sees evidence of Zinzendorf's lust for power and prestige in Zinzendorf's use of the episcopal title after his ordination: "according to the custom of bishops, he made use of his Christian name and that of his see, viz., Ludovicus Moraviensis." ("Lewis of Moravia.") Zinzendorf did use his various family names at different times, occasionally signing himself "Ludovicus Ecclesiae Moravo-Slavicae Episcopus" (Weinlick 137). Elizabeth is thinking silently at this point; her next words are spoken aloud.

²⁸ The landlord of the inn, the Grape Cluster, mistakes Henry Dohna for Elizabeth's husband, although she is not using her husband's name.

²⁹ Maria and Jacob are the servants of Justine and her in-laws.

³⁰ Justine apparently aids the concealment of the true identities of Elizabeth and Henry by receiving in Vienna letters addressed to them and re-forwarding these in envelopes with the name of Nicholas Reuss, Justine's father-in-law, on the outside.

"Rightly."

"It's all right in winter. We could not disproportion you in summer, with Jacobus.³¹ But if anything (though Maria re-sewed the buttons) the great-coat would hint of the House of Köstriz."

"They know you stay here--suspect you belong--"³²

"Well, I do, if my sister Justine's marriage to her Henri--"³³

"--the 55th Count Reuss, you must remember."

"But I made a mistake again," said Elizabeth de Watteville. "The wind caught my scarf. I felt entangled in it. I couldn't open the door."³⁴

"You were outside?"

"No, I mean, I was inside and couldn't open the door."

³¹ Elizabeth means that in summer Henry would be uncomfortably hot disguised as a servant in a great-coat like Jacobus's, but in winter he can wear his own coat with the buttons changed so the heraldic motif on them would not give away his true identity. Still, his look might hint of connection to the House of Köstriz.

³² This broken-off sentence should end with "to the house of Köstriz" or "to the Reuss family" which also means belonging to the Protestant faction in Bohemia, a suspect position even for nobility.

³³ This sentence should end "makes her a member of the House of Köstriz." Justine and her husband, being ambassadors can live in Prague, even if Protestant.

³⁴ As a suspect person with an assumed identity, she made a "mistake" in attracting the friar's attention through the episode of the mysteriously closed church door.

"It's usually left open."

"That's what I mean. I was running those few steps--no--I mean I wanted to run. He lifted the leather curtain."

Henry was looking at the fire.

"You don't ask me who lifted the leather curtain?"

He did not answer.

"What are you thinking, Henri?"

"I must know why they connected me with the house of the Master of the Horse."

"You mean because grandpappa is reputed to have met Christian David³⁵ first in Schweinitz--"

"The story began in Schweinitz. We came here on a pious mission, but more (as you say of the Sèvres-set on the table) in the French fashion--"

"That's what I mean, Henri. I hadn't noticed him before and then I felt it had happened somewhere. He lifted the curtain. He unfastened the door. He knew my hands were frozen. As you say the door is usually

³⁵ Christian David (1690-1752) was a farmer and carpenter who was born Roman Catholic but, like Zinzendorf, had early developed "heart-religion"--a very personal mystical experience of God's love--through intense reading of the Bible. He brought the first group of exiled Moravians to Zinzendorf's estate because he had met Zinzendorf through John Andrew Rothe, private tutor to Baron de Schweinitz of Leube. On 17 June 1722, Christian David felled the first tree that was to build the first house in the settlement which came to be called Herrnhut, "The Lord's Watch," the central community of the Moravian Church.

left open. He couldn't move it. It was frozen or the old hinges had grown stiff. It jerked suddenly and swung in. There was snow on the pavement. The wind snatched at dear god-mamma's old lace. I was somewhere else. Perhaps it was Theodora of Castell³⁶--I mean, it was a Castell heirloom. I always wear the lace in the Cathedral. He bowed and I curtseyed to him."

"He waited at the door," said Henry. "His servant³⁷ or his server saw him waiting."³⁸

"I don't know about that. I had never been so--so sharpened in the wind. I mean, I had never felt the wind so sharpen itself against me. Was I the whetstone? You had Jacobus waiting below the steps, with the sleigh."

"Maria insisted on his coming for you."

"I would have driven on forever but I remembered Justine at the last saying we must be considerate. They³⁹ had taken the coach-horses with them. These were

³⁶ Theodora de Castell is the "dear god-mamma," or perhaps she is an ancestor of Elizabeth's godmother who gave her the old lace. H.D. apparently imagines this connection; I cannot find historical evidence for it.

³⁷ Stephanus is the servant; "he" is Antonius.

³⁸ Henry's remark shows that he was either watching Stephanus and Antonius as they observed Elizabeth in chapter one, or talked with Stephanus afterwards.

³⁹ "They" refers to the absent Justine and her husband, who used the coach horses to go to Vienna.

the saddle-horses that we had had on our excursions. I hadn't thought to ask how many there were. We got home."

"It was only this afternoon, this early evening. You make it seem as if it had all happened a long time ago."

"It happened two hours ago. It happened two hundred years ago. It gave me a clue. Why should I curtsy to him? What I mean is, I try to imagine how Elizabeth of Bohemia⁴⁰ might have felt in the Cathedral. I don't mean that I thought I was the Winter Queen. I might have been her daughter, Elizabeth of Bohemia, Abbess of Herford."⁴¹

⁴⁰ Elizabeth of Bohemia (1596-1662), daughter of James I of England, married Frederick V, elector palatine of the Rhine, who was elected King of Bohemia in 1619 by the Protestant diet after they refused to accept the Catholic Ferdinand II as king. (Langton 49) Frederick's Protestant army was badly defeated by Ferdinand and his Catholic allies at the Battle of White Mountain (Weissenberg) in 1620. Frederick was stripped of his lands. Because he ruled Bohemia only one winter, 1619-1620, he was called "the Winter King" and his wife "the Winter Queen."

⁴¹ Eldest daughter of the Winter King and Queen, Elizabeth (1618-1680), described as "a philosophical princess and a pupil of Descartes," became abbess, with princely rank and a seat in the imperial diet, of the Benedictine nunnery of Herford in the Prussian province of Westphalia. In 1670 she invited the Labadists, followers of Jean de la Badie (1610-1674), often in trouble for their separatist views, to live at Herford. Labadists' beliefs have some similarity to the Moravian, and like the Moravians, they were accused of "enthusiasm." (EB, 1971, XIII:363; 1957, XI:500; XIII:532)

"And I Prince Rupert?"⁴²

"I don't know. I was making mistakes. Surely, you don't curtsy to a lay-brother?"

"I don't know why not."

"But we are not in the Lord's Watch."⁴³ I mean they⁴⁴ wouldn't curtsy to him."

"Depending on who they are,"⁴⁵ and how do you know he is a lay-brother?"

⁴² Prince Rupert (1619-1682) was the third son of the Winter King and Queen. He was born in Prague, just before Frederick's defeat. After the loss of Bohemia, the family settled in the Netherlands where Rupert grew up. Loyal to his uncle, Charles I, he led the Royalist forces against Cromwell during the Civil War. The suggestion is that Henry and Elizabeth, close as brother and sister, are spiritual counterparts or possible 'reincarnations' of these royal siblings.

⁴³ "The Lord's Watch" translates the German Herrnhüt," the name which Zinzendorf gave to the Moravian settlers' village because it was located on a hill, Hütberg, "Watch Hill."

⁴⁴ Elizabeth supposes that Herrnhutters, descendents of refugees driven out of their native land and deprived of their native church by Roman Catholics, would not make any gesture of respect to a lay-brother of the Society of Jesus, which they would still consider an arm of the papacy despite the papacy's suppression of it.

⁴⁵ Henry questions Elizabeth's assertion because Zinzendorf himself respected as true Christians the members of many denominations, including Roman Catholic leaders such as Cardinal de Noailles and Father D'Albizi, whom Zinzendorf had met in 1719 when studying in Paris. H.D. has a note from AGS: "Father Anthony Dionysius Simeon D'Albizi. oratory of the Premonstrants" (ZN 6) and "Father D'Albizi--Dominican monk--Z, "I must...admire the sincerity..." (ZN 7) Zinzendorf's ecumenicity infuriated his detractors but attracted H.D.

"He doesn't officiate at the Mass. I think he teaches. There is a school in the cloister and I've seen him ordering them, I mean getting their line in order when they file out."

"And he sees you?"

"I don't think he ever saw me--only this evening, when he lifted the leather curtain. Only when the wind would have taken dear god-mamma's scarf--"

"Only when you blew or flew down the Lane of the Alchemists. The place is seething with overtones. A mere lay-brother wouldn't have bowed at the sight of Theodora de Castell's old lace."

III

"The Tower, House of Köstriz, Prague.¹ Faustus--
scene of legend.² Dr Faustus, the magician.³ Albertus

¹ Henry, alone in his rooms in the Tower, is reading aloud to himself from his notes on the Bohemian Brethren, who began in Prague. Then by free-association he thinks of Prague as the practice-site of historical magicians.

² "Faust's House," at 502/40 Charles Street, Prague, according to 19th-century legend, was occupied by the so-called "Czech Doctor Faust," a student, Jan Stastny, whose name in Czech is a translation of the Latin "faustus" (faustus = stastny = happy). He came from Kutna Hora to study and was attracted by this 16th-century house, then deserted. He moved in and, as he investigated the house, found a thaler in the library. The next day he found a second thaler, the third another and so on. He gave up studying and took up high living, but soon the thalers would not meet his needs, and so he began to study "the black art," that is, alchemy. While drunk in a tavern one night, he boasted to his friends that he would always "have as much gold as he needed." He left and was never seen alive again. His friends went to look for him at the house, found it wrecked, with blood on the walls and a ceiling-hole which they concluded that the devil had dragged him off. (Praha 40-41)

³ An historical Doctor Faustus existed, as letters of Trithemius in 1507, Mutianus Rufus in 1513 and Begardi in 1539 testify. All regarded him as a charlatan. The legend of his supernatural gifts and pact with the devil began in sermons of Johann Gast, preached in 1543. Manlius reported (c.1550) that Melancthon had known Faustus as a "disgraceful beast and sewer of many devils" who was born at Kindling and studied magic at Cracow. The Spiess Faustbook of 1589 and Hogel's Erfurt Chronicle record Faustus' magical feats performed in Prague. The 'Spiess' of 1587 spread the legends transformed by Marlowe and Goethe. (E. Butler, FF, 121-30; EB 1957, IX: 120-3.)

Magnus.⁴ Dr John Dee and his confederates in Prague.⁵ Philosopher's Stone, Elixir of Life, symbolical? Alchemists.⁶

Henry Dohna studied the entry. Was this the way to approach the Unitas Fratrum⁷ and the re-establishment of

⁴ Albertus Magnus (1200-1280), German scholastic philosopher well read in Aristotle, knowledgeable in the natural sciences and interested in the transmutation of metals, was therefore thought, in the Middle Ages, to be a magician and alchemist and therefore possibly in league with the devil. He lived in Prague in 1263-64.

⁵ John Dee (1527-1608), English scientist respected by Queen Elizabeth I, in mid-life declined into a gullible belief in the claims of Edward Kelly (1555-1593) that Kelly could transmute base metal into gold by means of the Philosopher's Stone. Dee went with him as his assistant to Prague in 1583 where Kelly became the court alchemist of Rudolf II, promising the emperor large amounts of gold. Failure to produce eventually forced both Dee and Kelly to leave Prague in disgrace.

⁶ The word "symbolical" next to "Alchemists" suggests that H.D. holds a view akin to "transcendental alchemy," in which "gold" is the symbolic gold of the grand arcanum, or the secret of reality itself, which when applied will develop the latent possibilities of human beings. (Spence 11)

⁷ Unitas Fratrum is the Latin translation of the Czech Jednota Bratrska, "Unity of the Brethren," the name taken by followers of the reformer Jan Hus, born in Prague c.1371 and burned at the stake as a heretic after the Council of Constance in 1415. Hussites, seeking more national independence, won important rights through the Compactata of 1436 and forced emperor Sigismund to accept a democratized constitution for Bohemia. Continued persecution after 1620 sent Bohemian Brethren into exile and, in 1722, over the border to join Zinzendorf's followers on his estate, Berthelsdorf, in Saxony. After Jablonsky, exiled bishop of the Unitas ordained Zinzendorf bishop in 1737, the whole community became known as the Unitas Fratrum or the "Renewed Moravian Church," usually simply now "the Moravian Church." (Hutton Church 259; 273)

the suppressed Church of Bohemia? "Christel, Z, in London."⁸ There was much there that had not been recorded. He had given up search in the official records and Spangenberg's ponderous biography.⁹ There was more actually to be found in the broadsheets and pamphlets of his grandfather's detractors¹⁰ and the innocent pastoral defamations of Andrew Frey¹¹ who had gone back to Pennsylvania, after crossing with the returned members of the first Sea Congregation.¹² It was

⁸ "Z" is shorthand for Zinzendorf; his son, Christian Renatus (1727-1752) was nicknamed "Christel." After a rift over Christian's purported role in the excesses of the "Sifting Period," father and son were reconciled in London at Christian's deathbed. Only four of Zinzendorf's twelve children lived to adulthood.

⁹ The "official" biography, August Gottlieb Spangenberg's Leben des Grafen von Zinzendorf (Barby, 1772-75) comes to over 900 pages in the German edition. H.D. read the shortened English version, Life of Nicholas Lewis Count Zinzendorf, translated by Samuel Jackson, with an introduction by P. Latrobe, 1838, hereafter cited as "AGS".

¹⁰ H.D. read and took extensive notes on the most-widely distributed denunciation of Zinzendorf, a lengthy and detailed document by Henry Rimius titled A Candid Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Herrnhuters, commonly call'd Moravians, or Unitas Fratrum..., (London, 1752; Philadelphia, 1753.)

¹¹ Andrew Frey's attack on Zinzendorf is titled The True and Authentic Account of Andrew Frey (1753). H.D. owned a copy; others are in the Bethlehem archives.

¹² The First Sea Congregation, led by Peter Bohler, consisted of 56 Moravians who sailed from England with Captain Thomas Gladman in the Catherine and arrived in America on July 7, 1742. They settled in Bethlehem. Some returned to Europe, Frey among them; he came back a second time outraged by the Marienborn excesses.

Andrew Frey who had given life and character to a portrait, otherwise presented in austere reflection. Henry Dohna had found no other reference to Christian Renatus, the young Count,¹³ as Christel.

He¹⁴ was too near, possibly. It needed someone from outside,¹⁵ intelligent and informed to phrase the question. He had been surprised at his own answers. Christian David¹⁶ was a convert from Rome. My grandfather met him at the house of the Master of the

¹³ Christian Renatus is also referred to as "Christal" in Lavington (1755: 62), a book she read. She may have mixed up the two early sources. J.E. Hutton, in History of the Moravian Church (1909) refers to "Christel," but it appears that H.D. did not read this book. The primary source of her historical knowledge is Joseph M. Levering's A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania (1903). When she refers to "Hutton" in the "Zinzendorf Notes," she means J.E. Hutton's History of Moravian Missions (1923).

¹⁴ "He" refers to Henry, not to the young Count.

¹⁵ This "someone from outside" the Moravian church is the poet Goethe, whom Henry is remembering as having come to Herrnhüt and to have asked questions. The historic fact is that Goethe visited several times, not Herrnhüt, but Herrnhag, near Frankfort, and became so deeply involved in theological discussion with the Moravians that they expected him to join their community. He did not join. The reasons for both his attraction and his disaffection are recorded in his autobiography. (DW, Moon, tr., 294-5; 561-3)

¹⁶ Christian David (1690-1751) was a carpenter born in Senfleben, Moravia. Raised Roman Catholic and very pious, he became Lutheran after intense Bible reading and personal meditation. In 1722, searching for religious liberty, he led the first group of Bohemian Brethren--the Neisser brothers, the three David Nitschmanns and their relatives--to Zinzendorf's estate in Saxony.

Horse in Schweinitz. Those were simple answers to simple questions.¹⁷

"Is it true that you have people in almost all parts of the world whom you can easily bring together?"¹⁸

"It was true in my grandfather's day."

"The Plan was to form a World State of the Lord's Watch?"

"Not political."

"I may have access to your records?"

"The library of the Foundation¹⁹ is open to visitors."

"And the Arcana--the Secret Records?"

Henry Dohna had not considered Secret Records,

¹⁷ Goethe's "simple questions" must have been "Who was the leader of the refugee Bohemian Brethren?" and "Where did he meet Zinzendorf?"

¹⁸ Goethe's question refers to the Moravian missions. By 1788 they had "ecclesiolae" all over Europe, in America, the West Indies, Greenland, Surinam and South Africa. Goethe's mention of the Plan echoes Rimius' charge that Zinzendorf had a secret "Plan" to control a world-wide following "as power seems to be what he chiefly aims at." (CN 30).

¹⁹ "Foundation," meaning the Moravian community, deliberately parallels Antonius' reference to the Society of Jesus in chapter one. H.D. read Hutton, who makes a connection between the Jesuits and Moravian missions. Jesuit missionaries from Pekin inspired Leibnitz' Novissima Linica, the reading of which awakened the missionary spirit in Francke, Z's mentor at Halle, who in turn communicated it to Z. (Hutton Missions 13-14)

until Wolfgang Goethe spoke of Arcana to him.²⁰

"Of Arcana, I know nothing."

If there were secret records or so-called Arcana, he²¹ had immediately reasoned, they would not be open to visitors, and if he knew of them, he would not be expected to reveal them to a casual stranger. But Goethe had come again, bringing his mistress with him.²²

It was usual to accommodate the more colourful visitors outside the community, as formerly at Herrnhag,²³ the Lord's Hedge, rather than at Herrnhut,²⁴ the Lord's Watch. But Wolfgang Goethe was a

²⁰ Rimius charges that ordinary Herrnhutters were kept in ignorance of "Arcana or secret Counsels of the Leaders." (CN 11) Goethe studied kabbalists and alchemists, so for him, as for H.D., the term Arcana is positive, associated with secrets of reality. (DW 297)

²¹ "He" in this sentence refers to Henry, not Goethe.

²² Goethe's mistress, Susannah von Klettenberg, the "schöne Seele" ("fair saint") of Wilhelm Meister, originally introduced Goethe to the Moravians.

²³ The Herrnhag community was established in 1735 in two ruined castles, Rotteburg and Marienborn, thirty miles northeast of Frankfurt-am-Main in the county of Büdingen. Modelled after Herrnhut, it later included a theological college (Hutton Church 255-59).

²⁴ The Moravian refugees settled on the part of Zinzendorf's estate called the Hütberg, Watch Hill, directed there in the Count's absence by his steward, John George Heitz. Heitz later wrote to Zinzendorf his hopes that this town would "not only itself abide under the Lord's Watch (unter des Herrn Hüt)" but that the inhabitants would continue on the watch for the Lord (auf des Herrn Hüt). Christian David had inspired the exiles with a vision of Herrnhut as a "glorious city of God." (Weinlick 62; Hutton Church 198-9; CN 8)

poet of distinction. Henry Dohna's Aunt Benigna had herself selected for them, one of the remodelled dwellings of the original settlement, the one known actually as the First House.²⁵ It was kept in readiness and was said to contain beams shaped from the first tree,²⁶ felled by Christian David when, a refugee from Bohemia, he had found sanctuary at Bertholdsdorf, his²⁷ grandfather's estate in Saxony.

The House was a short distance from the village. It came to be known as the House in the Wood. It was here that the first meetings were held.²⁸ "They foresaw

²⁵ The First House was built where Heitz, concerned to help the Moravian refugees settle, uttered a prayer for them: "Upon this spot, in Thy name, I will build for them the first house." (Hutton Church 198)

²⁶ The building of the first house began on 17 June 1722. (ZN 14) Christian David, after Heitz showed him which trees he might fell, seized his axe, struck it into a tree and exclaimed: "Yea, the sparrow hath found a house, and the swallow a nest for herself." (Hutton Church 198)

²⁷ "His" refers to Dohna's grandfather, not David's. Bertheldsdorf was ten miles from the Bohemian border.

²⁸ H.D.'s notes from Rimius (ZN 32) read: "p.7, "House in a Wood" and "these people held their first meeting there." (ZN 32) These meetings grew in size and importance into "Congregation Day," a day-long Saturday meeting once a month. By 1732, the community numbered 600. (ZN 34; Hutton Church 220)

²⁹ This remark, much quoted by Moravians, was made by Melchior Schaeffer, a Pietist paster at Görlitz in Silesia, who befriended Christian David and was in part responsible for David's conversion. (Weinlick 60). Rimius sees this statement as evidence of Zinzendorf's conspiratorial "Plan" to take over the world. In ZN,

that God would kindle a light in this place that would enlighten the whole world,"²⁹ read Henry Dohna, as he turned over a page.

In the margin of the next entry, he had indicated a query. "Pennsylv. Serm. or Serm. at Zeist?" The entry was, "It is a house which shall be in being, or perhaps will scarce be finished, when the Saviour comes; he shall lodge and walk about in it; the chandeliers in it shall be lighted for Him."³⁰

It was characteristic of his grandfather to recall an eighteenth-century elegance, as appropriate to the Saviour. That is, to an eighteenth-century Saviour. Even as it was in character to announce on Christmas Eve, in their First House in America,³¹ that the town

H.D. copies Rimius: "'Tis said, that they foresaw that God would kindle a Light in this Place that would enlighten all the Country (CN 7; ZN 34).

³⁰ In ZN, H.D. copied from Rimius, A Supplement to the Candid Narrative... (1755), xxvii (note):

Speaking of a building of theirs [the Moravians], he [Z] tells them, "It is a house which shall be in being, or perhaps will scarce be finished, when the Saviour comes; he shall lodge & walk about in it; the chandeliers in it shall be lighted for him." Serm. at Zeist, p.104.

A passage from a Pennsylvania sermon immediately preceding speaks of Christ's "last coming" as a time when he "himself will bring about & establish is new plan which he promised his disciples." (ZN 68) Z preached many sermons during a synod at Zeist, Holland, in April and May of 1746. His daughter, Benigna, and John de Watteville were married there at that time.

³¹ The First House was a cabin on Monocacy Creek, built in 1740 by "Father" David Nitschmann and the first Moravians in Pennsylvania--Nitschmann's daughter, Anna

that should grow from that one log-cabin, with its cattle-stall adjoining, should be called Bethlehem. So John Martin Mack³² recorded--he³³ had written it down somewhere.

Henry Dohna leafed over the pages. He could not find the entry. Not Jerusalem. Rather Bethlehem.³⁴ It was one of Gregor's metres³⁵ that his grandfather was

Charity (later Zinzendorf's second wife); her friend Johanna Molther, and Christian Frolich, a group which had come north from the Georgia settlement headed by Peter Boehler. The second house, built in 1741, next door to the first, was the Gemein Haus (Common House), now the oldest structure in Bethlehem, and containing the Moravian Museum. It stands "to the east of the Church on Church street. It was used for residences in H.D.'s time." The First House was taken down about 1823. Where it stood is now the parking lot of the Hotel Bethlehem. (H. Williams, letter, 30 November 1987)

³² Levering derives an account of this famous Christmas scene from the writing of John Martin Mack and others. Z's party arrived in the new community, as yet unnamed, on 21 December 1741.

³³ "He" refers to Henry, not to Martin Mack.

³⁴ These words are a slightly altered version of a much-loved Moravian hymn, often sung at Christmas. Its second stanza opens: Not Jerusalem/ Lowly Bethlehem/ 'Twas that gave us/ Christ to save us. As Z was celebrating the Christmas eve vigil with the little groups of emigrants, they became aware of the cattle barn adjoining the First House under its same roof. Z began to sing this hymn. Then he seized a candle and led the congregation into the barn, still singing. Afterwards, "by general consent the name of the ancient town of David was adopted and the place was called Bethlehem." H.D. would very likely have known this hymn, #511 in the Office of Worship and Hymnal of 1891, used in H.D.'s school. (Myers 17; Levering 77-79)

³⁵ Hymn #511 is set to the tune known as "Gregor's 46th metre," Jesu rufe mich. Christian Gregor (1723-1801) was leader in music at Herrnhaag in 1748 and at

singing. Gregor--Gregor. He³⁶ had assembled the notes from his rough copy, after they came here. It would have been better to have re-copied them, in alphabetical or at least, calendar sequence. Castell. She³⁷ was talking of Castell, before he left her.

It was like that. Reuss, brother of Erdmuth Dorothea (their own grandmother) and his close friend (their grandfather) were both in love with Theodora de

Zeist in 1749 but lived most of his life at Herrnhüt. He wrote many hymns. Henry Williams says of Gregor that he brought the chaos of Moravian hymnody (German) under control in his hymnal of 1778. These were hymn texts. He also issued his Choralebuch in 1784 in which he arranged the tunes (over 400, I think) by meter and numbered them....the numbering became, to Moravians, the identification. (Letter, 12 Nov. 1987) Gregor's metres are plentiful in the 1891 hymn book, of which H.D. owned a copy and which was used in the required morning chapel service which she and her cousins attended daily in the parochial school, according to the memoir, "A Moravian Heritage," (1972) by her cousin, the Reverend Francis Wollé. (15)

36 "He" refers to Henry, not to Gregor.

37 "She" is Elizabeth. His noted word "Castell" reminds him that Elizabeth had spoken of Theodora de Castell, who was Z's first cousin, whom he met when he was twenty years old and had just left the University of Paris. On a visit to his paternal aunt at Castell, her home in Switzerland, he became ill and, during several months of recuperation there, fell in love with the eighteen-year-old Theodora. He asked her to marry him and received an ambiguous acceptance. He later learned that his closest friend, Henry Count Reuss, wanted to marry, and, evidently motivated by generosity, broke off the engagement to clear his friend's way. Theodora and Henry were formally betrothed 9 March 1721, and Z wrote a cantata for the occasion. In 1722 he married Henry's sister, Erdmuth Dorothea von Reuss. (Hutton Church 188-89; AGS 26-27)

Castell. Whether Theodora openly preferred Reuss (it was as Elizabeth had said, confusing, as he³⁸ too, was Henry) or the young Count managed to efface himself in his friend's interest, Henry Dohna had no way of knowing.³⁹ At least, asking himself the question, kept the door open to some sort of answer. "The Dowager Countess was an aunt of Z."⁴⁰ Why had he thought it necessary to indicate in that way, that Theodora and Zinzendorf were cousins?⁴¹

In any case, Henry marries Theodora de Castell, and Nicholas Lewis, Count and Lord of Zinzendorf marries Henry's sister, their own grandmother, Erdmuth Dorothea.

Was it all very simple? Or were the threads

³⁸ The "He" here refers to Henry Dohna, whose first name is the same as that of Henry Count Reuss.

³⁹ Many interpretations have been made of Zinzendorf's behavior on this occasion. Hutton, basing his case on AGS (26) speaks of "a beautiful contest" in which Reuss and Zinzendorf each wanted to give up Theodora to the other (Church 188). Weinlick cites a more factual account, given fifty years later in a letter to AGS from the widowed Theodora, of her reluctance to marry Zinzendorf. She said that she had given in when her mother had pressed her not to refuse him outright. (50)

⁴⁰ Henry is reading another of his notes. "Countess" here refers to the Countess of Castell, Theodora's mother.

⁴¹ Zinzendorf's grandmother, Countess von Gersdorf, expressed reservations about his marrying too close a blood relation. (AGS 25) H.D. is emphasizing the closeness of Elizabeth and Henry as well as setting up a parallelism of romantic 'triangles': Zinzendorf, Theodora and Reuss form the same constellation as Henry, Elizabeth and Antonius/Saint-Germain.

inexorably tangled? Was inexorable the word he wanted? There was something inevitable about it, simple yet requiring an astute attention, like following the intricate pattern of a set dance. Not a romp as Andrew Frey envisaged those formal Birthdays.⁴² He must find that, somewhere.

"Thurnstein and the Vale of Wachovia."⁴³ Move to Saxony.⁴⁴ Austrian estates forfeited by father or grandfather of Z,⁴⁵ after thirty years war."⁴⁶ He didn't

⁴² All Moravian communities, not merely Herrnhag, love to stage celebrations on important anniversaries, especially August 13, the day in 1727 when the Church received its 'spiritual baptism' through a descent of the Holy Spirit experienced in Berthelsdorf chapel by the entire Herrnhut community. In 1747-50 at Herrnhag, celebrations became over-frequent, costly and rather unbridled.

⁴³ Henry is reading random notes on Z, who used an old family name "Thurnstein" in America when he wanted to de-emphasize his noble status. "Vale of Wachovia" refers to Wachau, Z's ancestral Austrian estate, as well as to its namesake, the Wachovia tract, North Carolina, 100,000 acres bought from the Earl of Granville around 1740. The tract is now the city of Winston-Salem.

⁴⁴ Zinzendorf's father, George Louis, was a "premier minister" in the court of the Elector of Saxony at Dresden, where Nicholas Louis was born on 26 May 1700. His father died six weeks after his birth. (AGS vi, 8,9)

⁴⁵ Zinzendorf's grandfather, not his father, forfeited the Austrian lands. La Trobe, in the introduction to AGS, notes: "The grandfather of the Count, Maximilian Erasmus, emigrated from his native land, and settled at Oberberg, near Nuremberg, esteeming the loss of all his estates counterbalanced by the superior liberty of conscience which he thus obtained." (vi,n.)

⁴⁶ The devastating Thirty Years' War, a war of religion between Roman Catholics and Protestants in German-speaking lands, lasted from 1618 to 1648.

want that. His thoughts were not ordered. He would really do no good, muddling the sequence, and the fire was going. She had left him early. The evening was dedicated to their work together, but tonight she had been numb and exhausted, though she protested that she had found more answers in the Chapel of Saint Wenceslas. He must not let her go there tomorrow, in this cold.

He would find Andrew⁴⁷ and then to bed--ah--
 "Festivals, Merriments, Celebrations of Birthdays,
 Impious Doctrine and Fantastical Practices."⁴⁸

47. "Andrew" refers to The True and Authentic Account of Andrew Frey (1753), of which Henry has a copy in hand, as H.D. herself did.

48. This title reads in full: "A True and Authentic Account of Andrew Frey; containing the occasion of his coming among the HERRNHUTERS or MORAVIANS, his Observations on their Conferences, Casting Lots, Marriages, Festivals, Merriments, Celebrations of Birth-Days, Impious Doctrines, and Fantastical Practices; Abuse of Charitable Contributions, Linnen Images, Ostentatious Profuseness, and Rancour against any who in the least differ from them; together with the Motive for publishing this Account. Faithfully translated from the German." H.D.'s copy is now at Beinecke. The Moravian archives at Bethlehem also own a copy. After the period of recovery from excess and the Twelfth Appendix to the hymnal was suppressed, the Moravians did not destroy evidence of the "Sifting Period" nor the works of their attackers.

IV

"It blew shut."¹

"You told me that, earlier in the evening. But you have yet to explain how it blew shut. The door is on iron-hinges and rusty, I should imagine. You must examine them in the morning. I should stop fussing with the perruque,²Stephanus. I do not intend to wear it."

"Orders was, you was to retain your gentleman appearance, as for dinner."

"I don't want any dinner. Or if you insist, the half of the Chateau Saint Germain³that was left from

¹ Stephanus, Antonius' servant, is speaking to his master in the privacy of their living quarters, adjoining the Street of the Alchemists in the Hradcany castle complex. He is explaining why Antonius had to open the Cathedral door for Elizabeth in chapter one.

² The presence of a perruque, the elaborately coiffed, often powdered wig worn by eighteenth-century French aristocracy, reveals that Brother Antonius, who was seen meditating in the Jesuit style in chapter one, has another identity, that of a "gentleman" who must at times keep up his aristocratic appearance because of "orders" from a source unknown.

³ This vintage wine labelled Chateau Saint-Germain provides information on Antonius' true identity, since it links him to a castle and a French wine-growing estate. Later in the chapter he is identified as Louis Comte de Saint-Germain, an historical figure (1700?-1785?) reputed to be an alchemist and magician called der Wundermann or "the man of mystery," who associated with Cagliostro and was said to possess supernatural powers, including the power to reincarnate.

last night. Unless you've swallowed it."

"I should suggest, on such an evening and as it might be, an occasion, that we opened a fresh bottle."

"What is the occasion, Stephen? My making four mistakes in the Cathedral? Or my foregoing the Exercitia? I was also under the impression, by the altar of Saint Ludmilla, that I would be late in returning, though if my mind had been functioning in the usual groove, I should have realized, by denying myself the proof of the Exercitia, I should be, by that, the earlier. You did not expect me. You were not on duty by the study window."

"The window got rimed over with cold, and the lady⁴ had already gone by."

"So you had a backstair's chat with the Embassy⁵ valet?"

"The stairs is, so to speak, common property. I thought with the cold and his party being delayed, was opportunity--"

"Does he approve of our Chateau Saint Germain?"

⁴ Antonius has plainly asked Stephanus to observe the movements of Elizabeth, "the lady."

⁵ Embassies, or ambassadorial parties from other countries, are quartered in buildings adjoining Antonius' rooms. The Hradčany Castle complex today still houses Czech national government offices, where ambassadors are received. Antonius teases Stephanus by accusing him of a drinking bout with the valet.

"--and discussion as to what his gentleman⁶ was wearing might do for display, in a modest manner--"

"So you showed him the Order of the Garter, the Golden Fleece and the Star?"⁷

"You must have your joke, sir. Nothing is absolute and certain, one must take precaution, especial when the thing seems perfect. Like that door blown shut--one couldn't have foreseen it. The Pedagogy⁸ is under the

⁶ The Embassy valet's "gentleman" is the Ambassador, from a country unknown at this point. Stephanus has been pumping the valet to find out who they think Antonius is--that is, how the disguise is working.

⁷ These decorations show that Antonius/Saint-Germain has been knighted, presumably for valor in battle and service to royalty, as in the Middle Ages. The Elizabethan ceremony creating a knight involved the prince's saying "Soys chevalier." H.D. uses this French term to describe her hero in a letter to Pearson (20 August 1951): "I am glad you like the Chevalier MYSTERY." The Order of the Garter, the highest order of English knighthood, was established by Edward III circa 1346. The Order of the Golden Fleece was instituted by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, in 1429, and was also a Spanish and Austrian honor. These two "Prime Orders of Christendom" are associated with medieval chivalry. If the Star is an allusion to the Star of India, one of the nine orders of English knighthood, it is an anachronism, as that order was created by Queen Victoria in 1861. More likely, the allusion is general: every "knight grand cross" and "knight commander" wears a star on his breast and his badge on a ribbon over his shoulder or around his neck. The star is a Moravian icon, in quite another context, but possibly not irrelevant here.

⁸ The Pedagogy is the teaching branch of the Franciscan order of which Antonius is supposedly a member. Although he is teaching in the cloister school, he is felt by fellow teachers not to be merely in "secular" orders but to have slightly higher status.

impression you belong to the Confraternity.⁹ The Fratres¹⁰ consider you as consultant to the Castle Library. The Castle,¹¹ such as snoopers round our corner, don't think you're worth the noticing. There was always some odd fish housed in the Row.¹² It's really the Castle's business and well thought out, I should hazard. Our apartment from the front, looks like it belongs to the Embassy¹³ wing, but it's off of Petty Place¹⁴ lopsided, but the whole town's lopsided. Not the style,

⁹ The Confraternity means the body of friars, somewhat higher ranking than the Pedagogy, who carry on the traditional work of preaching, hearing confessions and exercising pastoral care outside of the cloister.

¹⁰ "Fratres" is Latin for "brothers," here meaning the members of the Confraternity, the friars individually.

¹¹ "The Castle" here means primarily members of noble families who live in the Castle's palaces (of which there are many--Lobkovic, Sternberk, Schwartzberg et al.) and their attendants and servants.

¹² "The Row" refers to the tiny houses, originally thrown up as wooden shacks against the Castle walls in what is now known as the Street of the Alchemists, by the poor people of Prague's Malá Strana (Lesser Town) who were left homeless after the Great Fire of 1541 destroyed most of the city. Later Rudolf II housed his archers here as well as his alchemists and goldsmiths. (Wechsberg 57)

¹³ H.D.'s invention of this immediate proximity of an Embassy wing to Antonius/Saint-Germain's rooms, as well as the suggested back or secret passageways, accords with fortified and intricate architecture of the Hradčany Castle complex architecture.

¹⁴ Petty Place has the full name, given later, of La Petite Place de la Chatelaine.

he says, he's used to for Ambassadors,¹⁵ but he conceded it's convenient-like and near the Castle."

"Did you show him the moated grange, the underground entrance and the Hide?"¹⁶

"If this is the Hide, in the manner of speaking, yes. Or is the study or what you might call the vestry,¹⁷ where you kick off your sandals, the Hide?"

Saint-Germain¹⁸ did not answer.

"They're both in their ways, perfect, only a locked door between, and me in a habit over me breeks, at the study window or at most, prowling a few feet in the alley, that side, but locks has been known to be picked."

"They would find nothing very conclusive in Brother Antonius' study, a few volumes from the library and the old texts."

¹⁵ The housing of this ambassador in an unusual place indicates that his arrival was unexpected, resulting from his sudden departure from the country to which he was posted, still unnamed, but which turns out to be France.

¹⁶ Antonius/Saint-Germain mocks Stephanus' taste for intrigue in the style of medieval romance but at the same time reveals that a hidden entrance exists.

¹⁷ The vestry of a church is where clergy put on vestments before conducting services. Here it means the small ante-chamber where Antonius dons and doffs his friar's habit.

¹⁸ This first use of Saint-Germain's proper name in the novel shows that he and Antonius are clearly the same person.

"If a door bangs shut unexpected, a door might, by the same logic, bang open. That's why I asked the valet what he thought was behind the cupboard, suspicious, I said, I thought our wall was. Told him, I went around to see what was back of it, said it¹⁹ seemed part of the Cloister, a monk²⁰ had it, though being almost in Alchemist's Row. What's that? he said. I said, in the old days, they controlled their experimentors, what they called alchemists, they was working for base metal, I mean, getting gold from it, so they kept them in that Row.²¹ Superstition. What was back of their wall? Said²² he thought it was a by-path between them and the cottages, he'd ask cook. You can never be too careful, I warned him, in a place like this. My gentleman²³ was away, hours at a stretch--well, I hinted it would be

¹⁹ This "it" refers to the apartment behind the wall; the "it" two words prior referred to the wall itself. The hint here is that Stephanus let the valet know obliquely how one could get from the Embassy quarters to Saint-Germain's undetected, suggesting that St-G is involved in important political intrigue.

²⁰ The "monk" is Antonius, i.e., Saint-Germain posing as a monk. Stephanus' words strengthen the disguise.

²¹ Stephanus is referring to the time of Rudolf II and his sponsoship of experiments in alchemy.

²² The implied pronoun before "said" is "he," not "I."

²³ Stephanus's "gentleman," Saint-Germain, is "away," of course, when in disguise as Antonius. Stephanus has carefully told the valet that "a monk" lives on the other side, so the disguised Saint-Germain can come and go without arousing suspicion.

worth my place²⁴ to indicate what business he was up to, but though we lived hole-and-corner, you might say, in the crook of Petty Place, all but elbowed out by their ramshackle Embassy, yet it was--convenient. It was him who had just remarked, it was convenient for the Castle. I was glad to hear his Ambassador would be in residence, I said and sorry he was snowed up, things was safer when there was residence, not that the Castle didn't adequately protect their, as you might say, outside visitors and the Count²⁵ was especially advised by his people, to maintain a strict incognito--do you like the flavour?²⁶ I said. What's this? he said. I heard of a Saint-Germain, he said. Do you mean that about a gentleman, I said, being met years after by his pal, a lad of eighty, and this Saint-Germain being still the same age he was, when they were cadets together? He hadn't heard all the story, not with its sequel about

²⁴ Stephanus is underlining the importance of his master's business by saying that he would lose his job if he gossiped.

²⁵ Stephanus is referring to Henry Count Reuss, owner of the castle, who was advised not to display his rank but to go about in ordinary citizen's dress, a hint of the coming "trouble," the French Revolution.

²⁶ This interruption signals that Stephanus kept on pouring wine, as if blabbing drunkenly, but actually he was fishing for information by getting the valet drunk. Stephanus has 'dropped' his master's name, Saint-Germain, as presently becomes clear from his companion's response to it.

the Saint-Germain in Venice."²⁷

"Venice came first, if I am not mistaken," said Saint-Germain.

"I told him there was confusion in the story, the Mystery of Saint-Germain," said Stephanus.

"There was no mystery. A lackey feared to contradict Royalty who mistook me for my uncle."

"It was your great-uncle."²⁸ But they'd believe

²⁷ A version of this story is given by Andrew Lang, in Historical Mysteries (1904: 261-62), recorded in a conversation between Saint-Germain and Mme. de Pompadour (1721-1764), mistress of King Louis XV, by a Mme. du Hausset, who was lady's-maid to Pompadour:

'..."A man who was as amazing as a witch came often to see Madame de Pompadour. This was the Comte de Saint-Germain, who wished to make people believe that he had lived for several centuries. One day Madame said to him, while at her toilet,... "But you do not tell us your age, and you give yourself out as very old. Madame de Gergy, who was wife of the French ambassador at Venice fifty years ago, I think, says that she knew you there, and that you are not changed in the least." "It is true, madame, that I knew Madame de Gergy long ago." "But according to her story you must now be over a century old." "It may be so, but I admit that even more possibly the respected lady is in her dotage."

²⁸ The uncle and great-uncle appear to be H.D.'s inventions. Stephanus' correction mildly reflects another legend: Saint-Germain was once telling a noble dinner-party that he conversed with Richard the Lion-Hearted in Palestine (1191 A.D.). Seeing his listeners' incredulity, he asked his servant, standing behind his chair, if he had not spoken truth. The servant replied that he could not say, adding "You forget, sir, I have only been five hundred years in your service." (Mackay 236) The 'uncle' may also remotely reflect the existence, in this same period, of a French general named Louis Comte de Saint-Germain (1707-1778), briefly minister of war under Louis XVI and no relation to "The Deathless," who was not born with the name Saint-Germain.

anything at Versailles. They want to be hoodwinked. Saint-Germain had nothing against him,²⁹ I told the valet, they put it on him,³⁰ the Elixir he had discovered to keep himself young. Get a thing like that started and there's no escaping.³¹ Asked him if he had heard of the Cardinal.³² Was there gossip in Vienna (he made out they were coming from Vienna or going on from here, I couldn't make out which), she³³ being

²⁹ The referent of "him" is somewhat unclear, but mention of Versailles suggests it is the king, Louis XVI. Stephanus says that the French Court enjoys perpetuating the rumors, begun in Louis XV's time, that Saint-Germain possessed the elixir of life. Pompadour had wanted him to give her King this elixir; Saint-Germain refused, saying "I should be mad if I gave the King a drug." (Lang 263; Mackay 231-2)

³⁰ "Him" here refers to Saint-Germain.

³¹ This remark echoes an editorializing comment by Mackay following the Venice story: "When the world begins to believe extraordinary things of an individual, there is no telling where its extravagance will stop." (232)

³² The Cardinal of this period is Louis René Edouard, Cardinal de Rohan (1734-1803), infamous for having been duped, in 1784, by Jeanne de la Motte and Cagliostro (a.k.a. Balsamo) in "the affair of the Diamond Necklace," a scandal which involved Marie Antoinette and caused gossip all over Europe. (See ch. 13, n.4) It augmented the resentment of Louis XVI growing among the Parisian populace and thus contributed to the onset of the French Revolution.

³³ "She" is Queen Marie Antoinette of France. The ambassador in question, somehow involved with France, is possibly on a mission to get help in Vienna from Joseph II, Marie Antoinette's older brother, who became emperor of Austria and ruler of Hungary and Bohemia in 1780 upon the death of their mother, Maria Theresa (1717-1780). Maria Theresa had arranged Marie Antoinette's marriage to cement alliance with France.

Austrian. I could have got more from him but there was that suspicion from the cupboard.³⁴ Rain, I said, the rats here is something awful, and fortunate the clock struck and I said, Lord, is it that late--my master-- But he was off before the clock finished striking."

She being Austrian. Was that the link or one of the links missing? "I forgot to tell you, Stephen, that I thought the lady might be Austrian."³⁵ He used Stephanus as a check; not only on his actions but on his thoughts as well. "The name is French, but there is that connection with the House of Köstriz."

"I should suggest, sir," said his servant, "that having broke the charm or the sequence of hours and minutes, that you better let go for the time being, this pro and con and weighing. Be yourself here or yourself, if you like, in the Cathedral, but don't let the weight of the responsibilities put on Brother Anton, spoil Saint-Germain. I mean, the lady was the means of your forgetting.³⁶ What I suggest is, you forget for the time

³⁴ A suspicious sound comes from the cupboard which Stephanus attributes, naively or with deliberate deceptiveness, to "rain" or "rats," but which suggests also, to the valet, that someone may be hiding in a secret passageway in the walls.

³⁵ "The lady" is Elizabeth de Watteville.

³⁶ Stephanus thinks his master is under great mental strain, in danger of mixing up his two identities. Seeing Elizabeth has made Saint-Germain forget his true knight's identity and think that he is really the friar.

being, the Cardinal, that rogue Balsamo,³⁷ the Office,³⁸ the Masons,³⁹ as they call themselves, the undermining (as of by rats) by their fraternities,⁴⁰ the past that was and English history.⁴¹ It will be small things and

³⁷ Guiseppe Balsamo (1743-1795), born in a Palermo slum, became the famous purported necromancer and healer who called himself Count Alessandro Cagliostro. He was sometimes confused with the occultist Saint-Germain, since both were considered magicians.

³⁸ The "Office" is the Holy Office of the Inquisition, another hint that Saint-Germain's mission is pro-papal, pro-monarchic and anti-revolution.

³⁹ Cagliostro was a Freemason, having been initiated in London in 1777, after which he never admitted that his name had been Balsamo. Made Grand Master almost immediately, he went to Europe where he met Freemasons in many cities and was credited with miraculous healings. He developed his own form of Masonry, the "Egyptian Rite," and as its Grand Master, "the Great Copt," introduced its elaborate pageantry to the receptive haute monde of Paris. Cagliostro could gain foothold there because Voltaire and Diderot, among numerous Encyclopedians, were Freemasons. They participated in the Egyptian rites, having "found in the humanitarian and cosmopolitan ideals of Freemasonry--that 'Jesuit Order of the Enlightenment'--the reflection of their own aspirations." (Gervaso 48-50; 59-60; 64-133)

⁴⁰ "Fraternities" alludes to cell-groups of French Freemasons who were credited (or blamed) for having planted the seeds of the Revolution. The word "fraternity" echoes the Revolution's call for "Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité" and ideas of Freemasonry, which "preached liberty, equality, fraternity and tolerance, condemned every kind of authoritarianism...and fought against the dogmatism of the Church." (Gervaso 56)

⁴¹ "English history" presumably alludes to England's establishment of Protestant religion and its penal laws, enforced by Queen Elizabeth, which blocked Jesuits and Catholics from holding power there.

little people that will decide the issues."

It was Stephanus' way of talking but there was a ring about it or a rhythm that suggested a fortune-teller on the fair-grounds or before his juggler's table at the bridge-head.⁴² "I reminded myself," said Saint-Germain, "that I felt in Versailles, the cause was the reason for it. Cardinal de Rohan has a vote at the elections,⁴³ moreover as a man of the world and an astute Churchman, he⁴⁴ realized the franc-maçon had nothing to check-mate them, since Clement had suppressed the Society of Jesus. Rohan's supposed passion for Marie might hold

⁴² Saint-Germain visualizes his servant as similar to the Prague fortune-tellers, latter-day magicians, who practiced in the Street of the Alchemists up until World War Two. That street leads to the gate of the Castle and out to the Charles bridge over the Vlatava, hence the "bridge-head," also a market gathering-place mentioned later. H.D. sees a fortune-teller as an important figure in her mother's life, in chapter 2 of The Gift (Iowa Review 16:3, 1986, 18-41) and she herself engaged in fortune-telling by tarot cards for her friends in the 1930s, as a way, she thought, of being of help to them.

⁴³ The "cause," for the nobleman Saint-Germain at Versailles, must be to preserve the monarchy, that is, to prevent the revolution. But the next sentence suggests Antonius' cause: restoration of the Society of Jesus. He thinks of de Rohan's power as a Cardinal to manoeuver politically in Rome and promise his vote to that future papal candidate who would restore the Society of Jesus.

⁴⁴ "He" refers to de Rohan, who could support Antonius/Saint-Germain's twin causes: a pope who restored the Society of Jesus would be supporting the French monarchy, since the Jesuits would counteract the influence of the Freemasons organizing the overthrow of the Crown.

the State together.⁴⁵ But I could not see how such a passion was consistent."

"You mean, this lady being Austrian, reminded you of the Queen?"

"She reminded me that such a Queen might be, and that perhaps de Rohan's imagination could see further than my reasoning. Being Austrian,⁴⁶ I do not know why she does not genuflect before the altar."

He was fussy was his master, but elegant.⁴⁷ He was lopsided. Anybody could deduce that the lady was a heretic. How could two doors bang shut simultaneous, and nobody outside?⁴⁸ It was the Mystery of Saint-Germain that worried him.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ De Rohan became enamoured of Marie Antoinette through forged letters which made him believe that the Queen was in love with him and led him to become an unwitting accomplice in the "Diamond Necklace" theft. (See ch.13, n.3) Saint-Germain views the affair as if no swindle were involved; he takes it to be part of a deeper plan to serve a higher cause. H.D.'s unusual view of scandal in history leads to this twist.

⁴⁶ "Being Austrian" is a dangling construction; Elizabeth (not Saint-Germain) is Austrian and presumably Catholic, so he wonders why she does not genuflect.

⁴⁷ The stream of consciousness here is Stephanus'.

⁴⁸ He thinks that elemental forces are responsive to the presence of Elizabeth, so that doors mysteriously open and shut. "Heretic" in his use therefore may mean both "non-Catholic" and "practitioner of witchcraft."

⁴⁹ Stephanus worries about his master's preoccupation with the 'lady' as being an unbalanced state of mind for one with mysteriously supernormal sensibilities.

"Inquiring at the post, legitimate-like as to when our bag was to go out to Paris,⁵⁰I ascertained that the lady at the Tower travelled ordinary. That seemed odd. They was from Upper Lusatia, just across the border in Saxony.⁵¹ Maybe, on a visit there, she don't seem rightly Saxon. Her man, being Schweinitz, is more in character. The Köstriz house is some old connection. Part of it's shut up. She has the Tower and use of the saddle-horses, her man rides with her. Köstriz or whatever his name is, and his lady is in Vienna."

"Did your valet tell you?"

"We got round to the Tower, somehow, talking of old landmarks. You can always find your way out, if you get caught in the old town, I told him, if you re-direct to the Tower. It's conspicuous. Fortunate you're slender, sir, and can clothe proper under the sackcloth. Orders was, you must remember, you was not to over-do it. Being anyhow, a lay-brother and of no consequence, being pedagogy, no one is like to notice. If you get chilblains, you'll hobble to the Castle, unlike a

⁵⁰ Letters to Paris from Saint-Germain reinforce the suggestion that he acts under orders from Paris having something to do with the King and Queen. His friar's sackcloth covers an apparent mission of spying and information-gathering.

⁵¹ Upper Lusatia is the region of the province of Saxony in which Zinzendorf's estate and the Herrnhut community are located.

gentleman. Whatever was to happen, you was not to lose your gentlemanly bearing. That was my orders. Yours may seem, at times, to run contrary. But that's your business. They was double-doors; did I remark, sir, that they slammed shut, simultaneous?"

Give him time to think it over, thought Stephanus. Make time for him. "I'll do up the fire, sir, then half of that cold fowl and I got country-butter again from the second booth to the left, past the gateway, the one I was telling you of, she's convenient and I tell her just in passing-like, my gentleman needs a snack and it was her first suggested my purchase of the fowl, new cooked. It wasn't from the postillion I first heard, they⁵²travelled by the common stage-coach. The market didn't get it⁵³from the wife nor yet the husband, the two left in charge there at the Tower; old family servants don't talk. The man is called Jacob. Being on the other side, just across the frontier,⁵⁴I should

52 "They" refers to Elizabeth and Henry. Stephanus abandons his chit-chat for the real subject on his mind.

53 "It" refers to the information about the commoners' mode of travel used by the newly-arrived couple. Rumors about them seem to come to Stephanus from nowhere, which adds to his sense that their presence is guided by more than natural causes.

54 Upper Lusatia, as that part of Protestant Germany bordering Catholic Bohemia and therefore "just across the frontier," provided an easy and natural site of refuge for persecuted Bohemian Protestants.

suggest, sir, that the family is political. I mean exiled."⁵⁵ Can't bring in religion, thought Stephanus, might put him off, he's got to get his mind working ordinary. Not that I don't hold with Saints, gives a fair excuse for holidays. But that Exercitia takes him right off, in a trance-like.⁵⁶ "You get in the old brocade dressing-gown," said Stephanus, "and I'll let you off the perruque."

⁵⁵ "Exiled" means religious exile, virtually indistinguishable from political exile in the eighteenth century. Stephanus' remark draws a reverse comparison between the return of these Moravians across the border into Bohemia and the original exodus of Bohemian Brethren in the opposite direction.

⁵⁶ The state of trance produced in Saint-Germain when, disguised as Antonius, he practices the Exercitia of the mystic Ignatius, testifies to some slippage between the two identities. It is not always possible to see a difference between the magician's false mysticism and the religious devotee's true ecstasy. Allusion to the state of trance, or super-normal insight, also recalls H.D.'s own experience of the "writing on the wall," which appeared by day, not in a dream, and was seen by her as an eruption of the unconscious into her conscious life to serve a spiritual purpose.

V

Stephanus had insisted on the boots. He had from the first, he assured Antonius, satisfied himself. It was the Poor Brothers of the original Order¹ and the reformed Grey Friars² who went barefoot or in sandals. Antonius presumably knew this, as well as the various peculiarities of White and Black Friars.³ "There is no harm in the boots, fortunate the robe is long and the sleeves ample."

Brother Antonius insisted on knotting his own rope.

¹ Antonius/Saint-Germain, posing as a Franciscan friar, wears a brown habit. (The Jesuits, even when not suppressed, do not wear monks' habits or any uniform.) The "original Order" of the Franciscans, most widespread of the four great medieval mendicant orders, is the Frairs Minor, founded in 1209 by St. Francis of Assisi (1181-1226.) Mystically inspired, St. Francis strove to imitate Jesus' actual life, stressing its poverty. His followers were therefore called "Poor Brothers."

² English Franciscans are called "Grey Friars" after the color of their habit. In their general "reform" of 1370, after expansion of the order led to quarrels over ownership of property, they decided on "poor and scanty use" of worldly goods as a compromise between St. Francis' strict rule and an overly-relaxed worldliness. The strict view insisted on bare feet.

³ In England, the Carmelites, founded in the mid-12th century, were called "White Friars" for their white mantle worn over a brown habit, and Dominicans, founded by St. Dominic in 1215, were "Black Friars" for their black mantle worn over a white habit.

"Reckon, not all the young gentlemen⁴ will be let struggle through these drifts," said Stephanus. "If the place is blocked up, come back. I'll keep the fire going. I'll wait a bit, before I bolt the communication,⁵ in case you return." But Brother Antonius did not return, and after a suitable interval, Stephen muffled in his great-coat, made his way out through Petty Place, or La Petite Place de la Chatelaine,⁶ toward the steps to the lower city.⁷

His master, blinded by snow and smothered in his

⁴ The "young gentlemen" are the children in the school where Antonius teaches. The heavy snow may keep them home. H.D. herself experienced this snow. She wrote to Pearson on 17 June 1951 from Lausanne:

I started a new chapter on my dear Prague story, perhaps the excessive heat reminds me of those weeks before your arrival, year before last, when I went into the Prague snow-storm. The book enchants me so much that I shall probably do a few chapters a year ... and if I live so long, will present my poor long-suffering C with a proper-sized old-time Gone with the Wind production. But it comes with the wind--the swirl of I8c prophecy--you will be surprised "in our next" to see what a two-faced Imago Saint-Germain turns out to be--though you have had hint of it in the perruque picture. NHP called himself H.D.'s "Chevalier," after the hero of this novel, and often thereafter signed himself "Yr C."

⁵ The "communication" is the secret door between Saint-Germain's quarters and the vestry where he changes to Antonius.

⁶ This street does not appear near the Street of the Alchemists on the maps of Prague Castle that I have seen.

⁷ The Old Staircase down to the city is reached by George Street (Georgigasse) which leads from the square of St. George's Church, behind St. Vitus' Cathedral. The Street of the Alchemists opens off of George Street.

hood, encountered another Friar. They were borne as by a tide-wave, toward the main door.⁸ Presumably it was the main door. It did not give, when aided by the wind, the two pushed against it. An impersonal presence, hooded and snowed over, his companion might be anybody. Suppose--⁹

Antonius' supposition was dispelled by a fresh swirl of snow and a gruff assurance, issuing from the cowl, like the voice of one of the mastiffs of the Blessed Saint Bernard of Menthon.¹⁰ "Can't budge it, we'd best make for Benedict."

They managed to find shelter in the porch or portal of Saint Benedict on the Walls.¹¹ "You was making for the Cloister, I should know that, you being punctual, but they ought to have warned you. Some young scamps came

⁸ Antonius and the strange friar are making their way through the heavy snow toward the main door of St. Vitus' Cathedral.

⁹ "Suppose this stranger is a supernatural being" is the thought that this broken-off sentence conveys. The dark figure, face concealed by his cowl pulled up to form a hood--or possibly it is a Capuchin hood--has loomed out of the blizzard to arouse further Antonius/Saint-Germain's sense of mystical presences.

¹⁰ St. Bernard of Menthon, who died around 1081, founded, or re-founded, the community of Austin canons whose hospice kept the huge work-dogs, the St. Bernards, famed as the rescuers of travelers snow-trapped in the Great St. Bernard Pass (8,094 ft.) in the Swiss Alps.

¹¹ St. Benedict is one of the side chapels of the Cathedral, having its own entrance.

early, the foot-prints is blown over or I could have showed you. It's an old trick. They come before the Poor Brothers have shovelled the way through, then announce to their mates throughout, that it's blocked up. You must speak severe, they'll not dare keep away, both afternoon and morning." The school-porter¹² pushed open the door.

"I advise you to get your breath. You can do your Paters¹³ in the Cathedral, while resting."

"Where am I," thought Antonius, "this is the side-chapel of Saint Benedict, but it's turned around."¹⁴

It had happened before,¹⁵ but usually in his own bed. On two or three occasions, it had happened on a

¹² The mysterious cowed friar is now recognizable as the school-porter, whom Antonius presumably sees daily.

¹³ "Paters" are prayers, from "Pater Noster," the Latin for "Our Father," the first words of the Lord's Prayer, the most frequently recited Christian prayer.

¹⁴ He is seeing the chapel as reversed, like a photograph printed from the back side of a negative; what is actually on the right hand is perceived as on the left. This reversal of direction, with no other changes in the so-called "real" world, signals passage into "another dimension" of reality. H.D. had such an experience with "the Man on the boat," described in Tribute to Freud. (155-8) As she remembered meeting "Mr. Van Eck," she saw land lying to his right when it actually had to be to his left, so she recognized that this encounter was mystical, outside of ordinary time and space, yet she insisted it was not a dream.

¹⁵ This statement evidently reflects the physical sensations, not always exactly of 'reversal,' which accompanied H.D.'s own 'supernormal' experiences.

crowded thoroughfare. He could walk, forcing himself past familiar landmarks, but it was like walking backward. There was no particular ecstasy, exaltation or grace connected with the experiences, nor their opposite. He did not look upon them as warnings nor premonitions. He was facing the wrong way. Sometimes, waking with the wall on the wrong side of the bed, he would try to hold the sensation, hoping to analyse or explain it. He could say, he was dizzy with the wind, but he did not associate this state of mind with mere physical exhaustion. The distant altar would veer round in time, if he sat quietly.

The porter had ushered him through Benedict into the main Cathedral. The Exercitia must not be attempted until the mind was clear of associations. He could ask the porter why he had struggled to push in a door that he must have known swung outward. But did the main doors swing outward?

In time, when the Cathedral righted itself, he would walk the distance that he had already traversed outside in the snow.¹⁶ It was not much more than a stone's throw from the side-door that opened into

¹⁶ Antonius plans to walk inside the Cathedral from its main entrance, near which he is seated, back to its side-entrance in the Chapel of St. Benedict, so that he can reach his quarters without getting lost in the snow. He senses that he is ill.

Alchemists' Lane, to Antonius' own study. But Stephanus had said that the door or doors swung shut, "they slammed shut simultaneous" was his exact expression. If the doors had swung from within, Stephanus would not have noticed anything out of the way, one of the Cathedral attendants might have closed them. According to Stephanus, the doors had shut from outside.

But Antonius remembered how the half-door had swung inward. He had noted the circle marked in the fine drift, on the inner pavement.

It wasn't an ordinary swing-door, for it had clamped shut. Yet it opened inward, though with difficulty. He had never questioned the opening or the shutting of a house-door or Cathedral.¹⁷ He would have examined it and been spared the struggle the long way round, but he had noted from his study-window, that the Alchemists' Lane was swept almost clean of the snow that was banked, half its own height, against the door to the left of the High Altar, as he faced it.¹⁸

¹⁷ "Or Cathedral" is ellipsis for "or of a Cathedral door." Stephanus' remark had made him want to go and see which way the door actually swung.

¹⁸ He remembers looking across Alchemists' Lane at snow piled against the door of St. Wenceslas' Chapel, which would ordinarily now be on his right as he faces the High Altar in the main Cathedral. He sees it as on the left, which convinces him that he is in an abnormal state of mind.

The left of the High Altar? It was still the left of the High Altar? In his mind, his right hand rested on a sword-hilt.¹⁹ It was his way of distinguishing right from left hand, in these moments.

The Chapel of Saint Wenceslas, beyond Benedict, was on his right, as he sat there.²⁰

"Funny, him not on his knees," thought the porter. "No harm passing a word with him. It was candles, that last argument with sacristan. No acolyte would dare to blow out the candles, sacristan insisted. I wasn't accusing no acolyte, I told him, but you can't blame it on the wind, neither. If they're half burnt down, he said, you leave them and re-light them in the morning."

As if he didn't know that but he didn't want to be reprov'd, a school-porter was properly pedagogy. But Brother Anton was in orders, at least it was so whispered. He was putting in time with pedagogy.²¹

¹⁹ As a knight, Saint-Germain would wear a sword when dressed in full regalia at court. The sword is also reminiscent of St. Ignatius' military metaphor for the Jesuits--"soldiers of Christ."

²⁰ His placing his right hand reminds him that the Chapel of St. Wenceslas should be on his right, and it is, so to that extent his normal mind has returned.

²¹ Although Antonius is supposedly only a lay-brother, his scholarly work with the Abbot makes the school-porter and others believe that he has a vocation to be a priest, not just a monk. His teaching would then be merely temporary, a part of his novitiate.

Sacristy²² hadn't so good as said so, but his manner with Brother Anton was official. Brother Anton was no ordinary Brother, not that his boots was so out of the way to notice, and pedagogy had special dispensation from the Abbot.²³ Never knew who was superior, the Cathedral or the Castle. Saint Wenceslas was properly speaking, the Castle's chapel, but they had prelates officiating from time to time, in the Castle itself,²⁴ a special private chapel, set with old glass, but none of them²⁵ went in there. No one he ever heard of. Unless perhaps, Brother Anton, having affairs with the Abbot with those old books.

The porter approached Antonius. "Would it be taking liberties, do you think, sacristy not having come back yet, to put a taper to the lamp before Our

²² "Sacristy," by metonymy, means the sacristan, the church official who oversees care of the altars and liturgical vessels in the church building.

²³ The Abbot, as head of an abbey or cloister, regulated details of the lives of the monks in his community. He could give members dispensation from onerous aspects of their rule of life if he saw good cause. The Abbot is referred to in this novel but does not enter as a character.

²⁴ H.D. here visualizes "the Castle" as if it were a single building, the residence of the ruling monarch. Prague Castle actually contains many palaces of the nobility. An old chapel in one of them is evidently being alluded to.

²⁵ "Them" refers to the lowly friars of which the school-porter is one. His mention of "old books" connects Antonius to the library.

Lady, and re-light what's left to Wenceslas?"

Wenceslas?²⁶ It had happened before that an ordinary person in ordinary setting--No, this was the school-porter. Anyway, it had never happened, as far as he was aware, in a Cathedral. It could happen at any time, with anybody, but unless you were aware of its happening, it wasn't the Visitor.²⁷ It was never a vision. Checking over it and back, maybe many years back, as with the first Saint-Germain in Venice,²⁸ there was never a false step, never an inopportune moment, never an appearance that was exaggerated. It was only some small thing that related the incident to the

²⁶ "Wenceslas" registers with Antonius because he saw Elizabeth in that chapel. He associates her with his present memories of prior 'supernatural' visitations. It is important to note that it is St. Wenceslas' candles which have gone out and which the porter wants to re-light.

²⁷ H.D.'s idea is that the Visitor is a spiritual emanation from the other dimension outside of our time and space and can be "anybody." No correlation exists between any status in our world and the spiritual qualities which forgather to produce these emanations. Antonius/Saint-Germain has not previously experienced the reversal, or indistinguishable transition to the other dimension, in connection with formal religion. H.D. also had not felt this connection of her mystical experiences--the 'jellyfish,' the 'writing on the wall,' 'the man on the boat'--with her Moravian background until after she finished The Gift, which explored her grandmother's memories and stimulated her formal research on Zinzendorf and the Moravian church.

²⁸ Antonius/Saint-Germain apparently now sees himself as partially but not completely identical with "the first Saint-Germain," somewhere between history and a timeless state.

Mystery,²⁹ and that not remembered till long after, too late to verify. That is, if you wanted to verify it. You didn't, as a rule, want to verify the Mystery. If it was not true, it was better not to know it. The first Saint-Germain was taken for himself³⁰ and started the Mystery. That is, as far as the Mystery of Saint-Germain was concerned. It was left to him to explain it, which on occasion he would do, citing the Versailles story.³¹ In Venice, it was not himself, he countered lightly, but his nephew. It was, he considered, supreme tact, on the part of the Visitor. He did not trespass.³² He would leave the Saints their

²⁹ The "small things" are the way doors open and candles blow out unexpectedly.

³⁰ This rather unclear statement seems to imply that an earlier, mortal Saint-Germain was taken for this Antonius/Saint-Germain, who understands himself as the "deathless one," or in some way participant in a unexplained continuity--hence the Mystery.

³¹ His problem is to explain to others, not himself, the story that circulated at Versailles of Mme. de Gergy's having seen him fifty years before in Venice. He ends with that story with a rational and demystifying explanation: "the lady was in her dotage."

³² The idea in this obscurely-worded passage seems to be that Saint-Germain publicly puts out a mistaken-identity explanation, as given earlier to Stephanus, for the Venice apparition. It was, however, neither himself nor his nephew but a Visitor, a spiritual emanation in Saint-Germain's form. The "supreme tact" of this Visitor is that he does not go too far. He uses Saint-Germain's form but leaves his inner being intact, rational but with mystical super-sensitivity.

undisputed portion.³³

"There was confusion in the story," Stephanus had said, last night. Was it only last night? He³⁴ had lived back through the story.

Had he nodded to the porter? What had he asked him?³⁵ If he could light some candles? With an effort, Antonius turned his head toward the left, toward Ludmilla. He had knelt there after...³⁶

He had explained to Stephanus how his thoughts as well as his actions, had been inconsistent. "It will be small things and little people will decide the issue," Stephanus had said. The formula for preparation before the Exercitia, demanded an examination, not only of the past day's events but also of those small things, careless demeanour, forget-

³³ The idea here is that, for H.D., true saints are persons with especially strong religious insight; therefore they must at times have had 'Visitors'--mystical visions and emanations. But even a saint has to work in the world and develop individually. The Visitor cannot do the actual work. The saint must make his or her own contribution without supernatural help, which is the saint's particular contribution and "undisputed portion" of his or her achievement.

³⁴ "He" refers to Antonius, not to Stephanus.

³⁵ In this sentence the pronoun "he" refers to the school-porter and the pronoun "him" to Antonius.

³⁶ The thought in this broken-off sentence should be completed as "after he held open the door for the lady [Elizabeth] to leave."

fulness.³⁷ He had yesterday, for the first time in many months, renounced the Exercitia. He had, as Stephanus phrased it, broken the charm or the sequence of his hours and minutes. He could not, according to the rule, return to the Exercitia, until he had fully explained to himself the cause of his lapse. It was a long time ago that the porter had spoken to him.³⁸ He had gone far but he was returning.

"Shall I light first and come back and fetch you?" said the porter. He considered the lay-brother. "But perhaps, on second thoughts, if it's convenient to you, you'll come with me, it will make it right with sacristan and you might explain the candles. It's a Mystery."

Mystery? Was the school-porter following the trail of his own thoughts? It was that way sometimes, with Stephanus. But Stephen, his familiar, had spent years with him and was, in fact, a valuable asset to the Office.³⁹ He⁴⁰ had spoken to the porter briefly, on some

³⁷ The Exercitia requires this stringent self-examination of the minutest particulars of one's acts.

³⁸ The experience of reversed orientation is an intrusion of eternity, so he loses track of time. It was in fact only a minute or two since the school-porter had spoken to him.

³⁹ Stephanus then clearly knows what his master wants to do as a service to the Holy Office of the Inquisition.

⁴⁰ "He" refers to Antonius, not Stephanus.

half-dozen occasions, outside the usual greeting. The Visitor could manifest as anybody, he had just rehearsed his absolute conclusion. Then, why should this not be the Visitor? Antonius forced himself to face the Mystery. Was every man equally the Mystery?

"Staring like he was seeing something," thought the porter. "Didn't absolute give me permission to light the taper." He said, "I had that argument with sacristan. Perhaps you could inform me." It was the voice,⁴¹ it was the timbre of the voice, it wasn't the Visitor. The case or the cause would lose its poignancy if it merged too freely, and Antonius reminded himself, the Visitor never at the moment of his visit, revealed himself completely. It was after the door shut on him⁴² that the question arose and with it, that singular lightness, assurance and benediction. "Was I perhaps taking liberties?" asked the porter.

He⁴³ stood with his raw-hide sandals strapped over the lengths of sacking. There was always that talk of

⁴¹ The point of view is now back in Antonius' mind.

⁴² The pronoun "him" refers to Antonius, who is thinking of the mysterious behavior of the cathedral door which swung shut automatically, apparently moving in the wrong direction, after Elizabeth's departure. This incident sensitized Antonius, raising in him sensations like those now raised by the porter, which signal to him a mystical 'visitation.'

⁴³ "He" is the school-porter being seen through the eyes and mind of Antonius.

boots and sandals and how a lay-brother should walk.⁴⁴

"Or shouldn't, being pedagogy and on special duty with Abbot with those old books," as Stephen had admonished him, when he first shuffled across the court-yard. He had left the matter of bearing and deportment to Stephen, who said after some discreet gossip in the neighbourhood, that his master best be natural, he was pedagogy and half-way to the Castle. No, the Visitor would never wear raw-hide sandals strapped over uneven strips of sacking. But immediately, Antonius reminded himself of Our Lord's Visit.⁴⁵

"It's not in my province,"⁴⁶ said the porter, "in the

⁴⁴ These thoughts of Antonius echo disputes that divided the mendicant orders in the Middle Ages as well as Stephanus' earlier insistence on boots for his master.

⁴⁵ Antonius apparently thinks of Jesus' incarnation and appearance on earth as the apparition of a Visitor, a position close to Docetism or Gnosticism. But he is not reflecting philosophically. He is reacting quite unjesuitically in the Franciscan mode, taking to heart Jesus' poverty. The school-porter is simply a humble friar, maybe a Capuchin, a strict branch of the Franciscans whose austere rule forbids shoes. (Possibly H.D. is envisioning as the cloister in this novel the old Capuchin monastery which stands not far from the Cathedral in the Castle complex.) Antonius wears boots in the deep snow, but the porter's crude footwear for the same weather reminds him of the Franciscan commitment to a true spiritual life and their resistance to worldly power and custom.

⁴⁶ It is not the porter's job to light candles in the Cathedral. He is too humble to transgress even in so minor a matter, so he is waiting for permission from Antonius, to whom he attributes higher ecclesiastical status.

manner of speaking. I could tell sacristy you was doing your Paters in the chapel. He wouldn't ask who done it, you being official with the Abbot, and sacristy having that respect for learning." Still he⁴⁷ stood like an image at a gateway, holding a light.

From an infinite distance, Antonius heard his own voice.⁴⁸ "There are regulations, we know--but the Poor Brothers--"

--have Saint Francis," said the porter. What did he mean by that? Did he mean Saint Francis would reward them and the thought of Francis?⁴⁹ Antonius could not think of Francis. What did he⁵⁰ want, standing with the sacking bulging under the straps of the old sandals?

⁴⁷ "He" refers to the school-porter, who, standing with a lighted taper in his hand, is seen by Antonius almost as a holy statue lit by a votive light. As an "image at a gateway," the porter also suggests a guardian of the limen, the threshold or transition-point between the conscious and the unconscious, an entrance to a new level of spiritual growth.

⁴⁸ Disorientation of space as well as time accompanies Antonius' mystical experience, which is heightened by the presence of the humble friar.

⁴⁹ In an incoherent way, Antonius wonders whether the Poor Brothers' thinking of Saint Francis would alone produce a "reward" for them, which in Antonius' mind, would be a 'Visit.' Saint Francis might well come as a 'Visitor,' he himself having been a mystic and therefore in touch with that eternal dimension which feeds the spiritual life.

⁵⁰ "He" refers to the school-porter.

What was it that he wanted?⁵¹ For the first time, Antonius doubted his vocation. He could not go on with books, with infinite subtleties, with court and papal intrigues.

⁵¹ "He" now refers, not to the school-porter, but to Antonius, or rather to Saint-Germain, because it is the hidden vocation of the French nobleman, not the purported vocation of the false friar that has suddenly become problematic. Antonius/Saint-Germain's metaphysical question is a conscious parallel of the practical question he just asked himself regarding the porter. The Chevalier is confronted with values higher than those of knighthood, even knighthood in the religious guise of an military order such as the Society of Jesus. H.D. does not like the military, or war-like, approach, even in religion; she appreciates medieval chivalry because it is based on the knight's being a vassal to his supreme Lady. To that extent, he is the servant of love, not war.

VI

The Cathedral had veered round and Antonius with it.¹ He had yet to catch the moment of transition. It always happened this way. He had tried in his own room, to prolong the sensation, in order to understand it, but he had no control over it. It was baffling but not always unpleasant. No doubt, others had had the same experience, but he had never spoken of it. He followed the porter along the side-aisle to the chapel.²

Suppose the door were fastened. He remembered having examined the door for the scenes of the Saint³wrought on it. But from which side? Was he in the chapel or outside? It was important to remember. The chapel-door was open. Was the door always open? He would examine it to see if it opened both ways, and if it was caught or clamped back. The Cathedral itself

¹ Antonius perceives the Cathedral as swinging back, through 180 degrees) to its proper orientation, which also restores his own.

² He is walking toward the chapel of St. Wenceslas, whose interior door opens into the main cathedral.

³ The exterior door of the Chapel--the door which Antonius opened for Elizabeth--is decorated with scenes from the life of St. Wenceslas.

did not seem darker, though grown in proportion. Far off, the lamp before Our Lady,⁴glowed like a red coal.

The taper itself as the porter held it in the door-frame, seemed brighter against the darkness.

There were no windows.⁵ It was a jewel-box or rather a box, set with its own jewels, uncut jasper, onyx? Antonius had not yet assessed the treasure of Saint Wenceslas.⁶

It seemed warmer here than outside. Incense still hung in the small room. It was not unduly small, but compared with the distance and lofty proportion of the great Cathedral, they⁷were in person, awaiting private audience, in an ante-chamber. The taper seemed to steady itself, as if they had come out of the wind.

⁴ The votive light, in a sconce of deep-red glass hung from the ceiling over the sanctuary before the high altar, remains perpetually lit. The candles on the altar are usually lit only when worshippers are present.

⁵ The two are now standing in the windowless chapel of St. Wenceslas.

⁶ The chapel walls are inset to the height of the doors with "1,345 polished amethysts, agates and jaspers, with gilded mortar as a bond." These, together with mosaic scenes of St. Wenceslas' life and the life of Jesus covering the upper walls, create an effect of overwhelming richness. (Svoboda 70)

⁷ "They" refers to the porter and Antonius. If the chapel is like a royal antechamber, then the main church is the throne room of Our Lady, so the audience suggested by Antonius' comparison might be with the Queen of Heaven, or another 'visitation,' since Elizabeth is associated with the chapel and with queenliness. 'The Lady' in H.D.'s Trilogy is the archetypal woman.

"Would you think," said the porter, "they could blow out?"⁸ There's not a breath of wind in this place." He moved the length of the low-set reliquary. "It's not a proper altar, not like the High, or yet Benedict or Ludmilla. Could I set the taper to the candles?" The candles were set in formation, on the wrought-iron frame that stood on the floor. "Shaped like candelabra, I always think, not like the other candle-stands in the Cathedral."

The porter thought, "funny, he doesn't give permission nor not give it. I always wanted to light a whole scone of candles, but I never was in the Palace and here, a few pence for Our Lady was all I could rightly offer."

The porter said, "I've lighted a penny-dip to Our Lady on occasion, but I never had a taper for a whole row. I always thought, if I had one wish and wished it sudden, it would be to light a row of candles."

He thought, "what is the matter with the Brother, if he is a brother, lay or otherwise, though we're not supposed to question even in our thought, authority. Never got close to a Cardinal, nor even the abbot, but if I was to imagine what one might be--"⁹

⁸ The porter is looking at the unlighted candles.

⁹ The thought should end: "he would be like Brother Anton."

"What is it that you wanted to ask me?" said Antonius.

"It's what I was saying," said the porter. "We were this side, sacristan and me, he was waiting to lock up, though there's always one door open, according to the old rule.¹⁰ Sacristan remarked on your going by the main door. We went over to Ludmilla, when you left it. The lights from Wenceslas shone out, like it was Candlemas itself.¹¹ Then, they went out."

There were more stones than Antonius thought possible.¹² He had thought the blue margin was marble. It was lapis.

"Staring at the wall," thought the porter. He turned his head. "That's Charles,"¹³ he said. "You

¹⁰ A standard rule of most Christian churches, until recently, was that one door should remain unlocked at all times so that anyone might enter to pray.

¹¹ Candlemas, February 2, an ancient Christian festival, celebrates the presentation of Christ in the Temple. Also called the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Lat. Candelaria or Festum candelarum sive luminum), it is celebrated by a candle-light procession as a remembrance of the entrance of Christ, the 'True Light,' into the Church. (Dct.Xn.Ch. 226) The candle is a powerful icon for H.D., evoking her memories of the beautiful Moravian candle-light Christmas Eve service, with music, still held in Central Church in Bethlehem and attended by many visitors.

¹² Antonius is studying the gems which are set into the walls and altar with gold-painted mortar.

¹³ The porter follows Antonius' gaze to the largest of these stones, which the porter names "Charles" because it was said to have belonged to Charlemagne.

don't notice only sometimes, when he catches fire from the candles." He held the taper steady. "The stone was his, before he wore the iron-crown."¹⁴ It came to Wenceslas because of Christmas."¹⁵ Antonius recalled the legend of Charlemagne's investiture at Rome on Christmas day--800?¹⁶ He believed Wenceslas came later.¹⁷ It was one of his duties to revise or compare the old chronicles. He only saw the surface of an uneven dark stone. So it was an uncut ruby. He was not really looking at the stones. "Who blew out the candles?" he said.

The porter said, "for the sake of argument, when we was catching our breath, I suggested some acolytes. I knew as well as sacristy, the acolytes had gone off and anyway, they wouldn't dare go in there. He said,

¹⁴ Legend says that Charlemagne was crowned Holy Roman emperor with the Iron Crown of Lombardy, "said to contain a nail from the true Cross." (EB 1957, 6: 759) Adjoining St. Wenceslas' chapel is the Treasury with the Coronation jewels, including the fabled crown of Charles IV with immense uncut emeralds and sapphires. There may be some conflation of crowns here.

¹⁵ English Protestants, not the Bohemians, associate Wenceslas with Christmas because of the popular 19th-century hymn, "Good King Wenceslas," written by J.M. Neale to a 13th-century tune, "Tempus adest florum." (Thurston Butler 664) No Bohemian legend corresponds to the story contained in the hymn.

¹⁶ Charlemagne (742-814) was crowned emperor by Pope Leo III in Rome on Christmas Day, 800. Therefore H.D. imagines a Christmas connection with Wenceslas.

¹⁷ King Wenceslas' dates are 907 to 929.

while we were making our way to Benedict, where he had left his lantern, the wind did it. I waited outside Wenceslas."

"You found everything in order?" Antonius heard himself speaking as if to one of the older school-boys.

"Wenceslas is always in order," said the porter, "but if anything, it was more than usual ordered."

Antonius turned and paced the length of the stone floor. He thought, "this must be part of the original foundation."¹⁸ He remembered last night's talk with Stephanus, of causeways and underground entrances. The thought was irreverent. He could not bear to watch the porter light the candles. The wind must have got into his eyes. He brushed his sleeve across them. He turned round. The porter was still waiting.

Was this¹⁹ the reason for his coming to Prague? The others faded--the Queen, de Rohan, that rogue Balsamo, first announced to him by a palace²⁰ lackey, "by your leave, sir, the Count Alessandro Di Cagliostro." He had swallowed his pride, as had de

¹⁸ The original stone foundation of the Romanesque Rotunda built by St. Wenceslas in 925-29 remains under the chapel.

¹⁹ "This" refers to his having been moved to tears by the quite trivial incident of the porter's happiness at being allowed to light a whole row of candles.

²⁰ The palace is Versailles. There is little doubt that the historical Saint-Germain and Cagliostro met.

Rohan who allowed his name and prestige to be involved in a sordid scandal. Saint-Germain had not been involved in the affair of the stolen diamonds, but worse, Balsamo had created the impression at Versailles that he²¹ was a companion, an occultist and magician, one of his²² own sort, and working with him. No man of the world would credit Cardinal de Rohan with so crude a gesture, as the open presentation of a diamond necklace to his mistress, and that lady, the Queen of France. Saint-Germain had not the satisfaction of knowing that his equals would repudiate his association with the so-called Cagliostro.

Was it then, a sort of spiritual pride, his assumption that the Visitor was stamped with the hallmarks of nobility?²³ It had been so, at least, in his case, though the distinction was so subtle, it might seem to escape the outer, though never the inner vision. But the Visit was never a vision; he had always reasoned, as the porter had just now, "if

21 "He" refers to Saint-Germain.

22 "His" and "him" refer to Cagliostro.

23 One of the submerged themes of this novel is the tension between a monarchic system, a remnant of medievalism, with its clear hierarchies and rich symbols, and a democratic system, herald of the modern world, about to arise in the French Revolution. H.D. is an American with egalitarian ideals as part of her mystical system, yet she is drawn to the romance and the extremes of medieval religious dedication to love.

anything, it was more than usual ordered."

Was everything so ordered, that he, Antoine-Louis, Chevalier of France and Count of Saint-Germain,²⁴ should be sent here precisely to give permission to this--he discarded the phrase poor hind, but his mind had touched it. Who was he to give permission?

Antonius²⁵ said to the school-porter, "who am I to give you permission to light the candles?"

The porter lowered the taper. He had been holding it like a flambeau. "I did ask you," he muttered.

"And who am I that you should ask me?" The words rang with authority. The porter misunderstood them.²⁶

"You having affairs with the Abbot, sorting over the old parchments--" said the porter.

"What right does that give me?" said Antonius.

"The right of learning," said the porter, "that sacristan has such respect for, he wouldn't question."

"Question what and who?" said Antonius.

"The candles being lighted. It's supposed to be

²⁴ His consciousness of his full set of titles augments the spiritual contrast. His name Antoine links him to his second identity.

²⁵ The switch to "Antonius" from "Saint-Germain" shows an inner change of allegiance from the worldly to the spiritual identity.

²⁶ Antonius' tone does not accord with his words' intention, which was to abjure whatever authority has accrued to his false identity.

respectful to re-light if for some reason, which don't often happen, they goes out."

"But we don't yet know why they went out," said Antonius.

He²⁷ did know why they went out. I always thought if I had one wish and wished it sudden, it would be to light a row of candles.²⁸

It was no Mystery. It was ordered, it could be explained exactly. It was part of a Plan,²⁹ so subtly presented, yet so clearly that you could not miss its meaning.

"Who offered the candles," said Antonius, "do you know that?"

"Most likely the lady who was always in the chapel. Not that we discuss the boxes, but sacristan thought it proper, seeing thieves might have been in, to count the candle-money. There was her usual gold-piece."

So she was part of the Plan.

27 "He" refers to Antonius, not the porter.

28 Repetition of the porter's words reveals that the candles went out as a result of the spiritual power over natural elements exerted by his wish, which is now about to come true.

29 This "Plan" is the eternal pre-existing Plan which H.D. saw Z as part of and which she expresses, later in this novel, as working toward "world-unity without war." (See ch. VIII, 150)

"Why are you waiting?" said Antonius.

"I thought it being Advent and Wenceslas being Christmas, you might--"³⁰

Was he handing the taper to him?³¹ No, in God's name--

"You witnessed the Mystery,"³² said Antonius, "Our Lady and Saint Wenceslas chose you to light the candles."

Still he³³ stood there.

"Light the candles," said Antonius. He sank to his knees.³⁴

³⁰ Advent begins on All Saints' Day, November 1, and is the season of preparation for the arrival of the Saviour on earth. The precise date of the novel's action is also being more clearly revealed.

³¹ The porter is silently holding out the taper toward Antonius, who is shocked and shamed by the porter's humble persistence in deferring to authority.

³² He is explaining what the porter had earlier referred to as a "mystery"--how the candles went out--but Antonius/Saint-Germain sees more facets to and implications of this Mystery, hence its capital M.

³³ "He" refers to the porter, not to Antonius.

³⁴ Antonius (not the porter) kneels in exhaustion and humility after giving the decisive order. He has seen that the porter, by adhering strictly to the vow of obedience, has more genuine piety than the "Brother Anton" to whom the porter attributed it.

VII

"Nobody must disturb him," said the porter.

"Did he so order?" said sacristan. "I was told special by the messenger, that the Abbot required him in the library. There's no school afternoon nor morning. He'd best go down the way messenger came up, the steps are open below Benedict and the snow blown off the fortress.¹ You're pedagogy, you inform him."

Sacristan hugged his elbows under his long sleeves. "Cold as a vault," he thought, "I never felt it colder." He asked, "Is he in one of those Meditations?² He might freeze to death, in there in Wenceslas."

"It isn't so cold," said the porter, "with the candles."

¹ Hradčany Castle began as a border fortress to protect the eastern boundaries of territories settled by the Slav tribe of Czechs. The old fort occupied the eastern part of the present complex. The original defences, earthworks and timber, were replaced about 1135 by solid rag-stone ramparts. A stone palace with guard-towers east and west was built about the same time. Some remnant of these is evidently being alluded to.

² The Exercitia is divided into specific Meditations, including self-examination and recall of immediately prior events, in imitation of St. Ignatius. The concentration demanded suggests that Antonius appears to others to be in a trance-like state. This state, close to dream, is a conduit to the unconscious for H.D.

"He lit the candles, left there?"

"I handed the taper to him--being only the frame,³he ordered me to do it."

"Did you mention how thieves might have been in or someone blew out the candles?"

"I told him you and me, over by Ludmilla, saw them go out. No one could blow out all that row, in one breath."

"I said it was the wind," said sacristan.

"The taper burned straight, so did the candles. There's no wind there in Wenceslas."

"Last night, the Alley door blew shut. I noticed on my rounds, after you left. I never knew it blow shut. It's the one door left open, according to the old foundation Law,⁴but why the Founder⁵or whoever it was, made it that door, I don't know. It's a haunt of thieves and cut-throats, is that Alley."⁶

³ "Frame" refers to the tall candelabra standing on the floor, not on the sacred altar itself, so the porter has an excuse for Antonius' seeming irregularity in ordering the porter to light the candles.

⁴ A church, like a monastery, is a "foundation." The regulations of St. Vitus' Cathedral specify which its doors must be left open 24 hours a day.

⁵ The founder, King Wenceslas, would not have decided such a detail. Custom or the Cathedral Chapter, its priests, would decide it.

⁶ "The Alley" is Alchemists' Lane, which could not help but have a bad reputation with clergy, who regard alchemists as heretics, hence criminals as well.

"He's not properly, the Alley.⁷ That end belongs rightly, to the outer cloister. Alchemists, they called them."⁸

"Your front door was locked, we couldn't get in, but Benedict was open, so I knew you had been. I looked about, because of last night, then went out, thinking to warn him the school-entrance was blocked. We were fair blown into Benedict, fortunate it was open. Aren't you unlocking the front?"

"That's left to my discretion, when it's drifted. Without disturbing his devotion, I could give him a hint."⁹ Sacristan was an adept in these matters. He slipped into the sanctuary,¹⁰ before the porter realized his intention. Antonius opened his eyes.

It was as he had expected. It had happened before. It was usually an attendant or a server at the

⁷ Stephanus said in chapter IV that Antonius' quarters open off of a little cul-de-sac called Petty Place which adjoins the Street of the Alchemists.

⁸ "Alchemists" is the porter's tacit correction of "thieves and cut-throats," although historically only fortune-tellers and not alchemists were living on that street. H.D. is emphasizing the connection between magic, mystical experience and religion.

⁹ The sacristan can discreetly do something to get Antonius to abandon his meditation.

¹⁰ The sanctuary is the area, considered sacred, behind the altar rails and surrounding the altar in Roman Catholic and Anglican churches. Here it is in St. Wenceslas' chapel.

altar, on some trivial business, who recalled him.¹¹ It was the drawing of a curtain, the subdued shuffling of sandals, the opening of a poor-box, the placing in the tray of the fresh candles.

The attendant passed before the reliquary,¹² paused on the far side, glanced at the empty candle-tray, returned, faced the relique,¹³ genuflected and went out.

The candles were still burning. He¹⁴ would watch them go out. They were almost level with the holders. But no, they would never go out. "And forgive us our sins as we forgive those who have wronged us,"¹⁵ said Antonius. Fresh jewels were lighted, as he stared above

¹¹ The interruption recalls him in the sense of calling him out of deep meditation or possibly out of the "withdrawal into mystic vision" which he had forbidden himself in chapter one.

¹² The chapel "contains a stone tomb monument to the saint...encrusted like the walls with Bohemian stones. The facing side of the tomb is covered with glass and contains a 14th-century silver bust of St. Wenceslas, along with his relics." (Svoboda 71)

¹³ The relique (H.D. uses the French spelling of 'relic') is visible through a glass side of the reliquary. The sacristan's bustling is intended to disturb Antonius so that he will abandon meditation and leave the chapel; when Antonius comes out, the sacristan can deliver the message from the Abbot.

¹⁴ "He" is Antonius, not the sacristan.

¹⁵ He understands that his role-playing of religious commitment will never make the candles go out, as they had in Elizabeth's presence. His feeling of hypocrisy makes him recite the Lord's prayer for forgiveness.

the level low row of candles.¹⁶ He would be caught back.¹⁷ He rose to his feet, crossed himself and left the chapel. The porter was waiting for him.

"A messenger, sacristy just told me, from the Castle asks special for you. The steps is open below Benedict, and the snow's blown off the fortress. There's no school."

Antonius turned automatically. He must get out at once, and let the wind and snow recall him. "Walks soldier-like,"¹⁸ thought the porter, "wished he had spoke a word to me, after all that that happened. I'll wait till sacristy comes back from looking at that side-door, might ask him--" But Antonius had turned round.¹⁹

His coming seemed more measured than his going.

¹⁶ The candlelight catches facets in the walls' jewels which he had not seen before, a sign that his own 'enlightenment' is progressing.

¹⁷ He is aware that he can be caught back, or 'wrapt,' into the mystical state of mind.

¹⁸ Antonius' unconsciously-assumed soldierly bearing suggests that he is becoming a true incarnation of the Jesuit 'soldier of Christ.'

¹⁹ This sentence contains a deliberate pun. Antonius has passed the porter and has walked halfway down the aisle toward the door of St. Benedict's Chapel when he turns around, physically. But that act is the result of his having 'turned around' psychologically, the internal and spiritual equivalent of the Cathedral's 'veering around' into its correct orientation. Now he is heading in the right direction.

Antonius spoke as if with difficulty, "The--the school--"

"It's shut for the day, it was sacristy that said that the Abbot asked you special--"

"You will keep up the school-fire as usual,"²⁰ said Antonius, "and thank you."

What had happened? The porter watched Antonius walk soldier-like a second time, to Benedict. "He bowed to me," said the porter. He spoke the words under his breath, yet he spoke them, as if the speaking of them gave them reality.²¹ No one must ever know that. As a matter of fact, no one would believe you if you told them.

Would anyone believe about the candles? At least, sacristy would discuss the matter, not the Mystery proper but the lady and why she didn't genuflect and why she didn't leave her gold-piece for Anthony's

²⁰ By asking the porter to keep the school-fire, Antonius is appointing him to the priest-like office of "keeper of the sacred flame."

²¹ For H.D., the poet, speaking the words does bestow reality. The porter's words reify the bow, a social gesture universally recognized as a mark of deference and respect, and so he takes it fully into his understanding. Genuflection, a curtsey analogous to bowing, is not done to a person but to the Blessed Sacrament, the "Real Presence" of Christ, reserved on the high altar of Roman Catholic Churches. 'High Church' Anglicans also genuflect, but other Protestants do not, since they do not have the practice of reserving on the altar the bread and wine which have been consecrated during the Eucharist.

Bread,²²sometimes, but always in the candle-box though she didn't always have the candles. There was much to be talked over. He turned his head, there was a shadow like a velvet curtain over the door of Wenceslas. The candles had gone out.²³

"It must be banked with snow, outside. He went off?" said sacristan.

"He went just before the candles," said the porter.

"I'll clear the stand and put fresh candles in the tray later. What are you waiting for?" said sacristan.

"Can't seem like I could move.²⁴ Had we best see if the wicks are smoking?" said the porter.

"You leave all that be," said sacristan. "You'll freeze if you stand there. I couldn't be more cold, not in a vault,²⁵I couldn't."

²² Alms given for prayers to St. Anthony of Padua on behalf of the poor are called "St. Anthony's Bread." St. Anthony (1195-1231), Franciscan friar and eloquent preacher, is known as the Patron of the Poor. (Delaney 63)

²³ The Miracle was at one point the working title of this novel. Here a 'miracle' is witnessed by the porter. It occurs because Antonius has touched genuine spirituality in humbling himself to the Poor Brother.

²⁴ The porter's inability to move shows that he also has 'withdrawn to mystic vision' but after, not before, the candles went out. The candles really are out. He is not projecting, hallucinating or dreaming.

²⁵ The sacristan is 'cold,' spiritually insensitive, and feels as if he were in a vault, like a dead man, because he did not and could not see the candles go out.

The porter was recalled, even as Antonius had been. He said, "He ordered the school-fire to be kept up. We can sit there all day."

VIII

"We can make up for last night,"¹ said Elizabeth, "unless we go out."

"We can't expect saddle-horses to plough through these drifts."

"I didn't mean the sleigh. What fun it would be to ride through the woods--could we?"

"Of course not. And we can't stay here forever and until I get permission from the library--"²

"You think you'll get it?"

"Jacobus says he thinks so. They were never on unfriendly terms, the Tower and the Castle. It was only our heresy."³

"I'll never understand it," said Elizabeth. "The

¹ The conversation between Elizabeth and Henry had been broken off by her exhaustion the night before. Now, as they sit in the same place, she suggests that they can make up for lost time by continuing their discussion of their motives for coming to Prague.

² Henry wants to search library records on the Old Church of Bohemia because he is writing a book. This public excuse is not wholly a ruse. Although his real reason is to solve "the Mystery," H.D. is writing this book for that same reason.

³ Because members of the Unitas Fratrum are Protestants and "heretics," caution must be exercised in allowing them access to old records, even though the Reusses of the Tower, as landed nobility, have cordial relations with the Catholic rulers who live in the Castle.

Protestant Court at Dresden⁴ managed a case against poor grandpappa, because he said Aves, or they said he said them, and worshipped Angels.⁵ I've written it down somewhere."

"Don't begin looking out your notes. It's hopeless. We've got to present the story from another angle. We've had the worthies and their long-winded records,⁶ and the Missions with their formal reports.⁷ But I feel there's something in between the scandals of the pamphleteers⁸ and the conventional tributes of the

⁴ Questions were raised around 1730 about Zinzendorf's orthodoxy and whether he adhered completely to the Augsburg Confession, the official statement of Lutheran doctrine, since he harbored refugees from a Catholic country who might be infiltrators ready to betray the Protestant government of Saxony. Reports on Z made them think that he might be a secret Papist. Their fears resulted in his banishment from Saxony in 1732.

⁵ Rimius testifies to the feeling that Z is too congenial to Catholicism which led to these false charges. He is offended by Z's letting groups ('tropes') of different Protestant denominations live in Moravian communities. "Why not a Roman Catholic trope?" Rimius asks ironically. (CN 30)

⁶ The principal 'worthy' is the sober, efficient Spangenberg, author of the mammoth biography.

⁷ Moravians kept detailed records of their pioneering foreign missions, all of which exist in Moravian archives. This scene parallels H.D.'s own research. She read histories in English but probably obtained them in London and carried them to Switzerland where she wrote most or all of the novel.

⁸ H.D. owned a copy of Rimius, a relatively rare book. She also owned another anti-Moravian tract, by George Lavington, Bishop of Exeter, called Moravians Compared and Detected... Both are now at Beinecke.

Missions and the Brethren.⁹ I feel there's something lost, that our grandfather once had. I felt it suddenly, when Goethe asked to see the arcana, and actually I had never thought of secret records. Elizabeth, I must tell you--I seem to have reserved my confession for to-day. I might have told you sooner. You remember the legend of our grandfather writing letters to his Friend, the Saviour?¹⁰ I asked my mother about it, and your mother, my Aunt Benigna. Their answers did not satisfy me. They were speaking to a

⁹ A "conventional tribute" by P. Latrobe appears in the introduction to the English translation of AGS's Life: Count Zinzendorf was undoubtedly one of the most extraordinary personages, that have appeared in the church of Christ since the period of the Reformation. By the worldly-wise, he has been acknowledged as a man of original genius and extensive acquirements; by evangelical divines, as a sound, though occasionally eccentric theologian; by children of God of every denomination, as a single-minded and faithful servant of Christ, whose witness of the truth as it is in Jesus was blessed to thousands, both within and without the pale of his own communion.... (xiv)

¹⁰ Spangenberg tells this charming story of Z, who in childhood lived with his grandmother at Hennersdorf: ...[I]n his seventh and eighth years....when he had pen, ink and paper before him, he wrote a little note to his beloved Saviour, told him in it how his heart felt towards him, and threw it out of the window, in the hopes that he would find it. His covenant with the Saviour was, "Be thou mine, dear Saviour, and I will be thine!" and this he often renewed.

Z in his own words described his mystical contact with Jesus: "I continued to converse with him when I was quite alone, and believed sincerely that he was very near me." (AGS 4; Stoeffler 133)

child."

"I stopped asking too," said Elizabeth de Watteville. "It was how we came together, children, finding there was something that they wouldn't tell us.¹¹ And when we were older, there were rational, reasoned answers¹² and that was, if possible, still worse."

"The records weren't really dusty. It was the meticulous order and arrangement of them that depressed me. I think Bishop Spangenberg¹³ must have done them. Then, I began unfastening the old tapes wrapped round the letters, and refastening them. I don't know why. I think I felt sorry and ashamed to realize how the things had lain there, beautifully arranged in the old library,¹⁴ in boxes and boxed shelves, out of the dust.

¹¹ The 'enthusiasm,' not to say orgies, of the years 1747 to 1750, at Marienborn near Frankfurt-am-Main, would not be discussed with young children, since they involved references to sexuality which are tasteless at best. (More details are given in ch.XIII, n.43)

¹² Attempts to explain the "Sifting Period" to older children would constitute the "reasoned answers," which in fact do not answer the real question of what actually happened then.

¹³ Spangenberg's orderly personality was a leading influence on the Moravian habit of keeping complete records as well as designing the efficient "Economy," which he administered for much of the period 1745 to 1762.

¹⁴ The scene in H.D.'s mind is probably the library of the Moravian Seminary where her grandfather, Francis Wolle (1817-1893), whom she called "Papalie," was principal from 1861 to 1881.

But there was a feeling that no one had touched them for years.

"I do not mean the family's private letters. I knew Christian Renatus' letters, especially those written from London just before his death,¹⁵ almost by heart--and Benigna's from Philadelphia and from Bethlehem.¹⁶ I had read of course, as you had, studied and tried to annotate the various editions of the Zinzendorf sermons and poems,¹⁷ with the few hymns of

¹⁵ Christian Renatus wrote many letters and diary entries in the last months of his life trying to undo the harm he felt he had done during the "Sifting Period." AGS records how, after his son's death, Z's "tears flowed still more freely, on looking over his son's papers when he found what he had noted down of his daily intercourse with the Saviour." (420) HD wrote NHP on 18 December 1950 that she had precious letters that Bryher got for me, one from Zinzendorf himself, Christian Renatus valentine to one of his cousins, some American "brethren" writing--and Br got me some old books, all of which should be housed sometime when/if I depart to the place of the spirits. They are now housed in a manuscript file at Beinecke.

¹⁶ One of Benigna's letters from Philadelphia contains an interesting sidelight. She founded the first school for girls in America, on 4 May, 1742, in the house which Z, under the name of "Brother Ludwig," had rented from John Ashmead in Germantown. Benigna wrote to the European congregations: "Nun hat mich das Lamm auf einen Posten geführet. Ich habe eine Kinderanstalt von 25 Magdchen und da habe ich mich willig dazu aufgeopfert." ("Now the Lamb has guided me to a job. I have a kindergarten with 25 little girls and willingly have I sacrificed myself to it.") (Reichel Memorials 183.)

¹⁷ The quantity of Z's writing is enormous. The listing alone, Bibliographisches Handbuch zur Zinzendorf-Forschung contains 459 pages. (Dusseldorf, 1987)

Christian Renatus and his mother.¹⁸ I knew I would be lost if I started sorting out the letters, but I went on unfastening and refastening the faded blue strips of tape or ribbon binding.¹⁹ It seemed all I could do.

"There was a card, attached to each bundle, with the date and name and place.

"There was no date or name on the last bundle that I picked up, but these words, destroy when read."

Elizabeth held up her tapestry. "Do you like my Saint Hubertus?"²⁰ she said.

¹⁸ "His mother" means Christian's mother, Erdmuth Dorothea. ZN notes that Z has written "periodicals, books, etc. treatises, hymns, tracts" and that he is a "master-singer" with "540 hymns in hymnbooks" some of which Wesley translated. Of hymns "40 by Countess Z., 60 by C. Rn.--died London 1752." (7 [4]; AGS xxviii)

¹⁹ These letters are H.D.'s invention. No letters from Zinzendorf to Theodora de Castell exist, as far as Moravian archivists know. (Williams, Nelson; letters) She did communicate with AGS late in her life and gave him the facts regarding the engagement--that she had not considered the matter of their engagement settled but that Z had. (Weinlick 50)

²⁰ H.D. sewed tapestries while living in London with Bryher during the World War Two bombings, at the time she was writing The Gift. "It was something to do with her hands, while talking to people or sitting around," says her daughter, Perdita Schaffner. (personal communication to the author, 13 November 1987) The tapestry is introduced here as an 'objective correlative'; it is made of 'threads' as is the mystery. The Hubertus subject-matter reflects the medieval motifs which H.D. chose in her tapestries. She presented one of these, taken from a design in Cluny museum, to Pearson. (See his letter of 2 August 1951) St. Hubert (d. 727), a courtier under Pepin of Heristal, turned to religion after a mystical experience in which he saw a crucifix in the horns of the stag he was hunting. (Delany 291)

"You know I like it," said Henry Dohna, "you aren't listening."

"Dear Anna Charity started it," said Elizabeth, "our second grandmamma."²¹

"But this is serious."

"So is my tapestry."

"I thought I'd leave the letters where Goethe would find them."

"Did you leave them?"

"Of course not. They're upstairs in my portfolio. If we read them, we must destroy them. Shall we read them?"

"No," said Elizabeth de Watteville.

"Do you think someone else read them or started to read them--or did the last discoverer shun the responsibility altogether, as we seem likely to do?"

"You think grandpappa wrote them?"

"The three words are unmistakably the writing of the

²¹ Erdmuth, Zinzendorf's wife, died on 19 July 1756. He married Anna Charity Nitschmann on 27 June 1757; thus she becomes the "second grandmamma." Anna Nitschmann, daughter of a Moravian refugee, David Nitschmann, one of three men named David Nitschmann who came to Herrnhut with Christian David. Anna's father was called "Father" Nitschmann. His nephew, another David Nitschmann, became the first bishop of the Renewed Church; after ordination he was called Bishop Nitschmann. Anna had been "awakened whilst a child." In 1730 she was made the first female elder at Herrnhut. She also travelled courageously in the wilds of America and was known as "the Count's first associate in regard to the pastoral labors amongst the sisters." (AGS 60,470)

Ordinarius Fratrum, our Ancien Évêque des Frères."²²

"But why did you think that Goethe should have the letters?"

"If it had not been for his asking of Arcana I should not have troubled to go through the boxes. The printed records are full of curious incidents,²³ but we

²² H.D. knew Z's authentic handwriting from the letter she owned. "Ordinarius Fratrum" is Latin for "The Brethren's Bishop" or "Ordinary of the Brethren." When Z was ordained bishop of the Bohemian Brethren in 1737, he was not giving up his position as a Lutheran minister, which he had become in 1734 after resigning from government service in 1732. He thought of his bishop's role as a public necessity in dealing with civil authorities, since he was in fact the leader of several communities containing Lutherans, Reformed and Moravians. He also wanted the episcopate of the Old Church of Bohemia to remain unbroken. In July 1741, when he planned to go to Pennsylvania where he wanted to be known simply as a Lutheran minister, he retired from this episcopacy. "He then called himself, so far as his relation specifically to the Moravian Church was concerned, Ancien Évêque des Frères--a retired senior, or bishop of the Brethren." After 1744 and after his return from America to Europe, he never used the title of a bishop "but used that of Ordinarius." H.D. read these titles on page 91 of J. M. Levering's History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania and made a note beside them.

²³ One 'curious incident' often told of Z, and retold by H.D. in The Gift, is illustrative. Martin Mack records that on a journey through Indian territory in 1742, Z was seated in his tent reading papers scattered around him when two puff-adders, small venomous snakes, "slipped into the tent, and gliding over the Disciple's thigh, disappeared among his papers." Lydia Sigourney published in 1841 a long Victorian Romantic poem, "Zinzendorff," based on this incident to which she attributes the conversions of many Indians to Christianity. Historically, it was not this incident but Z's meeting with the chiefs of the Six Nations in Tulpehocken (in Berks County about 20 miles NW of Reading, Pa.) on 3 August 1742 which created good relations with the Indians. (See n.36 f.)

were brought up in that atmosphere and listened to endless tales of travel and adventure. It was all, in a sense, new to Goethe and he saw it differently. He asked me why it was so particularly stated that our grandfather became acquainted with Christian David at the house of the Master of the Horse in Schweinitz, when the story of Christian David's flight from Moravia²⁴ across the border, is so well known. Our grandfather was in Dresden, at the time.²⁵ But he returned soon after and helped establish the community. You remember how Pastor Rothe²⁶ prevailed on the

²⁴ Elizabeth is referring to the first trip in 1722, but Christian David made a second trip. One day at Herrnhut in 1725, Christian David, without a word to anyone, laid down his carpenter's tools and left for Moravia, although Z had warned him of political trouble with the emperor if more refugees crossed the border. David brought back another group of Moravians, notable among whom were the three David Nitschmanns, who later acquired titles to distinguish them. "Father" Nitschmann, mentioned previously in n. 21, was one. The second became known as "the syndic" and the third, "the carpenter." This last went to St. Thomas with Leonard Dober in 1732-34 and was ordained the first bishop of the Renewed Church in 1735. (AGS 59-60; 190)

²⁵ In 1721 Zinzendorf, who would have preferred to enter the Lutheran ministry, succumbed to family pressure to enter government service. He accepted appointment as Aulic and Justicial Councillor (i.e., a judge) in the government of Saxony at Dresden, and so was living there when the Moravians arrived in 1722 at his newly-bought Berthelsdorf estate, about 14 miles east of Dresden, in the district of Upper Lusatia.

²⁶ John Andrew Rothe was the pastor of Berthelsdorf parish church in the village about a mile from Z's estate. As lord of the manor, Z had the power to give the living to Rothe, whom he chose as an aide in his

steward²⁷ to allow the refugees to remain on the estate. The Countess Gersdorf (our grandfather's grandmother)²⁸ was in charge then. Our grandfather was only twenty-two at the time."²⁹

"Why not just write the story?"

"It is not easy to write the story and there are the ponderous records, besides all the old letters and bundles of legal documents. I don't think I should even have thought of writing it, if it had not been for Goethe. He's been working on his Faust since he was

lifelong project to amend the Lutheran church according to ideas of the pietist Spener, a family friend. "That which first gave rise to the institutions in Upper Lusatia, was Spener's idea of planting little churches in the great church" [*ecclesiolae in ecclesia*]. (AGS 41)

²⁷ The steward, John Heitz, hesitated about letting the Moravians stay only because of Z's absence; he sympathized with their search for religious freedom.

²⁸ Henriette Catherine, Countess von Gersdorf, Z's mother's mother, raised him until he was ten years old on her estate at Great Henndorf, not far from Berthelsdorf. A close friend of the Pietist Spener, she was one of the "very gifted women of her age," intellectually encompassing all of its movements and motivated by "a profound desire to be of help to people." (Stoeffler 132) She supervised Z's properties while he lived in Dresden. When she heard that small children had arrived in the group of refugees from Moravia, she sent them a cow to supply them with milk. (Langton 59)

²⁹ Zinzendorf was born 26 May 1700, so he came of age on 26 May 1721, when he took charge of family properties, bought Berthelsdorf manor, and entered the law profession while spending as much time as possible preaching the gospel. He married Erdmuth on 7 September 1721 at Ebersdorf, the Reuss family estate.

twenty.³⁰

"What's Faust got to do with the Ordinarius?"

"That's what I began to ask myself. I opened my new note-book with the question."

"It's a literary subject--or was there really a real Faust?"

"There's Dr Faustus, the magician.³¹ I think he's a legend like the Student of Prague.³² You remember, they both sold their souls."

"The student sold his shadow, I think."³³

³⁰ It is historically accurate that Goethe (b.1749) was working on Faust in 1788, having begun it around 1769. In 1772 he finished a Faust-play, long undiscovered and now referred to as the Urfaust. Faust: Part One was published in 1808.

³¹ The life of the 'real' George Sabellicus Faust is almost completely smothered in legend. However, on May 10, 1532, the city of Nuremberg denied a safe-conduct to Doctor Faust, "'the great sodomite and necromancer.'" (Butler MM 123) He is reported as having engaged in magical practices in German cities, Helmstadt, Munster et al., from 1507 to 1540. (See ch.3, n.3)

³² "The Student of Prague" legend is a variant of the "Czech Doctor Faust," but also it is called 'the Doctor Jekyll and Mr. Hyde of German legend.'

³³ H.D. wrote a review-essay in the third number (September 1927) of Close Up, Bryher's film magazine, on a Conrad Veidt film titled The Student of Prague, in which the hero, Baldwin, sells his image in the mirror to the devil. She writes:

For by a magnificent trick of sustained camera magic we have Baldwin the famous fencer student selling his shadow, rather his brave reflection to the little obvious Italian magician of the first reel. The little Punchinello obtains it, by a trick; gold

"It's the same story, but in some way that I can't explain exactly, it's as if Zinzendorf, our excellent Ordinarius, had sold his soul, but bargained in some way (and I don't know what I'm saying) with our Saviour."

"Can you bargain with God?"

"I should think so. The incidents are too extravagant, the boat just not sinking because our grandfather calmly informed the Captain that he would speak to his Friend about it,³⁴ those incredible

poured and poured Danae shower, upon the bare scrubbed table of the student's attic, "for something in his room." The student has lifted his magnificent blade ruefully....It is not that blade that our friend Punchinello's after. He beckons with his obvious buffoon's gesture toward the mirror. Baldwin regards (in its polished surface) the face of Baldwin."

The story evolves with the now wealthy young man, Faust-like, finding his Gretchen, who is betrothed to another. His magician-double Mephisto-like 'shadow' kills her fiancé, and Baldwin is ruined. The camera follows the look-alikes in and out of mirrors until finally the devil is framed in the student's attic mirror again. H.D.'s words are:

He shoots the spectre only to find himself bleeding with the bullet wound....I have lost everything says Baldwin but not one thing. Raising himself on one elbow along the glass, he realises that his death has brought him his fulfillment. More than his lady, more than his steel blade, himself. Baldwin, dying, clasps a broken edge of triangulated glass to his stained breast. Containing his image simply. (34-44)

This story has resonances with the outcome of the plot of The Mystery.

³⁴ This incident occurred on Z's return voyage to Europe in 1743. Captain Nicholas Garrison of the vessel, the James, told the story in his own words: On the 14th of February, when we were near the

encounters with the Indians.³⁵ Why did the so-called Six Nations make a pact with him and give him that bead-belt?³⁶ That time in Russia, when the prison-doors

Scilly islands, and the wind blew tempestuously from the south, we were in great danger of foundering upon the rocks....The Count...comforted me...and told me...the storm would be over in two hours: but...I took it for granted, that this was something which no one could know beforehand. Hence I made myself ready for death, by prayer and supplication.... When the two hours.. were elapsed, he told me to go upon deck....Scarcely had I been there two minutes, when the storm subsided, the wind changed to the south-west, and we were soon out of all danger."

When Garrison questioned him, Z said that he had for twenty years enjoyed "heartfelt intercourse" with the Saviour, and in any dangerous situation would first ask himself if he were to blame for it and if so would beg forgiveness. "My gracious Saviour then gives me to feel, that he has forgiven me, and generally lets me know how the matter will terminate. But if it does not please him to do this, I remain passive....But this time he let me know that the storm would be over in two hours." (AGS 316-17)

³⁵ Z survived two other close calls after the puff-adder incident. He fell off his horse while fording a river and was nearly drowned. (Mack 107) Later the Shawnese, painted red and black and carrying long knives, crowded around his tent threatening to scalp him for having come to steal silver from a mine near the tent-site. (Hutton Missions 93; Wallace 140)

³⁶ During a journey to an Indian village in late July, 1742, Z was seized with a premonition that he should go at once to see Conrad Weiser, "the well-known mediator and interpreter." He had the impulse "in strong faith... knowing neither why nor wherefore" (Weinlick 175), but set out immediately, "accompanied by Peter Bohler, Frederick Martin and his own daughter Benigna" for Weiser's house in Tulpehocken. Arriving on 3 August 1742, he found there the chiefs of the Six Nations of the Iroquois--the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Senecas, Tuscaroras and Cayugas--who were returning from a conference in Philadelphia. Z asked their permission to come into Indian country bringing

were opened³⁷--it's fantastic."

"You must not worry, Henri. Read the letters if you want to."

How did she know he was worried? He looked round the room. He had beaten his way past the Cathedral, this morning, and the Fortress, in order to get his bearings. Of course, Jacob could escort him to the Castle, if the letter³⁸were forthcoming, but he had wanted first to find his way there alone. It was the letter. If they refused him permission to look over

messages from the Great Spirit, with whom he was "specially and intimately acquainted." The chiefs' formal reply said:

Brother, you have journey [sic] a long way, from beyond the sea, in order to preach to the white people and the Indians. You did not know that we were here; we had no knowledge of your coming. The Great Spirit has brought us together. Come to our people. You shall be welcome. Take this fathom of wampum. It is a token that our words are true." (Wallace 134; Hutton Missions 91; AGS 304-5)

H.D. noted: "[H]e was handed by the six Kings a fathom of one hundred and eighty-six white beads", white, symbol of peace and good-will, "safe Conduct." The emphasis is H.D.'s. (ZN 20) The passage is from Hutton, Missions, p.92. Hutton adds that Z gave the fathom to Spangenberg, who, as chief elder at Bethlehem, would need it to travel safely and negotiate in Indian territory.

³⁷ Z was imprisoned at Riga in 1744 as a politically suspect person but was well-treated and set free rather promptly, the Empress of Russia wishing him to leave the country immediately. In Spangenberg's account there is nothing supernatural implied. (335-6)

³⁸ Henry is speaking of his letter requesting permission to use the Castle library.

their archives, he and Elizabeth could go home.³⁹ Had he been wrong to bring her?

"It was an exhausting journey. You should have rested afterwards, but you said you wanted to explore the country with me. When Maria told me this morning that she wasn't letting you get up for lunch, I wondered if I had been inconsiderate."

Elizabeth laid aside her sewing. "I am very happy," she said.

"Don't put down your threads, Elizabeth. They are such lovely colours. I found peace with the de Wattevilles, at the Lord's Watch, last summer. I went there to rest."

"You are over-conscientious, Henri. Your father and your grandfather were so ambitious for you."⁴⁰

"I don't think that I have disappointed them, but affairs of the world and state are not my whole life. I wanted to carry on a little of our grandfather's tradition. He was a diplomat of the highest

³⁹ "Home" is Saxony; Elizabeth is imagined as living at Herrnhut, "the Lord's Watch." Henry is imagined as living elsewhere. Historically, Dohna's parents lived in England at least for a while. They were married in Chelsea, London, in 1767 and Henry was born in Fulneck, England in 1772. He died at Herrnhut in 1833.

⁴⁰ The Dohna grandfather, not Z, is being referred to here. What ambitions the historical Henry Dohna was to fulfil are not known. His occupation is not given, other than what is implied by his title Burggraf.

order,⁴¹ but I don't think any of the community at Herrnhut made me feel secure. I mean, there wasn't one of them to whom I could say, there is danger."

"There is danger." She did not ask the question, she simply repeated his words.

"There was something missing. Not that the de Watteviles, your father and our uncle Frederick aren't astute and conscientious. They are that. But there is a certain worldliness (that may seem a strange word to use in this connection) missing.

"Our grandfather was a man of the world. He was in the world and out of it, at the same time. I do not doubt the sincerity of the present Bishops.⁴² They just lack something. I felt it suddenly, when Goethe began to question me. They don't ask questions. The Mystery must be re-stated."

"Was it ever really stated?"

"It was implicit in their attitude, their

⁴¹ Henry now is alluding to Z and his church and missionary diplomacy, not his brief career in Dresden.

⁴² Spangenberg and John de Watteville were prominent bishops after Z's death, but the Moravian Church "really had to start all over again" at that time, says Henry Williams, because Zinzendorf had made all the decisions. The bishops were conscientious but not men of Z's fire. They also do not have the direct care of a diocese as in Roman Catholic and Anglican churches; a bishop's position is more an honorary and advisory one, while elders or synods manage the Church's practical affairs. (personal communications to the author, 12 September 1986, 24 December 1987)

obedience. They obeyed something. They are reputed to have drawn lots,⁴³ on various occasions, then they dropped all that, I imagine soon after our grandfather's death. As I say, I can't find out anything. I mean, I can't find out why they did it."⁴⁴

"There's piety and conscience--"

"You know we are speaking of something else, Elizabeth."

She knew that.

Elizabeth de Watteville said, "I feel I have found it, the answer, the Mystery, when I light the candles in the chapel of Saint Wenceslas."

"You light candles? My dear Elizabeth--"

"Shouldn't I?"

⁴³ Z originated the Moravian practice of 'drawing lots' as a way of leaving important church decisions to the guidance of the Saviour. Z used the lot "when the clear letter of Scripture...did not afford sufficient light." (AGS 92) He carried the 'lot' apparatus in his pocket--a little green book with removable pages, each with a scripture verse written on it. When in doubt, he pulled out a page and followed the biblical instruction. In public meetings, Z picked a slip at random from a box of scripture verses. The first twelve elders who presided at Herrnhut were also chosen by this method. (AGS 84) The lot was also used as a source for a spontaneous sermon or talk. The Moravians' enemies deplored the irrationality of the decision-making 'lot.' Rimius said, untruthfully, that Z used it to control his followers and deprive them of personal choice. (But see ch. XIII, n.36)

⁴⁴ She wonders why the Moravians abandoned a practice based on so central a tenet of their faith--that their Saviour was always personally with them. The implication is that this faith is what they have lost.

"I don't think so."

"Well, I do it when there's no one about. I don't think anybody notices."

"What about the fellow who opened the door?"

The wind was howling from the river into the narrow passage of the street of the Alchemists.⁴⁵

"It happened then," said Elizabeth de Watteville.

It had happened before. It had not happened often.⁴⁶

"I know that you are worried⁴⁷, Henri. We were all worried at Herrnhut. You are right about papa and Uncle Frederick. They do not seem to care about the state of the world. The Lord's Watch will maintain them. But their hearts are broken."

She was thinking of Bethlehem.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Henry's evocation of Antonius at the cathedral door propels Elizabeth back into reliving that moment when she stepped out of that door. The wind suggests the Holy Spirit; 'Alchemists' suggests magical transformation.

⁴⁶ The language of Elizabeth's mystical perception is identical with Antonius' comment on his 'reversal.' It also reflects H.D.'s own 'supernormal' experiences.

⁴⁷ The worry concerns the upcoming French Revolution and whether it will sweep all Europe into war, as H.D. worried about war signs that she saw in Vienna in 1933.

⁴⁸ Elizabeth is thinking specifically of the mission at Gnadenhütten, a few miles from Bethlehem, where on 24 November 1755, eleven Moravians, including a child, were slaughtered by Shawnese incited by the French--the tragic nadir of Moravian missionary efforts. In the Seven Years War (1755-63) between England and France,

"It is a question of loyalties. They did not wish to pronounce judgment on the American Revolution. It was the Crown of England that first sanctioned the renewed Brotherhood, the Jednota or the Unitas.⁴⁹ There could be no political criticism of Bethlehem, though certain aspersions were cast on them in the beginning, for so-called Tory sympathies.⁵⁰ But the town was concerned with other matters. General Washington made it his headquarters,⁵¹ as you know, and

the Indians sided with the French, having reportedly been told by French Catholic priests that Christ had been born at Paris and was crucified by the English. While many of the Moravians were German, many were English, and the Bethlehem community was still loyal to the English crown at that time, although it was well aware of the revolutionary sentiments building in the American colonies. (Hutton Missions 99-101)

⁴⁹ In 1749, in the high tide of gossip about the Moravians at Herrnhag, a committee of forty members of the House of Commons investigated the Moravian Church in England and found nothing irregular about them. The act which parliament passed and the Crown then approved stated that the Unitas Fratrum was "an ancient Protestant episcopal church" and that its members were exempted from taking oaths, from serving on juries and from military service in the American colonies "under reasonable conditions." (AGS 389)

⁵⁰ Their vindication and sanction by the Crown which enabled Moravians to go to live in the English colonies naturally made them somewhat pro-English, or at least made their neighbors perceive them as such. When the American revolution began to build, the Moravians tried not to take sides, feeling divided loyalty between their new country and their old, but desiring most of all to be apolitical, continuing their collective religious vocation. They failed to make this position clear, as the Gnadenhütten massacre unhappily showed.

⁵¹ Washington requisitioned Bethlehem as a mass army hospital in December 1776. (Levering 451)

the young Marquis de Lafayette was nursed there.⁵² In fact the whole town and its resources were turned over.⁵³ 'The whole town is still a hospital,' mamma wrote on her last trip, four years ago.⁵⁴ Now, that war is over and there remain, they write us, only certain formalities. They expect that General Washington will be the first president of the new Republic.⁵⁵

"But you know all this, Henri. I review it to give myself a sense of direction or of definition. You see,

⁵² On 21 September 1777, the "brave and gallant young French nobleman, the Marquis de la Fayette," who had been wounded at Brandywine, was taken to the house of George Frederick Boeckel where he was nursed by Boeckel's wife Barbara and daughter Liesel until October 18. Many "pretty little stories with variations," says Levering, entered local tradition as a result of the Marquis' graciousness. (465)

⁵³ Particularly after the British took Philadelphia in 1777, many wounded were brought to Bethlehem. Moravians vacated their own living quarters to accommodate them, a situation which continued in to 1778 and 1779 and did not ease off until the time of the first peace treaty of 20 January 1783. (Levering 525-6)

⁵⁴ Benigna and John de Watteville arrived in Bethlehem on 2 June 1784 where their daughter and son-in-law, Elizabeth and Alexander von Schweinitz, were eagerly waiting to greet them. De Watteville's job was to help the community adjust to the terms of the new government and to upgrade its schools, which had suffered during the war period but were wellknown for their high quality.

⁵⁵ Elizabeth's remark aids the dating of this novel. The Constitutional Convention presided over by Washington took place from May through August 1787. Ratification proceeded through 1788, during which the question arose as to who would be president of the new Republic. Electors chosen early in 1789 voted unanimously for Washington, who was inaugurated in New York on 30 April 1789.

Henri, I can be serious. I do not want to be too serious.

"But I have written it down here."

The loose folder was lying on the table, at her elbow.

"It is a tapestry. At least, we have all the threads even if the picture is not yet clear. It is like Anna Charity's gift to me. I mean, Anna Nitschmann von Zinzendorf's."⁵⁶ She picked up the folder.

"Do not read your notes, Elizabeth. Tell me what you remember."

"I don't remember--only Comenius,⁵⁷ because of his

⁵⁶ Use of Anna Nitschmann's married name here provides exposition and also stresses the connection with Z. As the tapestry is a gift to Elizabeth, another heirloom from a female ancestor like the lace of Theodora de Castell, the whole Moravian legacy is conceived of as a gift, here as in H.D.'s memoir of that title.

⁵⁷ Johann Amos Comenius (1592-1670) thought he was the 'last' bishop of the Unitas Fratrum, earlier known "The Brethren of the Law of Christ," who began as the branch of Jan Hus' followers called the Calixtines (L.calix=cup, from their insistence on communion in both kinds, i.e., with both bread and wine.) Persecutions drove him to Poland in 1621. Comenius influenced Z in an extraordinary way: in 1727, Z found, in a library at Zittau, near his grandmother's estate, a copy of Comenius' Latin version of the old Brethren's "Account of Discipline." Greatly moved by this first encounter with Old Church records, Z said to the Herrnhut community, "I could not read the lamentations of old Comenius...that the Church of the Brethren had come to an end...'Turn Thou us unto Thee, O Lord, and we shall be turned; renew our days as of old,' without resolving...to help bring about this renewal." He also found that the rules for the ancient community were almost the same as the rules he had just drawn up for

portrait in the library, with his robe and cross.⁵⁸ I don't know his date but I can find it."

"No, I only want you to remember." He took the folder from her.

"I remember his grandson, Jablonsky,⁵⁹ received the episcopate of the lost Church⁶⁰ from him--the Church

the refugees. This connection inspired the exiles with new faith. When the entire community was invited by Pastor Rothe to Berthelsdorf parish church to celebrate Holy Communion together on 13 August 1727, all present felt that they were "one in Christ," touched by the "purifying flame of the Holy Ghost." August 13 is still celebrated as the day the Moravian Church received 'spiritual baptism.' (Hutton Church 208-9; Offices vi) H.D. uses the spelling Comenius, following AGS. (81)

⁵⁸ Several portraits of Comenius are hung in prominent places in Bethlehem where H.D. would easily have seen them, but none show him with a cross. The cross was not used as a symbol by Moravians, who associated it with Catholicism and preferred the Agnus Dei. (H.Williams, letter to the author, 12 November 1987)

⁵⁹ Daniel Ernst Jablonsky (or Jablonski--1660-1741) was born near Danzig, the son of a Moravian minister who had married Comenius' daughter. From 1686 to 1691 he was head of the Moravian College at Lissa, Poland, a position his grandfather had held. He was ordained bishop by Comenius in 1699 and was court chaplain to the King of Prussia when Z asked him to ordain David Nitschmann.

⁶⁰ The Old Church is "lost" because no hope exists for its return to Bohemia to serve Bohemians. The term "lost" contains another suggestion, clarified by NHP's foreword to Hermetic Definition. He describes a trip he made with H.D. to Bethlehem and quotes a statement she made in "Notes on Recent Writing":

[S]he stood in the aisle of the Central Church, remembering love feasts and the Unitas Fratrum. She was fascinated by Zinzendorf and his re-establishment of "a branch of the dispersed or 'lost' church of Provence, the Church of Love..."

This 'lost' church of Provence is the Church of the

within the Church,⁶¹ as our grandfather called it. Jablonsky conferred it on David Nitschmann.⁶² I do remember 1722, the year they crossed the frontier from Bohemia and found shelter at Berthelsdorf. David Nitschmann was one of Christian David's party.⁶³ I do remember 1700, the year grandpappa was born.

"I suppose he was really born the last year of the old century, but at any rate, he brought in the seven or the seventeen.⁶⁴

"They thought so much would come of their eighteenth century, and now, as the sands run low, we

Cathars from which, according to Denis de Rougemont's Love in the Western World, the troubadours derived their concept of Love. De Rougemont's book influenced H.D. tremendously; she said in a letter to Viola Jordan (30 July 1941 or 1944, year uncertain): "THAT IS MY BIBLE, if you will." (SSF PR 309; Guest 329)

⁶¹ The idea of the "little church within the great church," which came from Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705), the "father of Pietism," was applied by Z to the whole Herrnhüt community as well as to the Moravian refugee segment of that community. Thus the community had a subdivision, or "tropus," for each denomination--Lutheran, Reformed and Bohemian Brethren.

⁶² After conferring with his colleague in Poland, Bishop Christian Sitkovius, who gave his approval, Jablonsky ordained Nitschmann in Berlin on 13 March 1735.

⁶³ David Nitschmann actually came with Christian David's second party in 1725. The historical fact has little bearing on H.D.'s overall thesis.

⁶⁴ H.D. sees numerological significance in the seven in the seventeen of 1700, the year of Z's birth. She frequently 'told fortunes' by making numerological calculations based on the letters in people's names, apparently linking them with Tarot card numbers. (See letter to Eric W. White, Images, 21)

are defeated.

"No, not defeated, but in some way deflected from the Plan, the mysterious Plan of a Jednota, a unity, a world-unity without war.⁶⁵

"They had been broken in Europe, partitioned and reformed by the religious wars of the seventeenth century, Comenius' century--the thirty years war.

"The war began in Bohemia, but where, when and why, I don't know.⁶⁶ If you hand back my folder to me, I will give you the dates."

"I have told you that I do not want the dates, Elizabeth. I want something that is timeless. Do you remember last night, talking of Theodora of Castell? I mean, do you remember, when you spoke of the wind

⁶⁵ "World-unity without war" is the leit-motif and key theme of this novel. The phrase links the word "unity" with the Moravian church name Unitas and its Czech equivalent, Jednota, and all these with Zinzendorf's vision of the worldwide Plan as seen by H.D. in the light of her quest for wholeness.

⁶⁶ The Thirty Years' War began in 1618, when the Bohemians refused to elect the Catholic Ferdinand of Austria to the Bohemian throne. They chose Frederick, Elector Palatine, instead, but Frederick and his Protestant army were defeated in the battle (Nov. 8-18, 1620) at Weisser Berg (White Mountain), near Prague, by combined forces of the Catholic League under Maximilian of Bavaria. Religious war in Bohemia, however, can be seen as actually beginning with the martyrdom of Jan Hus (b.1369). He had been a professor at the University of Prague and reform activist; he was burned at the stake for heresy in 1415 at Constance, Germany. Hus' martyrdom led his followers to found the Unitas Fratrum. Prague, Hus' home, is therefore the place to do research to find what that church has lost.

catching her lace-scarf? You said, 'it happened two hours ago, it happened two hundred years ago. It gave me a clue.'"

"I felt I was Theodora. That was the clue, partly. If you love people, you live back into their lives.⁶⁷ I told you I was remembering the Winter Queen, in the Cathedral. I couldn't enter into her soul, but I could understand her daughter, Elizabeth of Bohemia, Abbess of Herford. I did question, just for a moment, my right to the candles. Then, I said I was lighting them for Elizabeth of Bohemia. Well, we have the family records. We are related to Bohemia."

"George Podiebrad became king of Bohemia, in 1458."

"I thought you said no dates, Henri, The important thing was that he protected Gregory, Archbishop of the old Bohemian party, and established him and the brethren from Prague, on his estates in north-east Bohemia.⁶⁸ I mean, the important thing to us

⁶⁷ 'Living back' is a major theme and method of this novel. H.D. extends the principle of remembering psychoanalytically into the process of 'living back' into her mother's life, as she did in The Gift. Here she lives back into Bethlehem's life as into her mother's.

⁶⁸ Levering writes of "the seed of the Brethren's church": "...a colony under the leadership of Gregory, a nephew of Rokycana...located, early in the year 1457, near the village of Kunwald on the domain of Lititz in the north-eastern part of Bohemia, the property of George Podiebrad who the next year became King of Bohemia."(9)

is that our grandfather repeated the same pattern, when he welcomed Christian David, David Nitschmann and the little band of refugees, in 1722, at Bertholdsdorf.

"I suppose that's what I mean when I say we have all the threads--you and I together. We have established the facts but there is an emotional clue that is more important. When you get that, you have everything.

"The emotions remain the same, though the dates differ.

"That is what I meant by my clue.

"That is why I try not to worry about Bethlehem, their little City of God.

"David Nitschmann was the official founder,⁶⁹ though grandpappa stood sponsor and named it.

"You remember?"

"I was looking over those notes last night."

"Through Father Nitschmann, the foundation⁷⁰

⁶⁹ In H.D.'s family metaphor here, Bishop David Nitschmann, one of the first party to arrive on the site of Bethlehem, is the 'father' of the town, while Z, having named it on Christmas Eve, 1741, is its godfather.

⁷⁰ Bishop Nitschmann is called "father", which echoes Catholic usage while reinforcing the family metaphor. Ordinarily the form of address among the American Brethren would have been "Brother David," as they addressed Z as "Brother Ludwig" and Spangenberg as "Brother Joseph." (cf. Wallace 134; Reichel Bethlehem Souvenir 1858) But this is the previously mentioned "Father" Nitschmann. See next note.

inherited the Jednota, by way of Jablonsky, Comenius' own grandson. We are step-grandchildren of Anna Charity, Father Nitschmann's daughter,⁷¹ the second Countess von Zinzendorf. Are we step-grandchildren of the foundation?"

"But I don't understand exactly what you mean, when you say you felt you were Theodora?"

"It's something different. It has to do with Bohemia. We are real grandchildren in that instance. Through our own grandmother, the threads run back. It was a long time ago. I mean, I felt in the Cathedral, that Theodora must have loved our grandfather. That is why I said, I felt like Theodora."

Had she said this or only thought it? Henry Dohna was gazing into the fire.

What had she said? She had been thinking out

⁷¹ H.D. is either mistaken, understandably confused by the identical names of the David Nitschmanns, or she is deliberately bending the facts to suit her thesis. Old "Father" Nitschmann, of Zauchenthal, with Anna, his daughter, and Bishop David Nitschmann, his nephew, were in the first party of Brethren to arrive in Pennsylvania in late December 1740, a year before Z and Benigna came. The bishop had a commission to buy land and establish a Moravian community "to become the heart and center of a wide-spread spiritual enterprise." (Hamilton 86) H.D. may have been motivated to reduce the two Nitschmanns to one. She would seem to have known the facts from Levering (54-55), but they would destroy her tight-knit family analogy in which Elizabeth and Henry are step-grandchildren of the Moravian church, as they are the step-grandchildren of Anna Charity Nitschmann.

loud. What had she been thinking?

She rolled up her tapestry and unrolled it, again, waiting for Henry Dohna to look up.

PART II.

IX

"You take your avocation too seriously," said Cardinal de Rohan. "Why should you go back?"¹

"It is a question of expediency. The Row is full of faces. The Grape Cluster alone could disseminate a rumour that might be the undoing of poor Brother Anton. There is the Cathedral as well. Anton is proverbially punctual."²

"But you said there was no school."

"Then, where was Anton? He was sent for, presumably, by the Abbot."³ Those hours are watched, too. Sacristan had directed him, by way of the school-porter to the steps of Benedict. That was some time ago. I cannot say that I was surprised to see you, but

¹ The scene is the Abbot's quarters, somewhere in the Castle precincts, near its library. Antonius has come here as a result of the message brought to him by the school-porter, but instead of finding the abbot, he has unexpectedly found Cardinal de Rohan, in flight from Paris. De Rohan speaks to him as Saint-Germain, who has the "avocation" of posing as a poor lay-brother. Antonius/Saint-Germain has just said that, in keeping with his role, he must go back to his quarters.

² The Cathedral attendants will become suspicious if he doesn't maintain his usual schedule of meditation.

³ It was de Rohan, not the abbot, obviously, who sent for Antonius. He used the abbot's name in the summoning message to preserve Antonius' disguise as well as to protect himself.

in spite of your information, your logic, your--your offer, I must stay here."

"I have told you it is useless. The affair is already ordered. If you scorn the Hat, there is still the Chair--"⁴

"I am out of practice. My excellent Stephanus has exceeded his orders as to 'gentlemanly bearing', as he calls it, when I am the Embassy side⁵ of the Row. But my brain, except for occasional bouts with the Abbot over medieval Latin, has lost cunning. I mean, wit, repartee, the rapier-point, au fil de l'épée, Versailles."⁶

"It is you who turn ironic. And there is another

⁴ De Rohan has asked Saint-Germain to give up his disguise, leave Prague and come with him to Rome to present their findings on the French Freemasons to the Office of the Inquisition. Saint-Germain, whose identity increasingly is that of Antonius, resists. De Rohan indicates that Saint-Germain will be rewarded by high office. St-G has protested but de R says that it is already arranged. Saint-Germain can be made a Cardinal (wear "the Hat") or even become Pope (assume "the Chair" of Peter). In the original manuscript, H.D. wrote "the Chair" after crossing out "the papacy."

⁵ Antonius/Saint-Germain sees some mockery in these extravagant offers but is unable to give quid pro quo. He feels inadequate to high office, saying that when he gets back into Saint-Germain's rooms, he can resume a chevalier's appearance again, with Stephanus' help, but having been a monk for a while, he is "out of practice" at living in the grand style that elevation would require.

⁶ He is no longer clever enough to keep up at Versailles. His mind is not "au fil de l'épée," that is, not "on the sword's edge", i.e., he no longer has the 'cutting' wit expected in Court circles.

vista. My dear Antoine-Louis and my respected Louis-Antoine, it was never disproved that the father of the child--"

"You are drunk, de Rohan--"

--born at Lentmeritz in Bohemia--"⁷

"Village gossips and small parishes--"

"We have the records. And if we hadn't, we could easily procure them. You are the nearest Louis to the last Louis--"⁸

"There is the Dauphin--"

"Poor child,⁹ do not tempt me to indecency, Louis, there is still France."

"And the King--"¹⁰

"He was never, as you know, mentally or

⁷ Eliphas Lévi says: "The Comte de Saint-Germain was born at Lentmeritz in Bohemia at the end of the seventeenth century." (296) The story here draws on a legend that he was an illegitimate son of a king of France, presumably King Louis XV, so this sentence should end: "was the King of France." Lang says that Louis XV "knew, or thought he knew, the secret of" Saint-Germain's birth." (263)

⁸ "The last Louis" refers to the most recent king of France, Louis XV.

⁹ The Dauphin, oldest son of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, born in 1781, was sickly and retarded, so de Rohan calls him "poor child" and expects that, for the sake of France, he will be prevented from coming to the throne. The child died in 1789.

¹⁰ Saint-Germain is naming the people who stand between him and the throne of France, if these rumors of his royal lineage proved true.

biologically intended--¹¹

"There is--"¹²

"Do not argue about 'Toinette. You remember, that was my province and my problem."¹³

"I said, I was not surprised to see you, when I was ushered into the apartment, this morning. Was it only this morning? I was not surprised to see you because at that moment, nothing could surprise me. I had had weighty argument with Stephanus, last night. Was it only last night? I slept little. Blinded by snow and in a half-dream, I felt finally in the chapel of Saint Wenceslas, I had the answer. The answer, that is, that Antonius, frater et praeceptor,¹⁴ was sent here to discover--to decipher. I mean, the alignment or the media¹⁵ that was to join the two together. I speak now

¹¹ This sentence should end: "to rule." Louis XVI was reputed to have been born dull-witted.

¹² This sentence should end: "the Queen."

¹³ De Rohan's 'love' for Marie Antoinette, which he mocks in the diminutive "'Toinette," was policy, but its purpose is not entirely clear. Antonius earlier thought it was an effort to hold the state together. The principal point is that de Rohan's disgrace was deliberately endured as part of a greater plan.

¹⁴ The Latin Frater et praeceptor translates to "brother and teacher," the roles Saint-Germain plays as Antonius.

¹⁵ Media here should be translated as "means," with connotations of "intermediary" or taking a "middle way," a "via media." It is not clear what "two" things are to be joined together, but the context suggests two religious orders or traditions.

of the Organisation,¹⁶ as we planned it. Was it your idea or did it originate with the Holy Father? Not this one.¹⁷ It went back to 1118¹⁸--am I right? There were nine of them, Geoffrey de Saint-Omer and Hugh de Payens were instrumental in the secret alliance with Constantinople--the Greek church.¹⁹ Forgive me for

¹⁶ One of "the two" orders or traditions to be joined together is a renewed or transmuted order of the Knights Templar. The other is the Jesuits.

¹⁷ Antonius makes clear that he is not talking about the current Pope, Pius VI, but an earlier one, perhaps Gelasius II, who was pope when the Templars were founded.

¹⁸ "It" refers to the Templars, constituted as a military order in 1118. H.D. took notes from Robin Fedden's Crusader Castles (London: John Murray, 1950): "Fraternities of fighting monks:/ Hospital & Temple./ Grand Master of the Temple./ conducted last defence of Acre--/ Templars took name from the/ temple enclosure in Jerusalem./ constituted as military order 1118." (p.71 in 1957 ed.; ZN, 2)

¹⁹ Lévi says in History of Magic:

In 1118 nine crusading knights, then in the East--among whom were Geoffrey de Saint-Omer and Hugh de Payens--dedicated themselves to religion, placing their vows in the hands of the Patriarch of Constantinople, which had always been hostile, secretly or openly, to that of Rome since the days of Photius. The avowed object of the Templars was to protect Christians on pilgrimage to holy places; their concealed end was to rebuild the Temple of Solomon....so rebuilt and consecrated to the Catholic worship, the Temple of Solomon would have been in effect the metropolis of the universe. East would prevail over West and the patriarchs of Constantinople would seize the Papacy. (207)

This description of a secret aim fits the organization which de Rohan and Saint-Germain are discussing and to which they belong.

simplicity. You, my Superior,²⁰ know all the transmutations. Our circle, if I may so call it, did finally justify our Leader Loyola's precept, 'the end justifies the means.'²¹ Cardinal de Rohan did not scorn the somewhat undignified role assigned to him by the Fraternity.²² Nor did the Count of Saint-Germain. We worked together. How we accomplished it, is to me still a wonder. Initiated into the highest degree of Knights

²⁰ By addressing de Rohan as his Superior, Antonius shows that they both belong to this new religious order, the "Organisation," amalgamating the old Templars with the Jesuits, the military orientation being their common ground.

²¹ Loyola did not say that "the end justifies the means" in so many words, and how often the Jesuits thought themselves to be acting in the unprincipled spirit of this phrase is disputed. The point here is that, although Catholics are forbidden to become Freemasons, Saint-Germain and de Rohan broke this rule and joined Egyptian Masonic lodge in Paris, dominated by the charlatan Cagliostro. Through this blasphemous and illegal means they gained what they considered a legitimate end--to uncover the names of French Freemasons, said to be fomenting revolution, and to turn them over to the Inquisition.

²² "Fraternity" refers to their secret organization. The suggestion is that they engineered the Diamond Necklace affair as part of their plot against Cagliostro and the Freemasons. Antonius earlier mused on whether de Rohan's passion for the Queen could save the State, that is, the monarchy, which is the Papacy's ally. Since the Diamond Necklace affair did as much damage to the Queen as to Cagliostro, it is not clear how it functions in the secret organization's plans. The historical de Rohan was taken in by Cagliostro, but the historical Saint-Germain found him a competitor as a healer and thought him a false dabbler in the occult.
(Gervaso 116;120)

of Asia, Royal Priests²³ and so on, we attained further--honours. The symbolic bridge of the Knight of the East or Sword²⁴ was constructed. And we crossed it."

"I told you, your work here is finished."

"How can that be, if as you inform me, Rome has ordered its prelates and more valuable adherents out of Paris?"²⁵

"We rehearsed all that this morning, before the interruption by the Abbot and his exemplary servants. The meal was excellent, the wine could not be improved on--it was tactful to leave the flagons on the table. Does he always refer to your outer habit, as a great-coat?"²⁶

"I cannot remember. It is not always taken from me. No doubt, it is as Stephen remarks to me frequently, 'fortunate that you can dress proper under the

²³ These titles represent degrees, or prescribed stages in Freemasonry, each with elaborate symbolic initiations implying greater secrecy and commitment.

²⁴ They were able to reach the highest level and achieve the levels of spirituality expected, in spite of their duplicitous aims.

²⁵ The Church had begun to respond to rumors that Church property would be seized by the revolutionaries to finance their operation, so wealthy bishops, many of whom were also aristocrats aligned with the monarchy, were leaving France.

²⁶ "He" refers to the Abbot. The "great-coat" links Antonius with Henry, who also is disguised in a great-coat.

sackcloth.'"

"The sackcloth is no longer necessary. A messenger can inform Stephen to collect your belongings. You will lodge here. That is, in the event if this storm continuing. Do you not see the lemon-groves of Tuscany, further, the first almond-flower of the Campagna?²⁷ Louis, my dear son, I will permit a slight detour. You shall stop in Venice."

"I do not think that Venice calls me. My experience there was too--ephemeral. I say ephemeral

²⁷ De Rohan evokes the beauties of Italy, particularly of the Campagna, the area around Naples, with images reminiscent of Goethe's lyric: "Kennst du das Land wo die Zitronen blühen." This lyric forms the counterpoint to meditations by H.D. in "Advent." Identifying her soul with Mignon (on All Souls' Day, 2 November) and with Miriam, the child watching over Moses, the 'founder of a new religion' in her Princess dream, H.D. quotes the opening line of "Mignon's Song" and translates:

'Do you know the land where the orange-tree blossoms?' It was on a winter day that the Professor handed me a branch from an orange-tree with dark laurel-like leaves.

Im dunkeln Laub die Gold-Orangen glühn.

Against the dark leaves is that glow of orange-gold.

Ein sanfter Wind vom blauen Himmel weht;

Yes, it was dark and cold and there was the rumbling of war-chariots from the near horizon. But upon the old Professor and this particular soul, a soft wind blew from a cloudless sky--so gentle was the wind that the myrtle, that with the rose is sacred to Love, did not flutter a leaf...

In this scene, the two men talk during in a winter storm with war coming; they are spiritually father and son. the son is about to 'confess' his mystical experiences, as H.D. told hers to Freud. Identifying Mignon with "the soul," (TF 110-1), she speaks of going deep into the past with the soul's "protector," o mein Beschützer. De R also is a protector from whom St-G must soon part.

because I have no word or phrase to support my feeling. Did I tell you of it? I must have told Stephanus, or he listened to delirium, while I raved in a fever. I do not know how the fever took me.²⁸ I only know that in Venice, I was seen where I was not. Now, I have said it clearly. And why do I say it to you now, who have never before been able to find words for it? I say it, because as you just remarked, the Abbot's service or the servants left nothing to the imagination--the wine was excellent. I confess that I was hungry. But though Stephen keeps me supplied with delicacies from the market, my peculiar status forbids too much festivity. The Count maintains, he informs the quarter, a strict incognito. The Count, that is, of Saint-Germain."²⁹

"This Bohemia,"³⁰ de Rohan cherished his goblet, then turned it slowly, seeming to watch reflections from the embers, "I repeat, leaves nothing to the imagination."

"That is what I discovered," said Saint-Germain.

28 Saint-Germain is trying to explain his mystical experience scientifically as a "fever" which took him away from himself, an effort parallel to H.D.'s continuing to be drawn to rational explanation in "the penumbra of the light of my father's science and my mother's art--the psychology...of Sigmund Freud," (TF 145)

29 Louis is not to be confused with Count von Reuss in this context.

30 "Bohemia" means for de Rohan the excellent "Bohemian wine," particularly fine for inducing supernormal states of mind. Louis' response applies this comment to all of Bohemia and to his secret passion for Elizabeth.

"But I must go back. I must plot a curve--the door swung inward. Did I tell you, snow had drifted on the pavement?"

"I have never know you to lose your head, Louis, even at our most flagrant Palace orgies."³¹

"This Bohemia is more potent than the Chateau Saint-Germain that Stephen insisted on bringing with us. Besides, your story of a coming Revolution³² has unnerved me. How can it be prevented?"

"It can not be prevented. Our excellent Balsamo, Acharat or Calioistro had instructions from Medina.³³ Althotas arranged everything.³⁴ And by the way, you

³¹ Saint-Germain's digression makes de Rohan think that his companion has gone slightly mad, as he never had before, even when everyone at the Palace of Versailles was plunged in self-indulgence.

³² The submerged context of the French Revolution has clearly surfaced for the first time in the novel.

³³ "Acharat" was the name under which Cagliostro said he had been raised at Medina, Arabia, and taught occult magic by Althotas. (Gervaso 28-30; Photiades 197)

³⁴ The suggestion here is that Cagliostro instigated the revolution, a view which leaves out any concept of social forces as determinants of historical events. Cagliostro could make it seem as if he were instrumental by his prognostications. Father Luca Benedetti witnessed at Rome in September 1789 a séance in which Cagliostro predicted the downfall of Louis XVI:

The Count [Cagliostro] called a girl into the room and ordered her to look into a glass bottle full of water. The girl, whom he called his pupil, said that she saw a road leading from a great city to another one nearby, crossed by a huge crowd of men and women who ran along shouting... 'Down with the King!' Cagliostro asked her what place this

attained the final--honours. Who is Althotas?"³⁵

"My Preceptor, my Superior, Cardinal de Rohan knows as much of the inner--teaching, as I do."

"I know what you have told me. The records are in order. There is only the final checking-up to be done, then my formal presentation at the Vatican.³⁶ The list, the findings, the description of the--well, Sanctum³⁷ the various branches of the franc-maçons, the expressed (if secret) intention³⁸ will be sufficient, I have been

was. She answered that she could hear the crowd clamouring: 'To Versailles!' The magician turned to us and announced: 'The pupil has foretold the future. In a short time from now, Louis XVI will be attacked by the populace in his palace in Versailles...the monarchy will be overthrown, the Bastille razed to the ground, and freedom will triumph over tyranny. (Gervaso 205)

³⁵ De Rohan is trying to get Saint-Germain to admit that he, Saint Germain, and not Cagliostro, is Althotas. Lévi writes: "It is said that Saint-Germain was no other than that mysterious Althotas who was Master of Magic of another adept...who took the Kabalistic name of Acharat. The supposition has no foundation." (300) Saint-Germain hedges by saying that de Rohan knows as much as he does.

³⁶ Historically, the Inquisition did have spies tracking Cagliostro and reporting his activities, as de Rohan is doing. In 1789, the Holy Office persuaded Cagliostro's wife, Seraphina, to denounce her husband as a heretic Freemason, not long after the supposedly secret Masonic séance predicting Louis XVI's downfall was reported to the Vatican by Cardinal de Bernis, the French ambassador, who witnessed it, and demanded that the Pope act against Cagliostro. (Gervaso 206-7)

³⁷ The "Sanctum" is the secret location of Masonic rites. He hesitates to call it a "temple."

³⁸ Intention to overthrow the French government is evidently what is meant.

formally promised, to re-instate the Jesuits. Loyola had intended this from the beginning. It was only a question of suppressing the lower orders,³⁹ of finally re-forming on the Praetorian level, the suppressed, authentic Order of the Templars."⁴⁰

"Was it ever actually proved that after disbanding the Order in 1312, Clement V perished miserably?"

"It is the tradition that he and Philip the Fair both died mysteriously.⁴¹ Perhaps history disproves this.⁴² Another Clement, XIV if I am not mistaken, suppressed the Jesuits--1773, am I right?"

"Fifteen years ago. It is not a long time to wait."⁴³

³⁹ De Rohan sees the suppression of the Jesuits not as an historical accident or an ethical consequence of their behavior but as the manifestation of a plan conceived by Loyola. The Jesuits' lower orders would be weeded out so that a spiritual elite could emerge.

⁴⁰ The Jesuits thus become united with the Praetorian guard of imperial Rome and the Templars, which suggests that an underlying continuum or fund of spirituality exists, which surfaces periodically in history through the genius of sensitive individuals.

⁴¹ Clement V died in 1314, two years after suppressing the Templars in 1312, an act of subservience to Philip the Fair, King of France, who wanted to appropriate their wealth. Philip also died in 1314.

⁴² Manfred Barthel, Jesuit historian, says that Clement XIV's death on 22 September 1774 was officially the result "'of the natural process of a fatal disease,'" a euphemism for brain tumor, a non-respectable form of death, since it was associated with mental illness. (231)

⁴³ This figure sets the precise date of this novel.

"After the Revolution, the Society will be re-established."⁴⁴

"After the Revolution--"

"Yes, Louis, I am not as easy in this arm-chair, as you might imagine. I must get the list⁴⁵ to Rome immediately. Our contribution would lose its value, if the storm broke before our information accurately foretold its coming."

"But you say Rome has ordered its prelates to leave Paris?"

"The inner Office⁴⁶ had received a personal messenger from Cardinal de Rohan. But the actual papers must be presented for the coming prosecutions. The Abbot's clerk left ink and paper on the desk, behind your shoulder. I recommend a brief interlude. We shall reward ourselves with our Bohemia, after Paris.⁴⁷ Ah-- he renewed the flagon. I thought ours was the last one."

⁴⁴ The Jesuits were in fact restored after the Revolution, in 1814, by Pius VII, who succeeded Pius VI, the Pope, after Clement XIV, from 1775 to 1799.

⁴⁵ The list names Freemasons purportedly organizing against the monarch.

⁴⁶ The Office of the Inquisition had gotten secret notice from de Rohan, so they already know what is coming and have issued advice to leave.

⁴⁷ De Rohan is saying that, after they take care of the business of writing the names of those to be reported to the Inquisition, they can go back to drinking Bohemian wine.

We need no tedious interruption. And this wine-glass and the platter, left there on the table--where did the fruit come from?⁴⁸ Rome could not have served us better. Is your brain yet unfrozen? You were right to keep the practice of the Exercitia, but from what you told me this morning, I fear you have overdone it. You yourself are frozen. I am not speaking of the weather."

"On the contrary, I am flaming with Bohemia."

"The ruby glass⁴⁹--the red wine--"

"I am not fit to check the list. This transition is too sudden. De Rohan, believe me, I will serve France."

It was fortunate or perhaps unfortunate, that at this moment, a lackey entered to replenish the fire.

* * *

"Well, then, the storm still rages," said de Rohan. "Fatigue overtakes me. Perhaps it is as well

⁴⁸ The magical appearance of fruit and replenishment of wine makes this banquet a replica of ones produced, according to legend, by Faust, "with the choicest and rarest foods, fruit out of season and exquisite wines." (Butler MM 139) Spontaneously flowing wine is produced by Goethe's Faust in Auerbach's cellar. The 'alchymyst' Albertus Magnus was said to have produced for his friends, in the depths of a winter snowstorm, a summer garden with flowering trees under which stood a banquet table laden with delicacies. (Mackay 107-8) Saint-Germain appears to be the 'alchymst' producing the transformation here.

⁴⁹ Bohemia is famous for its ruby glass.

that I stay here to-night. And what do you know of the Ambassador you say lodges in your Row?"

"I am surprised to learn that he got through. But Stephen had reported from conversation with a valet, that they were on the way.⁵⁰ That was last night. And our apartment is not technically, the Row. There is a fine distinction. The Row, so-called, is the old alchemists' headquarters. Anton's study, though adjoining, is part of the original cloister. I wish I could show it to you. It is well thought out, though Stephen constantly reminds me that 'you can never be too careful.'"

"I would keep you here, Louis. This room is like a red rose."⁵¹

"I would swoon into it, if I stayed longer. Let me recall the valet. He will help you to bed."

"Louis, my mind, thanks to my own past habit and the Exercitia, runs a dart through me. We must do the list first."

"Your mind may be a drawn sword, my own wanders."

⁵⁰ It was not clear from Stephanus' earlier conversation with the valet that the main ambassadorial party had not yet arrived.

⁵¹ De Rohan looks at the room through his ruby-tinted wine glass, and is drunk, but the atmosphere of the Albertus Magnus' summer garden banquet in midwinter here blends with the Italian landscape of Goethe's lyric. Part of the enchantment for Saint-Germain is that his mind is on Elizabeth.

"You were our example, always."

"'You can never be too careful,' Stephen warned me. But I was careless. It was a mistake to step aside and lift the curtain for her."

"Louis," said de Rohan, ignoring this last statement, "your Stephen may be right. Balsamo has accomplices in every quarter. He is a Sicilian." The Cardinal was fumbling with his satchel. "These are the points, trimmed as we last used them." He laid a cluster of goose-quills on the table. "This is not Loyola speaking.⁵² The delay is dangerous. They will know that I left Paris. Your Ambassador may have fresh news. It is you who have confused me."

"My own state of mind has been abnormal, since I left Paris. I could, I did completely shut out the problem. Can one live in two hermetically sealed compartments?⁵³ I succeeded. But you recall the question--was it honourable?⁵⁴ It was not honest. I

⁵² De Rohan is saying that he does not know the plan and outcome of things as Loyola did; he has to finish his mundane task of writing down names to give to the Inquisition.

⁵³ "H.D. by Delia Alton" says: "She has her two visions or her two fields of vision. She realizes these in two separate compartments of her mind." (185) These two are, more or less, this world and the 'other' world of dream or trance.

⁵⁴ Saint-Germain is asking whether the deception which they practiced on Cagliostro and the Freemasons was an honourable act.

confess, I felt no personal degradation. Curiosity held me and the thought that always, I was serving the Fraternity.⁵⁵ I can not give the pass-words that you asked of me, this morning. I have forgotten them. I must go back. I thought I was absolved from further contact with the--the magus,⁵⁶ when I came here to Prague. It was blackness, unutterable and damnable.⁵⁷

"The end justifies--"

De Rohan was examining the papers in his satchel. "You can at least, sign the original inditement.⁵⁸ But I forgot this."

He laid a letter by the goose-quills, on the table.

"It has been opened," said de Rohan, "the Abbot discussed it with me, while I was waiting for you. A

⁵⁵ "Fraternity" means the Freemasons under Cagliostro. Saint-Germain sealed off from his mind his commitment to the Jesuits while he was involved with the Freemasons, but now he has forgotten their pass-words and has stepped into the other compartment of his mind. These, however, do not stay very clearly separated.

⁵⁶ The "magus" is Cagliostro. St-G hesitates over this title as if it were a little too good for Balsamo.

⁵⁷ "It" refers to their involvement with the "Egyptian Rites" more than to the rites themselves. He now feels that his duplicity was "blackness" and "damnable." He feels it is evil to betray to the Inquisition those with whom he swore profound oaths of loyalty and secrecy--in short, he does not feel that the end justifies the means.

⁵⁸ De Rohan is willing to excuse Saint-Germain from writing out the names of Freemasons but wants his signature on the formal charges against them. As it is a death-warrant, Saint-Germain is trying to find a way not to sign.

certain Henry--Count, I gather--Dohna wishes access to the records."

It seemed a strange moment for so trivial a business. Why did the Cardinal forget the letter, and why did he remember it? It was de Rohan, it seemed now to Antonius, who was marking time. He seemed confident enough, this morning. It was the way he said of Balsamo, 'he is a Sicilian.'⁵⁹ It is true the oaths they took at Acharat's so-called initiations, were extravagant to a degree and blasphemous. But they had each other to confide in, and their own security and absolution. If they believed in Loyola and the Order, if they were working to re-establish Loyola's 'suppressed Society of Jesus, then the broken vows were nothing. Were they nothing?⁶⁰

De Rohan was exhausted. He had no doubt, spent himself, even before leaving Paris. For a moment, he had hinted at a truce.⁶¹ There was a letter. It had

⁵⁹ A Sicilian takes loyalty very seriously and is famous for extravagant revenge against those who betray him.

⁶⁰ It is a matter of no moral consequence, asserts Saint-Germain to himself, if he and de Rohan break the vows they took during the Masonic rites. But then he thinks those vows might not be 'nothing.' Maybe they have true power and are binding.

⁶¹ De Rohan's mention of a letter provides an opportunity for a 'truce' in this silent struggle between the two men. Saint-Germain can use it to delay preparing the inditement for the Inquisition.

already been opened. For some reason, the Abbot was asking him to assist a visitor, perhaps on the old scripts that the usual clerks could not decipher. But why should the Abbot discuss the matter with de Rohan? Perhaps this Dohna--

Antonius unfolded the letter. "The Tower, House of Köstriz," he read.

X

Antonius laid the open letter on the table, unread, "If the Ambassador (the only one in our quarter) came from Paris, why did Stephen tell me that the valet told him they were from Vienna or were going to Vienna?"

"No doubt, the valet had instructions," said de Rohan.

"If as you say, this letter is from a certain Count Dohna, why did Stephen tell me the present resident of The Tower is a certain lady--a--a de Watteville?"

"If you read the letter you will perhaps find the answer."

"Why--again--I am speaking to myself, as in preliminary to the Exercitia--did the Abbot discuss with Cardinal de Rohan, the contents of a letter, presumably from a stranger, and in the face of astounding revelation, world-shattering news that the Cardinal had already broken to him in his capacity of ecclesiastical liaison-officer with the Castle? Or was the letter read first?"

"The Abbot is a diplomat and my host. He realised my anxiety. He may have produced the letter and

discussed it, in order to ease the tension. In any case, the letter is for you."

Count Dohna. The Tower, House of KÖstriz. Viduæ et Virgines. Was she a widow or had she never married?

If he read the letter, he would know this, or he would not know this. Was Count Dohna--he did not wait to ask himself preliminary questions--her husband?

He could have delayed this question that he put to himself. He could have waited. His mind was trained to watch, to wait, to assemble particulars, to match like a trained worker in mosaic, the various fragments. It was not like him to force a question, to deal himself a stab--almost, you might say, a stab in the dark and mortal. Antonius and Saint-Germain were on more subtle terms with one another, as he himself had phrased it, au fil de l'épée.

"I have been trying out a question. I thought you might give the answer. Something that would say yes, or something that would say no. When I said, 'Did I tell you snow had drifted on the pavement?', you countered or riposted with the remark that I had lost my head, or that you had never known me to lose my head, even at our most flagrant Palace orgies. When I went on with it, 'It was a mistake to step aside and lift the curtain for her', you ignored this altogether. It is a Lady. I have followed her--thoughts, almost,

in the Chapel of Saint Wenceslas, I have never spoken to her. The name is de Watteville. She is apparently related to Köstriz or the House of Köstriz. She is staying at the Tower."

"There is a lady staying at The Tower, the Abbot told me, a cousin or a sister of Count Dohna."

"A lackey is always in attendance. He waits for her, after her devotions, at the Grape Cluster. They call him Schweinitz."

"That may be. His mistress is a Countess von Schweinitz."

"His mistress--"¹

"The lady that we speak of. They imagine, for some reason, that their identities are unknown. An innocent escapade, I should imagine."

"Köstriz or as Stephen says 'whatever his name is', is in Vienna."

"Your² Ambassador is not going to Vienna. He will return to England."

"Is this prophecy?"

"It is what the Abbot told me."

"He knows everything?"

¹ Saint-Germain hears "mistress" as "lover" and not as it should be heard, "employer of a servant."

² De Rohan says to Saint-Germain that the ambassador newly-arrived from France is "your" ambassador because their lodgings adjoin.

"Our³ choice of Prague as our last stronghold, has been fully justified."

"Von Schweinitz--"

"She is a widow."

"Why must you tell me this? Stephanus--"⁴

"Louis, you are still the impressionable youth, I first knew, straight from your life of errantry in the forest.⁵ We fostered that, as well as the Venetian legend. We waited. You have not failed us. A mythical Prince, Chevalier, at last to save France."⁶

"The legend has been degraded, the source poisoned by Calioistro⁷ and the association of Saint-Germain with

³ The pronoun "our" refers to the underground Templar-Jesuits. The Abbot knows their secrets, so he is one of them, although technically he is in another order. His aid and skill led the "Organisation" to choose Prague as the place for their renewal to begin.

⁴ The completed thought is: "Stephanus told me her name was de Watteville." This new name implies that she is married to the man Saint-Germain thinks is her servant, a thought which disturbs him considerably.

⁵ Levi says: "Saint-Germain never spoke of his father but he mentions having led a life of proscription and errantry in the world of forest, having his mother as companion." (296)

⁶ "We" are the members of the "Organisation" whose political plan is now revealed--Saint-Germain is to save France, presumably by becoming its king.

⁷ Cagliostro's widely-read Mémoires Authentiques (1786), or more precisely, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Comte de Cagliostro, stated that Saint-Germain was the founder of Freemasonry and in Germany had initiated Cagliostro into its secret rites. The Mémoires Authentiques are, however, fictitious. (EB 1957, 4:530)

the company of Saint-Jakin.⁸ The legends contradict one another."

"You are safe with us, Louis. Saint-Jakin and the rest will be forgotten. Rome will be ready with acclamation. By the way, why don't you read your letter?"

"Why do you say that it is my letter?"

"Apparently, it is addressed," de Rohan leaned forward and turned over the folded square of paper, "to the Keeper of the Archives. You are technically, assistant to the Abbot. Shall I read this:

Most esteemed etcetera, etcetera,

I would deem it a great favour if your secretary would assist me in certain researches. I have reason to believe that

⁸ One legend, recounted by Lévi, concerning Saint-Germain is that he founded "an association under the title of Saint-Jakin--which has been turned into Saint Joachim" which had been reported to engage in an initiation in which a candidate for their order was asked to give up his life. The candidate was bled till he swooned but was not killed; then he was awakened as one supposedly resurrected from the dead. Some initiates believed that they had really been resurrected and so thought they would never die. Lévi comments: "The heads of the society thus had at the service of their concealed projects the most formidable of all instruments, namely madness....The sect of Saint-Jakin was therefore an Order of Gnostics steeped in the illusions of the Magic of Fascination; it drew from Rosicrucians and Templars; and its particular name was one of two names--Jachin and Boaz--engraved on the pillars of Solomon's Temple." (299) Saint-Germain here wants to dissociate himself from false or deceptive magic, which is also a strong motive in Lévi's writing.

there is material, unpublished and so far unprocurable, concerning the early affiliation of my grandfather, the late Count Zinzendorf, with a certain Father de la Tour.⁹ There was also a connection at one time, with the Oratory of the Premonstrants.¹⁰ The names Simon d'Albizi and Father Anthony Dionysius¹¹ have also been recorded.

Yours etcetera, etcetera."

De Rohan laid down the letter.

"I know nothing of this Zinzendorf," said Antonius.

⁹ Z met Father de La Tour, General of the Society of the Oratory in Paris in 1719. (AGS 20)

¹⁰ The Premonstrants (or Premonstratensians) took the name of their order from Premontre, near Aisne, in the diocese of Laon, site of their first monastery founded by St. Norbert in 1120. Not monks but canons regular, they were preachers and pastors of parishes incorporated in their monasteries. Z visited a church of the Premonstrants in Paris. (AGS 21)

¹¹ On page 6 of ZN, among notes from AGS, H.D. wrote the following:

Father Anthony Dionysius

Simon D'Albizi.

oratory of the Premonstrants.

In composing this chapter, H.D. evidently re-read these notes, which appear to record two names where in fact there is only one. In the church of the Premonstrants, Z heard a sermon which led him to go to the oratory of the Premonstrants to meet the preacher, a Dominican monk whose full name AGS gives as Father Anthony Dionysius Simon D'Albizi. (21)

"His properties in Austria were confiscated because of Protestant affiliations.¹² The Saxon court at Dresden later denounced him for Catholic sympathy. The Abbot knew La Tour in Paris. The young Count was marked,¹³ as you are marked, for leadership. But after preliminary and I need hardly add, secret trial with the Dominicans,¹⁴ it was decreed that Zinzendorf's work was other than La Tour wished and as the young Count had anticipated. He was to return to Saxony, inspire an awakening in Protestant Germany. He spent his life and fortune re-establishing or trying to re-establish a branch of the suppressed Church of Bohemia.¹⁵ He called

¹² The wording here is very close to a passage in "H.D. by Delia Alton:" "Zinzendorf's father was an Austrian, exiled or self-exiled to Saxony, because of his Protestant affiliations." (IR. 16:3, 188) It was actually Z's grandfather's lands in Austria which were confiscated; the grandfather resettled near Nuremberg in Bavaria, not in Saxony. (AGS vi)

¹³ Z was "marked" by his mystical sensitivity, not by his worldly rank, and the same is true of Saint-Germain. Although noble birth seems to be seen in this novel as a sort of 'objective correlative' to spiritual nobility, servants and lowly persons best manifest true spirituality.

¹⁴ The Dominicans wanted to convert Z, but this secret trial appears to be an invention by H.D.

¹⁵ It must be said that, historically, Z wanted to foster 'heart-religion' in everyone, of whatever denomination, rather than to create and try to convert them to a separate church. The re-establishment of the Old Church of Bohemia occurred as a somewhat accidental but essential means, not as an end in itself. Z's efforts to avoid creating a separate denomination failed under the weight of historic pressures. (Levering 80-86)

it the Church within the Church. He inspired many but with his death, the Lord's Watch, as he called it, lost touch with the Hierarchy.¹⁶ Actually, the Count was at one time, exiled from Saxony because of supposed affiliation with Rome."¹⁷

"The Abbot thinks this Dohna wishes to renew his grandfather's lié with--with Rome?"

"Not Rome in the sense that the Saxon Court understood it, when they denounced his grandfather. But the Rome perhaps, of Father d'Albizi, the Dominican Adept."¹⁸

"I seem out of touch with all this."

¹⁶ The Moravian Church after Z's death did not emphasize its hierarchical structure of bishops which linked it back to the ancient church of Bohemia, but it also did not abandon its episcopacy. It looked forward into missionary fields, especially in the Americas, and the connection back to the ancient church, embedded in Bohemian nationalism, seemed a less compelling emphasis. There is a hint here that the Hierarchy is in some way eternal, more than simply an episcopal succession.

¹⁷ In 1732 Z was ordered into exile and to sell his estates, as a means of destroying the Herrnhüt community, because the Protestant government of Saxony suspected that the Moravian refugees were not religious seekers but infiltrators employed by the Catholic rulers of Bohemia to instigate a political takeover. This view, and the stories of his student contacts with Catholic prelates in Paris, led to the conclusion that Z had Catholic sympathies, which was not true in the narrow or political sense construed by his enemies.

¹⁸ The label "adept" for Fr. D'Albizi blends official religion with non-church forms of spirituality, signifying that the 'eternal Order' is all-embracing. It includes the occult and magic and much that is viewed as suspect; this universality is what H.D. most values.

"I am considerably older than you are, Louis,¹⁹ and the Abbot is the philosophe inconnu²⁰ of our Society. The inner teaching is handed down orally, as you know."²¹

The wind was howling from the river into the narrow passage of the street of the Alchemists.²²

"There is a word that I am trying to remember," said Antonius, "an awkward word--meaning that even the oral teaching to the privileged and the secret cherishing of the legend is not sufficient. It is a

¹⁹ Historically, De Rohan lived from 1734 to 1803 and Saint-Germain from around 1700 to around 1784. But it is not problematic that Saint-Germain "the deathless" should appear here as a young man.

²⁰ The Abbot is the "unknown philosopher" of the 'eternal Order,' that is, he is a Martinist. "The school of unknown philosophers founded by Martines de Pasqually and continued by L.C. de Saint-Martin seems to have incorporated the last adepts of true initiation....The Martinists were the last Christians in the cohort of illuminés. (Lévi 305)

²¹ Oriental religion, especially Buddhism, holds that the authentic teachings can only be communicated orally, from a spiritually developed teacher to a student, in contrast to western religion's emphasis on scripture, the written word of the Bible, as definitive. Occult practices, which traditionally stem from the Orient, follow this tradition. After oral testing by the teacher, the student undergoes initiation to be able to receive higher teachings. This process continues through a number of levels.

²² Saint-Germain has a moment of 'living back' to seeing Elizabeth leave the Cathedral. It parallels her 'flash' in chapter VIII (n.45). The rush of wind is also symbolically a descent of the Holy Spirit, by whatever name.

word that means you must act out the legend for yourself."²³

²³ The injunction that "you must act out the legend for yourself" is an idea held by the Order of Saint-Joachim or Saint-Jakin who were successors to the old Rosicrucians but "had become a mystical sect and had embraced zealously the Templar magical doctrines, as a result of which they regarded themselves as the sole repositories of the secrets intimated by the Gospel according to St. John. They regarded the narrative of that Gospel as an allegorical sequence of rites designed to complete initiation, and they believed that the history of Christ must be realized in the person of each one of the adepts." (Lévi 298)

Realizing a spiritual history within oneself is a clear equivalent of H.D.'s statement, "You must act out the legend for yourself." This statement is an obvious precursor, both conceptually and linguistically, of the key phrase and leit-motif in Helen in Egypt: "She herself is the writing." In Pallinode I:3 the epigraph in full reads:

Helen herself denies an actual intellectual knowledge of the temple-symbols. But she is nearer to them than the instructed scribe; for her, the secret of the stone-writing is repeated in natural or human symbols. She herself is the writing. (HE 22)

This novel can be seen as H.D.'s understanding of occult workings revealed through characters presented as incarnations of eternal spirits.

XI

It was not probable. It was not possible. His right hand rested on a sword-hilt.¹

Stephanus had said last night (was it only last night?), "locks has been known to be picked."²

Was it snow reflected on the ceiling? Was it memory of tricks and diabolic phosphorescence?³

He had denied himself the consolation of resting in the Cathedral, but had beaten his way back,⁴ in the early twilight.

He should have left the Castle earlier, but Cardinal de Rohan was urgent and insistent. He read aloud the process of inditement. But at the last, Saint-Germain had refused his signature. He had wanted

¹ The scene is the vestry or small antechamber to Antonius' rooms, just as he enters them. Something so shocks him that he feels dizzy and uses his trick of right-hand orientation, by putting his hand where a sword-hilt would be, as he had done to retain rationality in the 'reversal' experience.

² He suspects that his lock has been picked and someone has gained entry.

³ He is puzzling over a faint abnormal light in the room which is his clue that someone has gotten in, wondering if it is a magical delusion.

⁴ The continuing snowstorm meant he had to beat his way back to his rooms from the Cathedral.

confirmation, if you will, confession.⁵ His Superior was qualified to receive it. Could it be possible, the Cardinal laughingly reproached him, that your valet has gifts that I lack? It was Stephanus who said, "If a door bangs shut unexpected, a door might, by the same logic, bang open." He would see Stephanus immediately, he had assured de Rohan, and inquire of the returned Ambassador. It was de Rohan who had first suggested that the Ambassador might have fresh news from Paris. Where was Stephanus? It was unreasonable to expect him to wait at the window, when he must have known that his master had been summoned by the Abbot...being "half way to the Castle"...

"Brother," said Calioistro.⁶

It was a small room but he could turn around in it.⁷ The dusk would not reveal his habit. In fact, the Castle servant had discreetly slipped the white rope

⁵ Antonius/Saint-Germain wanted de Rohan to forgive him for refusing to sign over to the Inquisition the names of Freemasons--Cagliostro's would be at the top--to whom he had sworn loyalty, even if the initiations in which he had sworn were blasphemous and demonic.

⁶ Calioistro's salute has an ironic double entendre. He is greeting a fellow Freemason, not a Franciscan friar.

⁷ "He" refers to Saint-Germain, not Calioistro. (H.D. uses an anglicized spelling of the usual "Cagliostro.") He is standing behind Saint-Germain, who must turn around to speak to him. The friar's disguise, as part of the Jesuit-knight's scheme, must, however, not be observed by Calioistro.

into the wide fold of the skirt-pocket, presumably prompted by the Abbot's reference to his great-coat. The fine, stinging snow had blown off his garments. "It was the first house, they told me," said Calioistro, "Alchemists' Row. But I didn't expect the luck to find you."

There was the chair on which Calioistro had been sitting, and the bench. The bench was usually pushed against the side-wall but it had been pulled out. Saint-Germain replaced the bench and bundled his habit under it. "That door leads somewhere,"⁸ said Calioistro, "but there was no response to my knocking. I tried both."⁹ The signals have been changed somewhat, but perhaps the brothers¹⁰ here don't yet know of it." He turned his chair, with his back to the small window. "There's no way down," he said, "as far as I could find out, in the floor-boarding."¹¹ I don't understand it. I did have forty-winks. I was exhausted. I don't rightly know how long I've been here. The grooms are

⁸ Calioistro is indicating the door to Antonius' inner room.

⁹ There is apparently a second door in this entryway, which Calioistro also tried to open.

¹⁰ The "brothers" are members of the "Fraternity of Free-masons," as an official document terms them. A coded knock communicates a fellow Mason's presence.

¹¹ He looked for a secret entrance but didn't find it.

not fratres proper,¹² but I had the luck in Paris, to save the Ambassador a favorite filly. I was always good with horses. Get in with the stables and you're in right. I was taken on, as extra rider, because of the storm.¹³ They would have turned back or rested but I was persuasive and confided in first outrider who got it through to coachman, that there was trouble brewing. No doubt, his Ambassador had had a hint to leave and leave quick. They never tell us nothing, said outrider. I had a pal, I said, related distant to one of the Guard.¹⁴ Very distant, I said. They're Swiss, he said, I always wondered.¹⁵ And now, we're on the subject," said Calioistro, "I may tell you, they refuse to obey, what they call inferiors.¹⁶ They was

¹² Even though the grooms in the diplomat's stable were not really Freemasons, Calioistro got their help as readily as if they had been.

¹³ The extra weight of another rider on the outside of the Ambassador's carriage would keep it from turning over in the snowstorm.

¹⁴ Calioistro's excuse for knowing that they had to leave Paris speedily is that he got word from a distant relative in the Swiss Guard, who would have overheard something in the King's palace.

¹⁵ The groom wondered where the Guard's loyalties lie. Being Swiss rather than French, will they go over to the revolutionaries or stay loyal to the King? Their supposed warning to their friends hints to the groom that they might defect.

¹⁶ "They" refers to the Swiss Guard, who will not obey the revolutionaries, whom the Guard considers to be of too inferior a class to command obedience.

to be disbanded."

Said Saint-Germain, "I must return to Paris."

"Brother, I'm awake now," said Calioistro, "you are official. I'm surprised to see you. How did you get word, before Medina actually declared it?¹⁷ You've been gone some time. I always said you were a dark horse, but I never thought they'd send you word first."

"I had heard nothing," said Saint-Germain.

"The thing starts official,"¹⁸ said Calioistro, "when the Guard leaves the Palace."

"The Guard will not leave the Palace," said Saint-Germain.

"That appears plain," said Calioistro. "In that sense, I see what you aim at, when you say you must go back.¹⁹ They²⁰ will only take it from you, Chevalier, as they call you simply, as if there wasn't plenty of

¹⁷ Cagliostro sees that Saint-Germain has an preternatural understanding of the role he is to play in the Revolution, and thinks that St-G must be very high in Masonry indeed, since he apparently was told of things to come before Cagliostro himself had been told by Medina, the oriental source of Cagliostro's occult insight. This observation supports the rumor that Saint-Germain is himself Althotas, the source.

¹⁸ "The thing" is the French Revolution.

¹⁹ Saint-Germain's declaration makes Cagliostro understand why the chevalier wants to go back to Paris: to see that the Guard does not leave the Palace, and thus to prevent the Revolution.

²⁰ "They" refers to the Swiss Guard.

Chevaliers in Paris. They have some key or clue?²¹ I always thought you might be doubling on our circle,²² but we all do that. Couldn't you get it through, your code-word? You can certainly dismiss them, without yourself facing danger and by now, death. It won't be so bad.²³ We had brother-doctors working on it. It's a new device, efficient and reliable. The Guillotine, they call it."²⁴

(What was it de Rohan had said, when he waited for an answer? Something that would say yes, or something that would say no. "I have never known you to lose your head...")²⁵

"I have heard discussion of it," said Saint-

²¹ He is asking whether Saint-Germain has set up a code with the Swiss Guard to tell them what to do.

²² Calioistro now realizes that Saint-Germain is a double agent, since he sides with the Catholic King, not with the revolutionary Protestant Freemasons.

²³ "It" refers to death.

²⁴ Dr. Guillotin proposed in the French Assembly on 1 December 1789 that all executions should be performed the same way, by decapitation through use of a machine. Death by decapitation had previously been a privilege of nobility only. It was also thought desirable to make the process as swift and painless as possible. With Dr. Guillotin's refined machine, executions were felt to be both egalitarian and merciful.

²⁵ Saint-Germain's thoughts are almost a pun. He wants to keep his head, that is, stay sane, under the pressure of Calioistro's presence and threats, but his decision also means that he will lose his head, literally, under the blade of the guillotine.

Germain. "Can not this Revolution be prevented?"

He had asked Cardinal de Rohan the same question.

"It can not be prevented," the Cardinal had answered.

But "how can it be prevented?" said Calioistro.

"I had thought," said Saint-Germain, "when serving the Fraternity, that the idea was one of an ideal Brotherhood."

"You have served others," said Calioistro, "not that we hold that against you."

"My influence in the Palace,²⁶ such as it was, " said Saint-Germain, "was to serve as a bridge between us."

"There was no crossing that bridge, " said Calioistro, "Mind brother, I had it straight from Althotas, you were not against us. But official records was got out or being ready to be posted on the lanterns.²⁷ But the Cardinal was too quick. I was hiding in the stables, so heard only after he had gone. I couldn't follow, so thought best to lie low and the grooms was sympathetic. Even, brother, I could with my

²⁶ Saint-Germain explains what he was trying to do at the King's Palace at Versailles.

²⁷ Printed public notices, both official and informal, were hung from the lamp-posts--'posted'--on the street-corners of Paris so that everyone could read them. Revolutionary statements had begun to warn of violence.

persuasion, find a place for you among them.²⁸ As soon as things calm down, the Ambassador is off again to England."

It was around him, blackness unutterable.²⁹ The small room seemed to shrink to one of the infernal dungeons they had used at initiations. He had been standing defensively, before the locked door. How could he³⁰ get through? But why should he get through? Acroamatique, it came to him suddenly, the awkward word he had been trying to remember. This was descriptive of a method or a canon. Superficially, he had translated it, you must act out the legend for yourself.³¹

²⁸ Cagliostro is bribing Saint-Germain with an escape-route like his own, among the ambassador's grooms.

²⁹ He feels the charlatan's presence as an overwhelmingly evil, producing a version of the 'dark night of the soul.' He is also standing in a small dark room. The objective and subjective states coincide.

³⁰ "He" refers to Saint-Germain, who wants to escape the evil, get through his door and close it in Calioistro's face.

³¹ Acroamatique is the French spelling of acroamatic, suggesting that possibly H.D. found the term in a favorite French esoteric writer, Robert Ambelain. (SSF, Myth, 397-415) Acroamatic, the same word as acroatic, means "esoteric" but more precisely "self-secret." "Acroamatic" teachings are those given to select students who have been instructed in advance as to how to hear them. H.D.'s 'translation' stresses that one doesn't understand phenomena in an external way; one has to experience them internally by living through them--an applied notion of 'self-secret.'

"You don't look properly yourself, brother," said Caliostro.

What was he³² doing with his hands? There was nothing wrong. He was seated on the wooden bench, now, his hands were clasped on his knees. He was not tearing, tearing at infernal metal. Chained standing? Chained kneeling?³³ Had it ever happened? He had kept it out of consciousness with the sheet of steel or silver metal³⁴ that the Exercitia renewed daily for him, hourly sometimes. He could not remember his boyhood. He was a waif, a legend. Had the so-called initiation begun, even in early childhood? There was that legend--a mother in the forests. He was seven. But later, he was told the mother and forest alike, were a symbol.³⁵ Of what?

³² "He" refers to Saint-Germain, not Caliostro.

³³ Saint-Germain is 'living back' through a terrifying prior experience of imprisonment. He feels the chains on his wrists, hence asks what he is doing with his hands.

³⁴ H.D. speaks, in Tribute to Freud, of using her intellect the way Saint-Germain uses the Exercitia, to keep from being overwhelmed by consciousness of painful events: "If I do not let ice-thin window-glass intellect protect my soul or emotion, I let death in." (TF 117)

³⁵ Lévi explains the symbolism of St-G's life of errantry in "the world of forest:"

This was at the age of seven years, which, however, is to be understood symbolically and is that of the initiate when he is advanced to the grade of Master. His mother was the Science of the Adepts, while the forest, in the same kind of language, signifies empires devoid of true civilization and light. (296)

"It's being without your perruque; though I'd seen you without, it was in moments of exaltation."

"Exaltation?"

"Lucidity, you know, brother. Not often and only with the inner few, together."³⁶

"I have been at the Castle," said Saint-Germain, "almost all day, perhaps the elaborate food and wine have overcome me."

"You lived proper at the Palace,"³⁷ said Calioistro.

Saint-Germain remembered something. What was it he remembered?

"I have been here in an official capacity," said Saint-Germain, "going over records at the Castle. It was thought better that I appear as a--a clerk. This is my outer study. I have rooms beyond. The communicating door is usually bolted, from the other side, in case of--"

"The out-door wasn't so easy, but I had time and

³⁶ Calioistro, trying to explain why Saint-Germain does not 'look properly' himself, lets him know that he knows of Saint-Germain's mystical experiences during Masonic rites. Even if Saint-Germain knows Calioistro is a fake, "that rogue Balsamo," the higher occult rites, which only a few are sufficiently developed to attend, possess innate power to which Saint-Germain succumbed despite his rational reservations.

³⁷ Calioistro refuses to accept Saint-Germain's excuse for his strange appearance; the chevalier, after all, was used to elaborate food and wine at Versailles.

clouded in the snow-drifts--"38

If a clock struck, if a voice spoke, if a watchman passed the window with a lantern--39"Stephanus," he shouted suddenly, beating on the locked door. He remembered it, he remembered it, I was immured in the dungeons of the Castle of Ruel.40

The bolt was immediately slipped back. "I heard voices," said Stephanus, "I supposed you was talking confidential."

38 Calioistro broke in, by picking the lock, presumably, while the snowstorm concealed him.

39 If any of these things happens, the intense moment of 'living back' will be broken and the opportunity for insight will be lost. This concentration while within a 'supernormal' state reflects H.D.'s effort in the 'writing on the wall' episode:

I, though seated upright, am in a sense diving, head-down underwater, in another element, and as I seem now so near to getting the answer..., I feel that my whole life...will be blighted forever if I miss this chance. (TF 53)

40 Lévi continues Saint-Germain's story: The principles of Saint-Germain were those of the Rosy Cross, and in his own country he established a society from which he separated subsequently when anarchic doctrines became prevalent in fellowships which incorporated new partisanship of the Gnosis. Hence he was disowned by his brethren, was charged even with treason, and some memorials on illuminism seem to hint that he was immured in the dungeons of the Castle of Ruel. (296)

XII

"No," said Saint-Germain, "I have been telling you all evening. I wined heavily at the Castle."¹

"That was some hours back," said Stephanus, "almost a half-day, it being well after midnight."

Saint-Germain laid a letter on the table.

"Through it all," he said, "I clung to one thing. The Cardinal handed me this letter, from the Abbot. It has nothing to do with anything that I can make out. If you will read it--"

He could survive for--something. He could not steel himself as a Captain of Loyola,² nor could he accept messages,³ no matter how "lucid," to use

¹ This "No" seems to be an answer to a prior question from Stephanus: "Did Calioistro do something to you that has made you ill?" Saint-Germain makes a rational excuse, concealing his acroamatique experience of 'living back' through being "immured in the dungeons of the Castle of Ruel."

² "Captains of Loyola," in the military metaphor of St. Ignatius, carry out under his generalship his ideal of military rigor and Christian conquest of paganism and ignorance. St. Francis Xavier exemplifies the true "Captain." Saint-Germain feels that he has not the strength to live up to this ideal.

³ In Calioistro's séances, typically, a 'pupil,' often a child, appeared to enter a trance which made contact with the spirit-world 'beyond' and brought messages back. (See ch.9, n.35) Saint-Germain let himself be used as one of these.

Calioistro's word, they may have appeared at the time of the experience. He had never inquired as to what he had said at those infernal meetings, when drugged or hypnotized, he had consciously allowed himself to be used as a voice or a servant of Althotas.⁴ Only this evening, Calioistro told him, it was brotherhood he spoke of. But brotherhood?⁵ The Cardinal, according to Calioistro, had already prepared the public declaration. À la lanterne.⁶ It was an old catch-word. He could only pray silently (waiting while Stephanus solemnly applied himself to this difficult task of reading) to--⁷ "Our Lady and Saint Wenceslas chose you to light the candles." When had he said that? He was "lucid" at

⁴ Althotas, purported teacher of Calioistro in Medina, spoke to him from the 'beyond' through various 'mediums.' Saint-Germain permitted himself to be used as one of these. His suspicion that drugs or hypnosis produced the state mirrors H.D.'s struggle to reconcile mysticism and rationality.

⁵ "Brotherhood" is mocked at this time when de Rohan is about to indite his Masonic brothers before the Inquisition.

⁶ "À la lanterne!" is a French Revolutionary mob cry meaning "String him up!", that is, lynch an offender by hanging him from a Paris street-lamppost, la lanterne.) Saint-Germain is thinking that first the public declaration will be posted on the street-lamps and as a result people will be hanged on them--a thought which moves him to prayer.

⁷ He finishes his prayer to "Our Lady" with a free-association to his statement to the school-porter the day before.

that moment, if he ever had been, but the message, the miracle, the manifestation had depended neither on the measured invocation of the Knights of the East, nor the controlled Spartan physical alertness of the Sword,⁸ nor had it revealed itself in a dionysic de-materialization,⁹ through agents that he had referred to, this very afternoon, in conference with the Cardinal, as diabolical. He was sent to Prague, he himself, chosen by the Knights, as best fitted to mediate, should occasion arise, between--Medina and the Pope, to put it crudely. It was tangled and subtle, it was East and West, it was

⁸ These terms seem invented to suggest levels, or "degrees," of Freemasonry, but they are also associated with legends of Saint-Germain. Lévi notes: "the Order of the Initiated Knights and Brethren of Asia became the Order of St. Joachim around 1786." (296)

⁹ H.D. crossed out the "a" when her typist wrote "dionysiac," but it appears that "dionysic" has the same meaning. Contemporary records give a flavor of "dionysic de-materialization" in Calioistro's rites. In one, a lodge initiation for ladies, after several midnight hours of questioning and drinking, during which the ladies were attended by their lovers in disguise, the "Grand Copt," dressed as a magician in red and gold, floated slowly down from the temple ceiling on a huge gilded ball to address the assembly as the "Genius of Truth." He instructed them to "open your souls to pure tenderness," and then was wafted away, de-materializing into the darkness above. His wife, who presided over the ladies' lodge, added: "Love conquers all, but you must keep the rules." The ceremony created a sensation in Paris. Equally sensational was Calioistro's necromancy. On one occasion he invited six men to dinner, including Voltaire, Diderot and Montesquieu, each of whom named on the spot a dead person with whom he would like to dine. Calioistro called their names and the six appeared; the group of thirteen dined until dawn, when the ghosts departed. (Gervaso 126-130)

the Devil and God. But who was Devil, who was God, in the midst of this betrayal?¹⁰ The inditement which, thank--thank Our Lady,¹¹ he had not signed, would serve to re-instate the Jesuits.¹²

"Can't you decipher it, Stephanus, it's clearly written."

He was flattering Stephanus. He¹³ could pick out a word, here or there, he could not really read the letter.

"My mind is not rightly on it. I'm thinking too taken aback I was, when I heard that tapping. Knew from of old, it was maçonnerie.¹⁴ But not as you had informed me. The second try was nearer.¹⁵ My word, I

¹⁰ This "betrayal" is multiple. Calioistro and the Freemasons are being betrayed by de Rohan; Saint-Germain is going back on de Rohan and the Templar-Jesuit knights, and in the background the French populace, having been betrayed and deprived by the monarchy is about to betray the monarchy in turn. Each side feels itself to be God and its enemy the Devil. The confusion of values is profound.

¹¹ Saint-Germain's prayer to Our Lady shows a hidden influence of Elizabeth's presence.

¹² De Rohan's work will help the Jesuits. Saint-Germain thinks with relief that his services are no longer needed for that project.

¹³ "He" refers to Stephanus. "He" in the previous sentence refers to Saint-Germain.

¹⁴ "Maçonnerie" = Masonry, that is, Freemasonry.

¹⁵ The code of the first knock was not what Saint Germain had told him; the second knock came closer to the true code.

wondered what rat had found our hide-out. Danger, says I, and reminded myself how I had told you, locks was known to be picked. I waited a proper interval and panting to get hold of the valet, what with the trouble of that coach¹⁶ in Petty Place, though I had a word here and there, helping unload--and gracious thanks too, to jingle in my pocket, what with all his worry, from his Excellency.¹⁷ But Lord, only enough Paris news to whet my appetite. I'll pop in to build up the fire, I says to the pleasant fellow on the box, and I'll be back to help drag in the luggage. But Lord, I says, what rat has found our hide-out? It was maçonnerie; I says to myself, better watch the rat-hole, this side, but I was overcome, I couldn't bear it. It was dusk then, and blowing proper, so I slipped out. He was in there. Would he stay there? Fidgeting to get the Embassy gossip, my whole soul fighting--will he get out? I was sorry, sir, you had to take the shock of it. My word, and you treating him like a gentleman."

"It was far, far more than I had anticipated," said Saint-Germain, "and I had met him at the

¹⁶ The coach carrying the ambassador had trouble getting into the small crooked corner of Petty Place. This coach was the one on which Calioistro was outrider.

¹⁷ "His Excellency" is the ambassador, the 'returned' ambassador from Bohemia and Joseph II to France who has come back to Prague to avoid the revolution.

Palace."¹⁸

"Wolfed up¹⁹ tomorrow's dinner. You ate nothing. You could do with what I had intended as a snack for myself, after the Embassy. It's cold bacon, though you usually don't touch it, it's sliced thin. I saved the loaf too, of your preference. They must have had something on the way here, but he was like a hound for hunger."

"He had been hiding for some days. No doubt, the tension had unnerved him. Sometimes--"

It was there, he must fight it off, the memory.²⁰
 "Sometimes people can't eat after a great shock. He found out that he was safe here."

"Do I understand you rightly? Thought we was holding him, and discretion what you hinted of (about

¹⁸ Having met Calioistro at Versailles, Saint-Germain must treat him like a gentleman. The historical Calioistro, however, while the rage of Paris in 1784 and 1785, was never received by the King and Queen, particularly because he was a friend of de Rohan, persona non grata to Marie Antoinette even before the Diamond Necklace affair.

¹⁹ This sentence should begin with "He." Calioistro ate up the food in the place in an ungentlemanly way.

²⁰ The memory of the imprisonment "in the dungeons of the Castle of Ruel" having broken through to Saint-Germain is the great shock which prevents his eating. His words also can be seen to apply to Calioistro, who did not eat on his journey from the great shock of events, and so when he found safety, he was able to eat and could be excused for devouring the next day's meal.

him, better for his own sake, to keep away from the brethren)²¹ was so we would know he was hiding in the stables. I had slipped out, at the hint you gave me--"

"I trust--"²²

"Oh, I made it all out, how he had helped my old grandmother with his balsam-oil."²³

"What, Stephanus, did you tell them?"

"Only, we was all sheer knocked over by the news--made out, it had come direct from my master who had had it from the Castle. Nothing they didn't know, but friendly-like--his Excellency surely, he wasn't leaving, what with all the ports watched?²⁴ But they don't half believe it,²⁵ nor do I, like children telling each other horrors to see who can scare most.

²¹ Stephanus is startled by the word "safe." He thought that Saint-Germain wanted to keep Calioistro prisoner, presumably to turn him in, so he hid the magician in the stable with the excuse that the friars should not see him. Stephanus doesn't know that his master has had a change of heart about betraying Calioistro to the Inquisition.

²² This sentence should end: "you were discreet."

²³ Stephanus had to give the grooms in the stable a reason for his knowing Calioistro, so he invented a story that fit with Calioistro's reputation as a healer.

²⁴ The ambassador is expected to go to England, so Stephanus has hinted to the embassy servants that it would be dangerous for him to leave; he would be stopped at a port. Stephanus was trying to prevent the ambassador's leaving because Calioistro would escape with him.

²⁵ The servants don't believe the Revolution will come.

Why did you keep him talking?"

"Frankly, there is a new set of signs and code-words.²⁶ It is essential that I know them."

"I shouldn't have sat here talking," said Stephanus, "égalité."²⁷ There's no harm your having your own Chateau,²⁸ you look worse than I ever seen you. You mark my words, I said to the valet, confidential, it will all blow over. My master, I said, would be paying his respects,²⁹ at the first opportunity. His Excellency must be fair exhausted. I'll give my mind to that letter, once I see you sipping the hot broth, I'll fetch you." Stephanus pushed back his chair.

He was fussy was his master but elegant. For all his book-learning, you could see right through him, sometimes. He was going back to Paris.³⁰

* * *

²⁶ The revolutionary Freemasons have new codes by which to identify themselves safely to one another. Saint-Germain must know these when he gets to Paris. Stephanus, however, has not been told of this decision.

²⁷ Égalité, equality, in Stephanus' class-conscious mind, means "speaking as equals" which he thinks is bad.

²⁸ Stephanus offers wine to Saint-Germain, the Chateau Saint-Germain from his own estate, because his master looks unwell.

²⁹ Stephanus left a message that Saint-Germain would soon pay the ambassador a visit, as protocol requires.

³⁰ Saint-Germain's remark about the codes may have been Stephanus' clue, or perhaps he has telepathic powers.

"Poison,"³¹ said de Rohan. He did not ask the question. He made a legal statement. But "he ate nothing," said Stephanus, "not a mouthful, till after he'd³² gone. Had a proper time, getting him to swallow his broth, crumbling his bread and paying no attention. Then, he went off, like that time in Venice."³³ Raved proper. Said, would I report immediately to the Castle. Said, would I inform his Eminence how things was. Said, best consult your Eminence about Rome. You can go with him, he says.³⁴ I told you he was proper raving. Said, could your Eminence not take me,³⁵ he would arrange with his Excellency, next door, who is off to England. Said things I couldn't follow, but I got him to bed. Balsamo's in the stables."

³¹ "Poison" is de Rohan's response to a prior statement by Stephanus that his master became extremely ill and delirious after Calioistro's visit.

³² "He" refers to Calioistro. Since Saint-Germain did not eat with Cagliostro, he could not have been poisoned through Calioistro's having put something in the food.

³³ The Venice clue shows that this illness is actually a 'supernormal' experience. H.D.'s "writing on the wall" occurred in the Hotel Angleterre et Belle Venise on Corfu.

³⁴ "You" refers to Stephanus, who is quoting directly Saint-Germain's instructions, which are intended to get his servant to safety by traveling with the Cardinal to Rome.

³⁵ If de Rohan could not take Stephanus with him, then Saint-Germain would ask if the ambassador would take him to England.

"Will he stay there?"

"I told him a proper story about the Castle--my own invention but truth in it. Best not to alarm the Abbot, my master says. But the Cardinal must be informed. The Guard here, I said friendly to Balsamo, early this morning, after I left my master sleeping, is aware of these activities. Wouldn't³⁶ have known the fraters³⁷ had a hide-out, if he hadn't blundered into the study, thinking it was the Row proper. Somewhere in the Row's their hide-out.³⁸ He³⁹ says, special, tell the Cardinal."

"It would be only human of you to escort me to him. I could wait and take him with me."

"That's where he was most emphatic. He said, for all concerned, it would be best, you was off quick. You could almost start, your Eminence, toward evening. He would rest quieter, once you were gone. He has his

³⁶ "I" is the implied subject of this sentence. Stephanus thinks that Calioistro got into Saint-Germain's house by mistake while searching for the Freemasons' hide-out, which Stephanus did not know was there.

³⁷ "Fraters" are members of the Fraternity of Freemasons, not to be confused with friars, brothers or brethren, or members of the mendicant orders.

³⁸ The Row--The Street of the Alchemists--with its 'overtones' is the obvious site for a hide-out for Freemasons practicing magic like Calioistro's.

³⁹ "He" refers to Saint-Germain. This is one of Stephanus' quick switches in train of thought.

own plans; as far as expedient, we will keep you informed."

We will keep you informed! Cardinal de Rohan started slightly, then he remembered that this fellow was an asset to the Office. But there was more in this than Stephanus had related. What was this madness? He had known Louis as eminently sane, true, he⁴⁰ had confided to him that the sessions with Calioistro's so-called initiates, had in the end, unnerved and unbalanced him. Or he feared they would do. He had made a clear enough statement of the proceedings--or had he hidden something? He had refused to give the pass-words or the code-words yesterday. He had not forgotten them. Louis, Louis-Antoine! Cardinal de Rohan had compromised in Paris, had put off further probing, had sent him to Prague.

"How long have you been here?"⁴¹ (How long altogether had Stephanus been with Louis?) "My good fellow, will you summon a servant--a tankard of ale?"⁴²

"I must thank your Eminence. The Embassy valet said he would keep an eye on my master. But I must get

⁴⁰ "He" refers to Louis, not to de Rohan.

⁴¹ De Rohan wants to know if Stephanus had been waiting a long time to talk with him.

⁴² The Cardinal is asking Stephanus if he would like some ale as compensation for having been kept waiting.

back."

He⁴³ was standing, as if at attention. He was stiff-necked. What did he know that Louis had kept hidden? There had been many rumours. But they⁴⁴ had flattered themselves that, on the whole, they had kept the secret, secluded the child, waited. This was the moment for apotheosis. Prince Ragoczy of Transylvania⁴⁵ had been one of Louis' patrons or legendary fathers. There had been others. He himself had been the last to be entrusted with the secret⁴⁶--and he loved Louis.

"It would be dangerous, sir, for you and all concerned," said Stephanus, "to come near the Row."

The fellow was stiff-necked, a shade impudent and

⁴³ "He" refers to Stephanus. The Cardinal is looking at him, observing him as proud and reserved, and wondering if he had become his master's confidant, in possession of secrets concerning Saint-Germain which had been kept hidden from de Rohan.

⁴⁴ "They" are the secret Knights Templar, who have been more in control of Saint-Germain's destiny than he realizes.

⁴⁵ Rakoczy (or Ragoczy) is the name of an old, wealthy and Protestant family in Hungary, famous for their struggles for religious liberty against the Austrians from the time of Sigismund on (1607). The allusion here is to the legend that Saint-Germain was the son of Francis Leopold Rakoczy (1636-1735), elected Prince of Transylvania in 1707. (MMM Ency. 2461; Larousse 20th-c 5: 918) Lévi notes this legend also. (296,n.)

⁴⁶ The secret, an unquestioned fact in de Rohan's mind, is that Saint-Germain is heir-apparent to the French throne.

sensitive.⁴⁷

"You will take my--my greeting to him."

"I'm sorry, sir, it's this way. He said too, he supposed the Abbot would inform the former Brother⁴⁸ to take over the school. What he himself said was, it was far more than he had anticipated. He asked me to read a letter."

Stephanus took soldierly steps forward and laid the letter on the table.

"We discussed this yesterday," said de Rohan.

"So he told me. He said, it had nothing to do with anything he could make out. We were about to discuss the matter when he went off.⁴⁹ Perhaps, you would advise me."

"You have read it?"

"I glanced it over but as I told him, my mind wasn't on it."

"It is a question of a certain--a certain Count Zinzendorf." De Rohan picked up the letter.

"Could you perhaps, sir, read it to me. My mind--" (Égalité, he hated the word, but--suppose the

⁴⁷ "He" refers to Stephanus. The stream of consciousness is still in the mind of de Rohan.

⁴⁸ The teaching brother who was formerly head of the school should be asked to come back.

⁴⁹ Saint-Germain "went off" his head into apparent delirium. Stephanus used this same expression earlier to describe a trance-like state which his master sometimes fell into.

Cardinal refused to read the letter?)⁵⁰

"Raved proper about a castle of Ruel. About Brethren of Asia and the Order of Saint Joachim.⁵¹ Spoke like it was yesterday, of Venice. It was there I was recommended to his service, counting roughly, it's almost twenty years that I've been with him. I was in Embassy, but only as under supervision, learning-- learning manners."

The Cardinal waited, as if he were pondering the matter. He did not look up. Perhaps more would be forthcoming.⁵²

"The Tower, House of Köstriz," he read.

⁵⁰ Stephanus feels that there is too much "égalité"-- the spirit of egalitarianism of the French Revolution-- in his asking the Cardinal to read a letter for him, but since he can't read, he has no choice. He has to learn the contents of the letter somehow.

⁵¹ Saint-Germain has discovered his true identity as an Adept by breaking through to the memory of imprisonment in the dungeons of Ruel, the result of his dissociating himself from the false magic practiced by the Society of Saint Joachim, another name for 'Saint Jakin.' (See ch.X, n.8) Then, as now, he wanted to move toward a truer spiritual goal. Now again he must dissociate himself from both the gross and the subtle manipulators and move up to a higher level spiritually. He is undergoing a severe 'initiation' or test, like a rebirth. It appears that H.D. is disguisedly interpreting her own 1946 breakdown in these same terms.

⁵² De Rohan feels that Stephanus knows more than he is telling, but Stephanus remains discreetly silent.

XIII

Égalité, thought Stephanus. But this was something different. Couldn't refuse to sit down, what with the way she said it.¹ But the chair though low and wide, he offered, was covered with that point²work, Lamotte³ showed him in the Palace. One of the sewing-girls, she was, but Balsamo made her "Countess."⁴ It was her they put the blame on, for the diamond neck-

¹ Stephanus has come into the reception room of Elizabeth's quarters in the Tower where Elizabeth and Henry are conversing as in chapter two. She invites him to sit down--to a servant an irregular request smacking of the discomfiting new "equality" of social class preached by the revolutionaries. Here he feels a different spirit from that in their rhetoric.

² He is looking at the petit point on the chair cushion.

³ Jeanne de Saint-Remi de la Motte, born in 1756 in Bar-sur-Aube, in Champagne, claimed to be descended from an illegitimate son of Henry II and therefore of the royal house of Valois. She lured de Rohan into the affair of the Diamond Necklace by posing as a friend and confidante of the Queen. She is here viewed as Calioistro's mistress, but historically it is much more likely that she was de Rohan's mistress, at least for a time. (Carlyle IV:21)

⁴ Balsamo did not give her the name; Jeanne took the name "Countess de Valois" since she believed herself to be of royal blood. When she married a penniless officer, Mark Anthony de la Motte, he easily became "Count" de la Motte. In 1871 the titled pair moved from the country to Paris to seek their fortunes.

lace.⁵ A pretty girl, pert and friendly and helpful to him⁶ in his capacity. Knew every door and stairway. He must ask Balsamo what he intended for the Queen and Lamotte. They had both been useful to him.⁷ "I--I was visiting the stables, before I came here," said Stephanus. "I don't feel proper to sit in that chair."

⁵ They put the blame on her for the Diamond Necklace affair because she deserved it. The facts, roughly, are these. De Rohan was hated by Marie Antoinette, since he had behaved badly while on diplomatic appointment to the court of Maria Theresa, her mother. He very much wanted, however, to be reconciled with the Queen. In 1785 de la Motte suggested that he write the Queen an apology; he did, and she brought him back forged answers, the tone of which grew increasingly warmer and persuaded the gullible de Rohan that the Queen was in love with him. De la Motte then engineered a secret meeting at midnight in the dark woods of the park at Versailles, hiring a girl who resembled Marie Antoinette to meet de Rohan for a moment and hand him a note and a rose. He was then ripe for de la Motte's next proposal, that he act as intermediary for the Queen in the purchase of a colossally expensive pearl-and-diamond necklace originally made for Louis XV's mistress, Mme. duBarry. De Rohan arranged for installment payments and the necklace was delivered to him. He gave it to Jeanne to deliver to the Queen. Jeanne, with her husband and her lover, Villette, immediately cut up the necklace and sold the stones piecemeal. When the fraud was discovered, de la Motte accused Calioistro of stealing the necklace with de Rohan's complicity. The two men were tried but acquitted after Villette confessed. Popular sentiment supported them, which annoyed the King, who saw that the episode increased the unpopularity of his Austrian queen. He ordered Calioistro out of Paris, which began the magician's decline into trial by the Inquisition, prison, madness and death in St. Leo fortress in 1795.

⁶ "Him" refers not to Balsamo but to Stephanus in his capacity as spy and message-bearer for Saint-Germain.

⁷ "Him" here refers to Balsamo.

But "Jacob took your great-coat?" asked the gentleman. "And Maria," said the lady, "I'm sure brushed you with that switch-broom. I always begged, when I came in from riding, that she spare me. I'm sure she didn't spare you." "I brushed him proper," said the friendly wife,⁸ as she stood in the door. Didn't seem that she thought it strange, if he sat down with them. She set the coffee and those same cups, Lamotte showed him, on the table.⁹ "Might be the Palace," he thought. Maybe, he said it aloud. He found he was seated in one of those very point chairs. He must have sat down.

"Perhaps, your--your butler didn't give the message right." Why had he been shown in here?¹⁰

"Jacob knew of my anxiety. I have been waiting for a letter from the Castle."

She said, "You best drink your coffee, before you begin talking." She said, "My cousin is writing a book on the old Church of Bohemia." What had knocked him¹¹ silly was, so that he didn't know if or if not he had

⁸ The "friendly wife" is Maria, the Tower servant.

⁹ Elizabeth is serving tea in Sèvres cups like those de la Motte had shown him in the Palace at Versailles.

¹⁰ He expected only to leave a message at the Tower, not to be ushered into the drawing-room personally.

¹¹ "Him" refers to Stephanus. The scene is viewed through his eyes and consciousness.

said out loud that it might be the Palace, was--the gentleman was the fellow that waited, like it might be her servant, in a great-coat that was proper livery.¹² Might have borrowed it from that Jacob--but why? And his name wasn't Schweinitz as the Grape informed him, but Dohna and Count Dohna, the Cardinal had told him. The Cardinal might have informed him further, but perhaps he thought it equal to what he had told him about his master.¹³ Why must he be Schweinitz, when it was the lady who was Countess von Schweinitz, so Count Dohna introduced her formal. The lady was by right, de Watteville, or so she travelled. By the common-coach. He couldn't deal with all this, in a moment. The point was, it was the lady he had watched go by the house so often, the one it was was the means of his forgetting. That is, Saint-Germain forgetting that he was Brother Anton. It had been too much, the double load he¹⁴ carried, and now the shock of it all being no use. Saint-Germain and Brother Anton got mixed up with one

¹² Stephanus is astonished to see that "lackey" named Schweinitz is really a "gentleman," though there is no question that this is the same man Stephanus had seen in livery.

¹³ As Stephanus had been taciturn, not volunteering information to the Cardinal about Saint-Germain, he surmises that the Cardinal paid him back by not discussing the identity of the new Tower residents.

¹⁴ This "he" refers to Brother Anton, not Stephanus.

another. It was brain-fever but he talked mostly some foreign language, Italian¹⁵sometimes. Anyhow, the valet wasn't likely to make mischief,¹⁶and they¹⁷was off soon, that is if Balsamo could guarantee protection. They must depend on Balsamo. He¹⁸could only hint it to the valet. He got some information from him, on his own account, just now, back from the Cardinal, finding his master asleep. If he could keep him here and himself go to Paris--¹⁹

"Confidential," said Stephanus, "this may not be the message you was wanting." He set down his cup.

"The library or the Castle refuses me admittance?"

"No--no, sir. But what I mean to say is, it's round-about. The--the Abbot who has care of the old records is receptive. That is, as I make out, there is

¹⁵ The historical Saint-Germain spoke German, English, Italian, French (with a Piedmontese accent), Portuguese and Spanish. Horace Walpole wrote of him in 1745, when Saint-Germain was in London: "He is called an Italian, a Spaniard, a Pole...a priest, a fiddler, a vast nobleman." Another legend of his birth made him son of a Portuguese banker and the Queen of Spain. (Lang 258, 265-7)

¹⁶ The embassy valet, who is watching the sick Saint-Germain, will not talk too much about them.

¹⁷ "They" refers Saint-Germain and Stephanus, not to the ambassadorial party, as mention of the valet might suggest.

¹⁸ "He" refers to Stephanus, not to Balsamo.

¹⁹ Stephanus wants to take his master's place in going back into a Paris about to explode. The valet's report has made Stephanus understand the extent of the danger.

interest in what I was told was the Count, your grandfather. What I mean is, we are not properly, the Castle. My master and I are lodged in Petty Place, by the Embassy, but it was the Abbot chose him as fitting to show you around. But what I mean to say is, he was sudden stricken and couldn't write the letter, inviting you to the archives. He put the matter in my hands. I was to give the message. But last night, he was taken with this fever. I wouldn't know now what to say, except his compliments."

The lady said, "My cousin could call upon him when he is able to see visitors."

"It's more than that, milady. You must forgive indiscretion. I have watched you often, go past the house."

"I don't remember this--this Petty Place, you speak of."

"It's rightly La Petite Place de la Chatelaine. That's made confusion for us. I mean, confidential, my master had the Row door, as well. It's opposite the Cathedral. It was his duty with the Abbot, to read over old books. That makes him what the letter is addressed to, so the--the Abbot told me--Keeper of the Archives. I don't know what Archives is, proper. But it's what you, sir, seemingly were after. It's something to do with your grandfather and this book you're

writing? Perhaps I should not ask it. If it weren't for my master being taken--"

The lady said, "My mother had much experience in nursing. We all--we all were practised.²⁰ I could myself--"

"It's his mind, milady."

"Delirium, my mother was deeply skilled in positions. Some secret remedies were given her. I must be frank now. We belong to a sect of--of--" How explain the Unitas? "I am not a Catholic, but like my grandfather--"

"It was explained in the letter," said Stephanus.

"I wrote chiefly," said Count Dohna to his cousin, "on the Albizi incident, about which you and I were curious, and Father Anthony Dionysius."

It was all confusing, they were heretics, as he

²⁰ Bethlehem women learned healing methods from the Indians. In 1747 a communal garden was laid out, in part of which grew medicinal herbs for the Bethlehem pharmacy. Wild herbs known for healing were collected from among local flora, notably snake root and sassafras berries. The community's physician, Doctor John Matthew Otto, was directed to compile a pharmacopoeia. Levering says that Dr. Otto

did not seem to manifest any contempt, when certain salves and plasters among "home remedies" prepared by experienced Pennsylvania women, that had become known to members of Bethlehem's Board of Health, were mentioned as desirable items of this repertory. (203)

Moravian women proved skilled nurses of Washington's wounded troops when the General Hospital of the Continental Army was moved to Bethlehem in December of 1776.

first thought. Is that why they came--incognito? The same as Saint-Germain but different.²¹

"You will forgive, sir, but I recognized you. The Grape told me you was Schweinitz. The postilion of the old-coach said milady was de Watteville. You will think it strange my making these inquiries--but my master--"

The lady said, "My mother is Baroness de Watteville. My mother in the Unitas, is Sister Benigna."

There was the silver coffee-set and the Sèvres cups on the small table at her elbow.

There was the crackle of the wood-fire--she²² had said all this, they had spoken of this together, she and Henri, seriously endeavouring, while he waited for the answer to his letter, to assemble the chief facts of the history of the Unitas. Was it yesterday that they spoke of Bethlehem? The story had begun with a King of Bohemia,²³ at least, their personal inheritance of the story. But Henri had gone on to Doctor Faustus and it all seemed unbelievable, the legend and their

²¹ Elizabeth and Henry, like Saint-Germain, have put aside their accoutrements of rank in order to carry out a religious quest. The difference is of course that that he is Catholic and they are Protestant.

²² "She" cues in a shift in point of view; now the stream of consciousness is Elizabeth's.

²³ The reference is to George of Podiebrad.

family. At least the legend seemed to have ended with their mothers, who would not tell them of it. What had happened? "Lilie,"²⁴ she remembered how she had confided in her Aunt Elizabeth, "all in good time."

"I might remark," said Stephanus, almost under his breath, as though fearing to break the silence, "with permission of milady--"

Milady. How quaint it sounded. Her eyes met the serious, deep-set eyes that seemed to question her, across the table. "What is it--sir?" She was not mocking. It's some sort of Brotherhood, thought Stephanus, that works proper.²⁵ Or Sisterhood of nurses.

"You may have seen my master."

She could not for a moment, overcome a strange sensation. It had happened before. She knew what he would say²⁶ and prayed, for a moment, that he would not

²⁴ She remembers her aunt speaking to her, using the pet name "Lilie," a diminutive for "Elizabeth," but also evoking the 'lily,' shaped like the 'cup' which is the sigil of the Calixtines, forerunners of the renewed Bohemian Brethren, and the chalice of the Holy Grail, symbolic keys to H.D.'s quest.

²⁵ When Elizabeth addresses the servant respectfully as "sir," Stephanus thinks of 'fraternity,' and that the Unitas Fratrum has a true vision of brotherhood of man. He then thinks of the Fraternity of Free-masons, who call each other "Brother" but whose corrupt Brotherhood does not "work proper."

²⁶ This enigmatic statement seems to be a moment of clairvoyance, 'out of time,' in which she foresees that Stephanus will tell her Antonius' identity because "it"--their meeting--"had happened before."

say it. She was the child Lilie, Sister Benigna's daughter and they had spoken much to her, in her mother's absence,²⁷ of the miracle and mystery of Benigna and the Indians. They did not call them savages. As a girl of sixteen, on her first visit...²⁸ she, Lilie had lived through an agony of fire and torture which Benigna, alone with her father and the chiefs of the Six Nations, had not remotely dreamt of.²⁹ Brother Johannes, they called her grandfather.³⁰ They were all, after Benigna's first visit to Bethlehem, received formally into the family or Brotherhood of the Six Nations, and

²⁷ H.D. imagines Elizabeth as having grown up at Herrnhüt (where in fact she was born). Elizabeth was told, in the absence of Benigna, her mother, the story of how her mother and grandfather met with the Indian chiefs of the Six Nations at Tulpehocken in 1742.

²⁸ Benigna, born in 1725, was sixteen years old when she went to America in 1741 for the first time, accompanying her father on his first visit. (AGS 291)

²⁹ The wording of this suffering seems extreme for the emotion of the child separated from her mother. It may, however, be a reference to a clairvoyant moment concerning the Gnadenhuetten massacre of 1755 in which eleven Moravians, including women and children, were burned to death or scalped by hostile Indians. (H.D.'s childhood fear of burning to death figures in The Gift, pp. 1 and 134, ND ed. This fear exacerbated her war-phobia as well.)

³⁰ The Indian name for Z was, more exactly, Johanan which the Moravians heard as a version of "John" or "Johannes" in German, making him "Brother Johannes" as well as Brother Ludwig. H.D. associates the name with St. John, the Book of Revelation, the Gnostics' Secret Book of John and the sects which it inspired, and the medieval Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, contemporary with the Knights Templar. (Levering 242; Fries vi)

the Six Nations into the Unitas.³¹ This was a mystery and wonder and it seemed to her, forgotten. She was Benigna's daughter.

"A priest in the Cathedral?"³²

The wind was howling from the river, into the narrow passage of the street of the Alchemists.

The deep eyes held hers. He looked more like a gypsy³³ than a gentleman's courier. A gentleman's courier? It was a priest she spoke of, a lay-brother she had called him. He would not have a courier. He was working in the Castle, with the Abbot on old texts. She was caught in the narrow passage, her hands frozen to the unyielding metal of the great door. He had lifted the leather curtain. He bowed and she curtsied to him. How do you know he is a lay-brother, Henri had half-mocked her. She had not seen him officiating at the Mass, she told him. The place is seething with

³¹ The ceremony is dramatized in chapter five of The Gift (pp.83-89; 99, 142, ND ed.; pp. 23-33, orig.ms.)

³² Elizabeth is speaking in reply to Stephanus, identifying his master.

³³ His looking like a gypsy makes Elizabeth think of the American Indians, also black-haired and tawny-skinned, and links him as well with gypsy fortune-telling and occult practices. While nomadic, many gypsies, the Tzigane, lived in Transylvania and Hungary; this association fits in with the theory that Saint-Germain was the son of Francis Leopold Rakoczi, prince of Transylvania.

overtones, said Henri. There were gypsies like that, taken in at Herrnhaag, the Lord's Hedge, before formal protest was made and the settlement abandoned.³⁴ No-- Sister Charity³⁵ had said, they must not tell your fortune. What was it but telling fortunes, when they opened the Bible at random, eyes shut, a finger or a quill poised for the text? There were the old lots, cast for marriages.³⁶ She had spoken of that too, with

³⁴ Allowing gypsies in their midst added to the scandal of the 'extravagances' at Herrnhaag, which caused the government of the county of Büdingen to demand an oath of allegiance to its rulers and a denial of the Moravians' loyalty to their leaders, Z especially. Starting in 1750, therefore, Herrnhaag's population of nearly a thousand dispersed, resettling elsewhere. By 1753 Herrnhaag was deserted. (Levering 106, 188)

³⁵ "Sister Charity" is Anna Charity Nitschmann, the Single Sisters' chief elder, who was responsible for the spiritual welfare of that group. In the organizational system designed by Z to handle the original Moravian influx, Moravians divided their communities into Bands or "choirs." These groups, the Single Sisters, the Single Brethren, and the Widows, lived in communal houses. After marriage, couples had their own home but the husband joined the married men's "choir," meeting with them for worship and business, and the wife joined the married women's "choir." Children also had a "choir." Each group had its leader, and a council of elders governed the whole community. Bethlehem and Nazareth had larger buildings than many eighteenth century communities as a result of this system. Communal living ceased after the towns incorporated and were no longer church property, but there is still a Widows' House in Bethlehem. (H. Williams, letter, 30 November 1987; cf. K. Hamilton Church Street 12, 15)

³⁶ Casting lots was not an exclusively Moravian custom; it was frequently done by Germans in general, but Z made a special practice of it. Use of the lot for marriages of those serving as ministers and missionaries, Levering says, "arose under an overwrought

Henri. What did they have? What had been taken from them? Why had it been taken? Surely, not from any lack of piety and devotion. Last night, Henri had laid the letters on the table. I unfastened them, he said. They are addressed to Theodora de Castell. They are for you.³⁷

Someone must read the letters. Would--would this priest do?

How cold it was. But she sensed the flame and heard the fall of an ash-stick on the stone-hearth. Was it still snowing?

Her hands moved automatically. There were courtesies. There were traditions, the more sternly maintained because they were all one family. "Henri--our guest--" she said.³⁸ There were three cups on the

system devised to carry out lofty ideals of a completely consecrated associate and individual life under Christ the Head; and of complete subjection to Divine guidance." The custom of making decision and electing officials by lot became institutionalized after Z's death, but by 1782 was being modified. The use of the lot for marriages among missionaries was protested for many years and disappeared after 1818. (103-4; Hutton Church 274)

³⁷ The letters are for Elizabeth because one of the identities she feels drawn to 'live back' into is Theodora's. The hint that they are love letters from Henry creates a parallel between him and Z.

³⁸ Elizabeth reflects that all Moravians are one family through maintenance of their traditions, which include kindness to people of all races and classes, like the servant sitting before her, so she starts to remind Henry to pour more coffee, as at a 'love-feast.' Levering says that 'love-feast' was a term "somewhat

table. Why should she remember it now, the little game that she and Justine treasured so long? Perhaps, in her whole life, there was only one deception or one major one--there was Henri had suggested, perhaps this latest--lighting the candles for Saint Wenceslas.³⁹ It followed, at any rate, the pattern of her grandfather, and the Ave accusation.⁴⁰ Does Justine remember? she thought. And what became of the little square box and the cards⁴¹ they spread out, as if against Sister Charity's expressed command. But Sister Charity had not been told of this and she and Justine had not understood what the Bohemians said, any way. They were gypsies but the Council⁴² denounced them as Bohemians, and the Lord's Hedge, as a scandal.⁴³ They had given

freely applied to a wide range of occasions...informal gatherings of a few in a social way, fraternal welcomes or farewells...commemorative occasions," giving them "a more or less religious character." (66)

³⁹ The deception involved in her lighting candles is that she appears to be a Catholic while doing it.

⁴⁰ Her activities in the Cathedral might well bring down on Elizabeth also the accusation of "catholic sympathy."

⁴¹ These are tarot cards, the gypsy 'fortune-cards.'

⁴² The governing council of Büdingen in which Marienborn was located, near Frankfort-am-Main, apparently thought that the settlers, being Bohemians, were the same as gypsies from Hungary and Transylvania.

⁴³ At Herrnhaag, 'the Lord's Hedge,' the 'extravagances' of what came to be called the "Sifting Period" began quite innocently from

her the cards with some sort of blessing. There were three cups on the table. She and Justine had played

Z's organization of "The Order of the Little Fools," based on Jesus' words in Matthew xi, 25: "thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes." His followers took him literally. Diminutives usually affectionately employed only with children were applied to nearly everything. Z was "Papa" and "little Papa" and Christ was "Brother Lambkin". In addition, Z's use of the lot to choose his theological direction led to his over-literalization of Christ's atoning death on the cross. He composed a "Litany of the Wounds" and the Brethren could now talk and sing of nothing else:

We stick to the Blood and Wounds Theology. We will preach nothing but Jesus the Crucified. We will look for nothing else in the Bible but the Lamb and his Wounds, and again Wounds, and Blood and Blood....We shall stay forever in the little side-hole, where we are so unspeakably blessed." (Hutton Church 275-6)

Z wanted to "foster a genial conception of spiritual life over against the austere type of pietism" and encourage 'heart-religion' in place of legalism and perfectionism, but lost his common sense, especially in discussing sexual morality "in the plainest possible language." His vulnerable followers lost discipline and fell into various kinds of silliness and bad taste. "A rage for the spectacular" combined with all kinds of festivities in Marienborn castle. The walls were painted with murals depicting Jesus' sufferings; transparencies depicting the side-wound and other illuminations abounded. Many huge expensive birthday parties were given in honor of Z and other worthies, Marienborn castle being ornamented with boughs and thousands of candles. This self-indulgence came about through Moravians' "fanatical idealizing of the congregation...as the special, selected favorites of Jesus," a distorted interpretation of the mystical closeness to the Saviour which Z himself felt. Money trouble followed spiritual and political trouble; the solution was the disbanding of Herrnhag. This time was called the "Sifting Period" from Z's interpretation of Luke 22:31-32 in which Jesus addresses Peter at the last supper, "Simon, Simon, behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat: but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." (Hutton Church 274-82; Levering 186-89)

this fortune-game with names, with people, with the clock striking--bells were cups,⁴⁴they said. How many candles had she lighted? There was a time when she would have counted them,⁴⁵matching them with the wands⁴⁶for the seven stars, if there were seven.⁴⁷ She

⁴⁴ Elizabeth and Justine, hearing the clock-bell chime, translated sound into shape; that is, if the clock struck four, they translated that as the four of cups. Bells were cups because a bell looks like an upside-down cup. Cups, depicted as chalices in the tarot deck designed by Pamela Colman-Smith for Yeats' Company of the Golden Dawn, are one of the four major suits of the tarot, equivalent to hearts in today's deck.

⁴⁵ Counting the candles, long and slender, and matching them with the long, slender wands of the tarot would combine numerology with the symbolic images for a kind of double method of divination.

⁴⁶ The tarot "wand," equivalent to clubs, was drawn by Colman-Smith as a budding branch, symbol of growth.

⁴⁷ The "seven stars" are most likely the Pleiades. In The Key to the Universe by H.A. and F.H. Curtiss, a passage marked by H.D. reads:

As the Pleiades are connected with the closing of cycles--as their number 7, perfection, indicates--they have to do with the tests which each soul must pass ere it can evolve out of one cycle of spiritual enfoldment into the next....This power [to progress] is gained by assimilating the sweet influences of love, compassion, faith, intrepidity, action, patience and devotion focussed by the Pleiades. (277)

"If there are seven" suggests the fact that one of the Pleiades is always dim or hidden, making their number uncertain. Another passage annotated by H.D. reads:

For when man can hold the 7 stars in his right hand, his girdle will be a visible current of spiritual life-force passing through his heart. (267)

In their books the Curtisses never spell out numbers; they use arabic numerals. They say: "Words are symbols of ideas, but numbers are symbols of divine realities." (18)

In Rev. 1: 12-13 a vision of "the Son of man" appears in a golden candlestick with seven stars in his hand.

was happy again.

"I shouldn't stay," said the gypsy-courier.⁴⁸

"Oh--if you can--if only for a few moments. I would know about your master, his life, his family--"

"He's--he's-well, dedicated. I suppose, I'm his main family."

She had forgotten that he was a priest, but her hands did not falter. There was something about the candles. No, it wasn't yesterday. It was the day before yesterday. It happened two hours ago, it happened two hundred years ago, she had said to Henri. It was happening now.

With us, it is more in the French fashion, she had said to Henri, recalling the ritual, as she had called their formal vespers. That was after she came back, that last time, day before yesterday, from the Cathedral. She had lighted the candles, with a special prayer for--for completion, for fulfilment? She did not know what--for Henri and the book he was writing, for an answer to the Mystery. He⁴⁹ had lifted the curtain. It was a Castell heirloom, god-mamma's old

⁴⁸ Elizabeth is seeing Stephanus as the "courier" or spiritual "messenger" as well as a gypsy.

⁴⁹ The pronoun "he" does not refer to Henry, its nearest preceding noun, but to Antonius, as the word 'mystery' takes Elizabeth's thoughts back to his opening the leather door-curtain of the Cathedral for her.

lace. She had inherited--the letters? They were under her pillow last night, now in the cedar-box where she kept the lace-scarf and a few treasures. It was an old box--yes, she had kept the fortune in it, the cards they called fortune-cards. It had a key then, lost long since. It came back to her, it⁵⁰ was her inheritance. She would meet and confer with the Kings of Bohemia--that is, with the tribes of gypsies. Yes, she remembered, like Benigna with the Six Nations, Lillie would hold the tribes together, wanderers, sometimes with tents. She would bring the gypsies into the Unitas, as Benigna had brought the Indians.⁵¹ But the gypsies were denounced and the Lord's Hedge, as a scandal, and the Indians were scattered now and made a formal visit to Bethlehem in their canoes, her mother had said the last time she was there, almost a farewell visit. At least, so it seemed, Benigna told them, as Good Peter, Corn-planter, Half-town, Big-tree and La

50 "It" refers both to the batch of letters and to the legend they represent, the whole Plan of unity which Z incorporated into the Unitas.

51 Benigna was present at Tulpehocken when her father met with the Indian chieftains, according to Z's diary account, (Reichel Memorials 45-61; Hutton Missions 91), but another entry in Reichel says that, although she had travelled part way with her father into the wilderness, she was sent back to Bethlehem before the Tulpehocken part of Z's journey, which Levering says he made with only two other men with him, Jacob Lischy and William Zander. (152)

Fayette's young Oneida, Pierre Jaquette⁵² drew their canoes back into the shallows, and with a hundred others, faded like shadows, down the Lehigh river. They were shadows. Benigna's heart was broken. There was a time when there were more Indians in the town than white people. White people? It was they who were the shadows. There was something ghostly about white people. They called them the Bethlehem Indians.⁵³

Why did Lillie take and shake her, as she looked at

52 These names appear in Levering's description of "the last visit to Bethlehem by Indians in any considerable number" on 9 March 1792: (note anachronism) Fifty-one chiefs...of the Six Nations arrived at Bethlehem en route for Philadelphia, on invitation of Washington....The principal one was the famous Red Jacket. Cornplanter and Big-tree were again of the number. Others were Farmer's Brother, Little Billy, Captain Shanks and La Fayette's young Oneida, Pierre Jaquette, who died at Philadelphia....they were addressed by Bishop Ettwein, who reminded them of...the several covenants of friendship made, beginning with that by Count Zinzendorf in 1742. The pupils of the boarding school [for girls] were present and one of them read an address to the Indian visitors. Red Jacket responded in dignified language to the Bishop, and the old man, Good Peter, to the young ladies. (561-62)

This incident is also recounted in William C. Reichel's History of the Rise, Progress and Present Condition of the Bethlehem Female Seminary: 1785 to 1858. (98)

53 These two sentences create a non sequitur; it is not the white people who are called "the Bethlehem Indians," but those Indians who were baptized and lived in or near the community.

the gypsy-courier?⁵⁴

It was the Mystery.

"Milady must forgive an indiscretion. It is only proper and polite, after what might seem like prying into your incognito--"

"It was a slight matter," said Count Dohna, "we wanted to see things--naturally and simply. Connections of my cousin's sister hold this property. It would have meant a certain amount of--of visiting, if we had come, as from the family. We wanted moreover, to find out for ourselves, what it was in Prague--"

"It's the Cathedral,"⁵⁵ said the lady.

⁵⁴ Elizabeth is feeling a physical invasion, an extreme form of 'living back,' as if her old child-self were actually climbing into her body.

⁵⁵ H.D., writing as "Delia Alton," looks at her series of stories as

individually separate, dedicatory Chapels or Chapters....They are Chapter-houses, adjoining some vast Cathedral.

Yes, they are that. The Cathedral is a Dream, the Synthesis of a Dream [=subtitle of Sword]. I have already compared the Dream to a Cathedral, in the "Advent" of the Freud "Writing." The Dream is there in the "Writing... (IR 204)

The passage in "Advent" reads:

I dream of a Cathedral. I walk through Stephens dom almost daily....It is really the Cathedral that is all-important. Inside the Cathedral we find regeneration or reintegration. This room [Freud's consulting-room] is the Cathedral....The house is home, the house is the Cathedral. He wanted me to feel at home here.

The house in some indescribable way depends on father-mother. At the point of integraton or regeneration, there is no conflict over rival loyalties. (145-6)

"He's not properly a priest," said Stephanus, "it seemed better too, for him to see things clear, if he took--like it was--" How explain it?

"He had the Row door, for his study. A serious scholar, is my master. He taught in the school, too. He left his--his habit in the study. It's the Count of Saint-Germain presents his compliments."

XIV

Morte villana,
di pietà nemica,
di dolor madre antica
giudizio incontrastabile gravoso...¹

he²could go no further.

No, he must not be tempted to send Stephen to the Abbot for the books. Only what was already long-steeped in the deep vat of his being, would match the strands or threads of his busy weaving. It was not a man's work, it was nature or God, it was infinite, tenuous, remote, drawn from his very belly. The strings³had freed

¹ "Death alway cruel, Pity's foe in chief,
 Mother who brought forth grief,
 Merciless judgement and without appeal!"

These lines open the second sonnet in chapter eight of La Vita Nuova (1293) by Dante Alighieri (1265-1321). The translation is D.G. Rossetti's, which H.D. read. It appears The Portable Dante (1947) which she owned. In La Vita Nuova Dante traces his love for Beatrice, which will lead him later to write a poem "more worthy" of her, the Commedia. He writes this sonnet on the death of a young woman, "remembering that I had seen her in the company of excellent Beatrice." (PD 555-6)

² "He" is Saint-Germain, lying in his rooms, feverish but reading the Vita Nuova, in which the motifs of love and death are intermixed as in Dante's Provençal models. Louis' illness has brought on a quasi-mystical mind-state.

³ The "strings" are the "strands or threads" of his confusion which entangle him in his roles. They are freed by his decision to return to Paris.

themselves but he could not remain here, in this rapture, this coma, this half-world, this entire world of bliss. So a child must feel, finding its mother waiting, when it starts upright, rigid, from a nightmare. He need not think about it. He need never write it. His debt would be paid, when he returned to Paris.⁴

His debt would not be paid, if he died here. Nor would his debt be paid...it was the feast of the Assumption.⁵ She⁶ was crossing a bridge. It was Venice, where he met her, knowing how comment had mistaken her for Monna Vanna.⁷ That is, she was Primavera⁸ and if she

⁴ He thinks he owes something to de Rohan as his father-figure. He will repay the "debt" by going back to Paris to defend de Rohan's aristocratic interests by keeping the Swiss Guard from leaving the royal palace.

⁵ He is 'living back' in semi-dream to Venice, the site of his mystical 'visitation.' The Feast of the Assumption is August 15, celebrating the passing of the Blessed Virgin Mary, when, according to the Catholic church, her body was carried physically into heaven inseparable from her soul. This feast began no earlier than the sixth century. Protestants do not celebrate it since it has no basis in scripture or the early church.

⁶ "She" is an unknown woman, reminiscent now of Elizabeth, the sight of whom corresponds to Dante's first sight of Beatrice. The bridge is a muted symbol of connection which reappears throughout the novel.

⁷ "Monna Vanna" is a kind of pet name, like "my Joanie." "Vanna" is short for "Giovanna."

⁸ Cavalcanti alludes to Giovanna as Primavera in his poem beginning Fresca rose novella, piacente Primavera ("O fresh, new rose, O pleasing Spring"). (VN 113) Guido Cavalcanti (c.1250-1300), ten years older than Dante, encouraged him to write the commentary in the Vita Nuova in Italian instead of Latin. (13) Cavalcanti was a

was Cavalcanti's mistress,⁹ then it was quite clear how their¹⁰ bitter quarrel brought about Guido's banishment, some said his death from fever, contracted during that exile from Florence, under the young Ghibelline's¹¹

Guelph and Dante a Ghibelline in the bloody political oppositions of medieval Florence. Ezra Pound (1885-1972), H.D.'s one-time fiancé and champion of her as Imagiste in 1912, translated Cavalcanti beginning around 1910. He comments at length on this Primavera passage in The Vita Nuova (Translations 22) and refers to it in his Pisan canto LXXVI (1948). There is little doubt that H.D. read and studied all of Pound's work. She refers to Helen in Egypt as 'my Cantos.' (ET 32)

⁹ In chapter XXIV of the Vita Nuova, Dante (translated by Rossetti) writes:

...I saw coming toward me a certain lady who was very famous for her beauty, and of whom...the first among my friends [Cavalcanti] has long been enamoured. Her name was Joan, but because of her comeliness...she was called of many Primavera (Spring), and went by that name among them. Then looking again, I perceived that the most noble Beatrice followed after her....it seemed to me that Love spake again in my heart, saying: "She that came first was called Spring,... seeing that as the Spring cometh first in the year so should she come first [prima verrà], when Beatrice was to show herself after the vision of her servant....inasmuch as her name, Joan, is taken from that John, who went before the True Light, saying: 'I am a voice of one crying in the wilderness: Prepare ye the way of the Lord.'" [Mt., iii, 3] And also it seemed to me the he added other words, to wit: "He who should inquire delicately touching this matter, could not but call Beatrice by mine own name, which is to say, Love; beholding her so like unto me." (PD 589)

¹⁰ "Their" refers to Dante and Cavalcanti, not to Cavalcanti and his mistress. The "bitter quarrel" resulted from their belonging to opposing parties.

¹¹ Cavalcanti was banished with other 'white' Guelphs while Dante was one of the six Priors governing Florence between June 15 and August 14, 1300. Dante had to sign the order for his friend's banishment to swampy Maremma, where Guido caught a fever and soon died. (EB 1957, 7:38)

jurisdiction. It did not last long.¹² He himself¹³ fled to Verona. But there was time there. Under the burning shadows...of the arches...it was Primavera who was Beatrice.¹⁴ Guido's deception broke her--Mandetta?¹⁵ It was written in the sonnets.¹⁶ She did not die, the blessed Primavera.¹⁷ She went into a convent. No one

¹² "It" refers to the period of Dante's secure place of power in Florentine politics, which was short.

¹³ Dante himself was exiled in January 1302 by the 'black' Guelphs who were in power and who viewed the 'Whites' as Ghibelline and anti-Guelph. Dante was falsely charged with barratry and ordered into exile, the penalty death if he returned to Florence. By 1303 he had found refuge by 1303 in Verona at the house of Bartolommeo della Scala, to whose son, Can Grande, he wrote the famous letter describing the scheme of the Divine Comedy and dedicated the Paradiso.

¹⁴ Saint-Germain's free associations wander back to his vision of the woman in Venice, whom he sees as both Primavera and Beatrice in a non-hierarchical unified vision: both women are Love.

¹⁵ In addition to Giovanna, Cavalcanti is thought to have loved a Frenchwoman, Mandetta of Toulouse, or Tolosa, as the city is called in Provençal.

¹⁶ Some of Cavalcanti's sonnets and ballate address Mandetta. Pound translated sonnet XII which begins "The grace of youth in Toulouse ventureth;/ She's noble and fair..." and ends "Then with sad sighing in the heart he stirs/ Feeling his death-wound as that dart doth fall/ Which this Tolosan by departure casteth." (49) Ballata VII reads: "...my memories render/ Tolosa and the dusk and these things blended:/ A lady in a corded bodice, slender/--Mandetta is the name Love's spirits lend her--" (111) Pound thinks that Giovanna was Cavalcanti's true love and that "Mandetta of Toulouse was an incident." (22) H.D. takes the "incident" as betrayal, a mirror of her own feelings about Aldington's affairs during their marriage.

¹⁷ Giovanna was supposed to have died young.

had ever known that. The pages fluttered to the floor... the old fever took him.¹⁸ It must have been...de Rohan? Who was his actual father? It was the same story of betrayal, banishment, but in his case it was prison. He had challenged Leopold Ragoczy, as Dante challenged Cavalcanti.¹⁹

¹⁸ The "old" fever suggests that he thinks of his former mystical experience in Venice as brought on or associated with physical illness. Dante had been ill just before he saw 'Primavera' and Beatrice, in a vision, as John the Baptist preceding Christ, "his perceptions being perhaps sharpened by his illness and convalescence." (VN 21)

¹⁹ Incidents in the life of Francis Leopold Rakoczi II (1676-1735), fifth in a line of Magyar kings, suggest why legend connects Saint-Germain with this family. Leopold's father, Francis Leopold I, died the year the child was born. Leopold II's mother, Helen Zrinyi, a fervent Magyar patriot, married in 1682 Imre Thokoly, leader of the Hungarian Protestants and organizer of anti-Habsburg uprisings. At the age of 12 in 1688, Leopold was imprisoned with his mother by the Austrians but then was torn violently from her and taken to Vienna to be brought up as an Austrian Catholic. He was sent to a Jesuit school at Neuhaus in Bohemia. Rebellious, he continued his studies in Prague and when of age married and settled on his estates. He then began a series of campaigns against Austria. Betrayed during an uprising, he was imprisoned at Wiener-Neustadt but escaped disguised as a dragoon officer. In 1707 he was elected Prince of Transylvania. Final defeat of his hopes sent him into exile at the court of Louis XIV in 1713, where he lived until 1718 when he went to Turkey, his abode until he died in 1735. He had two sons, one of whom the Turks encouraged to think of himself as prince of Transylvania. (EB 1902, XX: 261) These details intimate how Saint-Germain might be a half-brother or son Prince Rakoczi. Lang reports that Saint-Germain lived for a time at the court of the Margrave of Anspach "under the name of Tsarogy," an anagram of Rakoczy or Ragotsky, as it is sometimes spelled. (274) St-G thinks that he challenged Rakoczi's leadership as Dante challenged Cavalcanti's position in politics and poetry.

He must have been speaking Polish to the valet.²⁰ Stephanus returned soon after. Leopold was gathering them together, conspiring against the Austrian Empire.²¹ This was the Guelf and Ghibelline of his later reconstruction.²² Dante with the tàvola, tavolàto, tavolètta (he remembered how he had pondered these words) tavolière²³ had precise indications. There could be reconciliation. Mandetta? Was she a symbol merely,

²⁰ St-G thinks that in his delirium he spoke Polish, another sign of connection with the Rakoczi family.

²¹ Leopold Rakoczi took refuge in Poland after escaping from Wiener-Neustadt and in 1703 was offered the crown of that country, which he refused, preferring to return to Hungary to lead a peasant revolt called the kurucz or 'crusader' uprising against Austria and Habsburg oppression of Magyar nationalism. (EB 1957, 18:959)

²² "Guelph" and "Ghibelline" are Italian corruptions of the words "Welf" and "Waiblingen," the two opposing parties of twelfth-century Germany. The Welf, party of the Dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, took their name from Welf, an eleventh-century Duke of Bavaria, and the Waiblingen, party of the lords of Hohenstaufen, took their name from an estate near a castle by that name. St-G 'reconstructs' the Rakoczy-Austrian opposition as a later version of the party oppositions of fourteenth century Florence, seeing a connecting pattern in history.

²³ Tàvola means "table," and all these other cognate Italian words are variations of "table." A tavolàto is a little table; tavolètta means "tablet" or "small table"; tavolière means "card-table" or "chess board." H.D. is looking for the right word for the small table she owned which once belonged to William Morris and which she used in London during World War II for "table-tipping" seances. In these she received "messages" from five dead RAF pilots concerning the future which she tried to deliver to Lord Dowding, Britain's air marshal. The suggestion is that "there could be reconciliation" if the dead and the living could properly communicate.

as they²⁴ had reasoned that Beatrice was Divine Philosophy? There need be no Guelf, no Ghibelline, no schism, no chasm, no crevasse between them. It was perfect, a formula that fitted history.²⁵ History? He could not recall the lines but someone (Morte? Cavalcanti?) turned, as to slay the spìriti.²⁶ Not him only, not the blessing, not the embodiment of Amor--her name he said was Amor--not Monna Vanna or Johanna,²⁷ Giovanna, a screen, a veil--he remembered how he had

24 Since "Mandetta?" appears just before this sentence, the idea is that Mandetta and Primavera can be reconciled since both are symbolically Love, as "they," the literary critics or philosophical interpreters of Dante, have declared Beatrice to be, forming a continuum between her and the Lady Philosophy of Dante's Convivio.

25 If Beatrice is a symbol of Love, then the living woman of history is joined with the mystical eternal dimension, and all human beings can be so joined, overriding the factionalism that produces war. The phrase, "a formula that fitted history," defines what H.D. is searching for intellectually in this novel.

26 "Spìriti," Italian for "spirits," apparently refers to a passage in chapter XI in which Dante, wholly possessed by Love, Amor, describes waiting for a greeting from Beatrice: "When she was on the point of bestowing her greeting, a spirit of love, destroying all the other spirits of the senses, drove away the frail spirits of vision and said.: 'Go pay homage to your lady'; and Love himself remained in their place." This 'spirit' that manifests through a more powerful source than the human senses is associated in H.D.'s mind with the 'spirits' of the dead she saw in her seances.

27 Saint-Germain translates "Giovanna" into its German form, "Johanna", to create a name-link, or a "spiritual etymology," with St. John and the Johannites as well as with Z's Indian name "Johannan" and title "Brother Johannes."

pondered that velo, veil and vela, sail.²⁸ But was Johanna a screen for Beatrice or Beatrice a screen or a veil for Johanna, Primavera?

It²⁹ caught in the wind and the snow captured her. It was a mistake to wait and watch her blown like a wraith down the Alchemists' Lane.

Leopold was his brother; he had then thought that Prince Ragoczy was actually his father.³⁰ He had not thought it possible that the two worlds could manifest, separately, to the same person.³¹ He had not himself known, that last time, what the tablets or the tavolàto had intended, but Leopold was possessed with fury. The very words that Dante used, he found later, actually

28 In the Vita Nuova, Dante uses the device of a 'screen-love'--that is, he pays attention to another woman so that his extreme devotion to Beatrice will not attract attention. (V:34) The words for "screen" or "veil" and "sail" are similar in Italian, so H.D. makes her usual sound-substance connection.

29 "It" refers to Elizabeth's veil-like scarf of white lace, vela, which he sees again in his mind's eye, as it "caught in the wind" like a sail. Her scarf or veil implies that she is a "screen" for divine Love.

30 This sentence is ambiguous, but means that he thought that Leopold (Francis Leopold II) was his brother and that both of them were sons of the elder Prince Rakoczi, Francis Leopold I. Saint-Germain was mistaken in believing the Prince to be his father.

31. "The two worlds" are this one and the one beyond death. Both manifest to Leopold, who is a mirror of Lord Hugh Dowding, Chief Air Marshal for Britain during the war, and a psychic, whom H.D. had invited to her séances because dead pilots had sent messages of the dangers of future atomic war. (Guest 260-2)

expressed Leopold's obvious madness. He had abused not him, Louis, but the messages or the messengers,³² he had raged at those very spìriti,³³ in the same voice and manner with which Dante described Morte villana, that Morte that he himself³⁴ identified as Dante's friend and familiar, an older brother and young father, soldier, man-of-the-world, statesman, scholar, poet, courtier, the invincible Cavalcanti.

It was only years afterwards, that he solved the

³² This scene mirrors details of the end of H.D.'s contact with Dowding, called "Lord Howell" in Sword. Dowding, who had lost a pilot son in combat, at first took H.D.'s "messages" seriously, conducted seances with her and worried lest "lower beings" learn of the messages. He did not have "obvious madness"--his air strategies won the Battle of Britain in 1940. But he believed that mediums could contact the dead. In his book, Many Mansions (1943), "he cited occasions on which "lost" sons, that is dead sons, had been contacted by mediums. These airmen...were in middle ground between earth and astral space and were helping their comrades to their astral heaven." (Guest 261). However, after several sessions with H.D., he suddenly decided that the messages were inauthentic and ended their relationship, precipitating a breakdown similar to those H.D. had had in 1919 and 1934, associated with her brother Gilbert's death in WWI and van de Leeuw's death in a plane crash. (PR 27-8)

³³ His raging at the "spirits" shows that he believed in them while denying their authenticity, an insane contradiction which seems also to have assailed Dowding.

³⁴ Saint-Germain sees Dante as uniting Cavalcanti and death--"Morte"--the analogue of uniting Beatrice/Giovanna with "Amor." Dante's Commedia, the poem of Beatrice or Divine Love which conquers death, is set in the year of the death of Cavalcanti, Dante's 'older brother' in poetry. In H.D.'s Helen in Egypt the sound-link L'Amour/ La Mort creates a transcendent ending.

riddle, the rubrica,³⁵ as Dante called it. It was fear that had seized Leopold. Of what? He remembered but only--only-- When had it all happened? I was immured in the dungeons of the Castle of Ruel. But that was perhaps a test, he had argued, for he could not lose Leopold. Even when he found that Leopold was associated with the Comes Cabalicus and the doctrine of a forbidden Gnosis.³⁶ It was not the tavolàto that had revealed this to him.

Perhaps, he had argued afterwards, it³⁷ was preliminary to some initiation--but he had been rescued. Perhaps, he had argued afterwards, it was a test, a trial, a proof, épreuve³⁸ of strength, of mental power, endurance, valiance. How had he been rescued? His mind had broken³⁹ before that happened, and he found

³⁵ The word rubrica, rubric, alludes to the words "New Life" in the opening paragraph of Dante's Vita Nuova. It is the signal of how he became spiritually "new."

³⁶ Lévi says that Saint-Germain was either the natural or an adopted son of a Rosicrucian who called himself Comes Cabalicus--the Companion Kabbalist. But since Saint-Germain also was reported to have told Prince Karl of Hesse that he was a son of Prince Ragoczy, H.D. tries to bring these stories together.

³⁷ "It" refers to the imprisonment which separated him from his brother.

³⁸ "Épreuve" is French for "trial" or "test."

³⁹ In 1946, after H.D.'s "mind had broken," she could not remember how she was rescued and flown to Switzerland by Bryher, who had to recount it to her in a letter. (29 September 1946; Guest 278)

himself in the retinue of Prince Karl of Hesse,⁴⁰ on the way to Venice.

If he had time, he could reconstruct the entire story. But that would make a memoir of it, not a dream, a fantasy. The papers had fluttered to the floor and afterwards, Stephanus told him, the good Lucia⁴¹ had confessed to him, she burnt them. She had taken them for magic, the broken script, the parallels and circles, he had been tracing, as from the Paradiso. The signs of those same planets.⁴² Magic was rife in Venice and he had been known to have attended de Seingalt's⁴³ water-carnivals and festivals. It was Prince Karl who urged

⁴⁰ The historical Saint-Germain, after having lived at several European courts, finally took up residence in Schleswig-Holstein at the court of Prince Charles (Karl) of Hesse, a student and patron of the occult sciences. Saint-Germain died in Schleswig around 1780 to 1785, but part of his legend which influences this novel is that he "is said to have been seen in Paris in 1789." (MMM 2461; EB 1902, XX: 5)

⁴¹ Lucia is their Italian housemaid in Venice.

⁴² He had been writing the astrological signs for the planets, evidently casting his horoscope. The first seven of the ten heavens of Dante's Paradise are each governed by a planet: 1) the Moon; 2) Mercury; 3) Venus; 4) the Sun; 5) Mars; 6) Jupiter; 7) Saturn. The position of the planets at the time of one's birth modifies the general qualities of the zodiacal sign. H.D. studied astrology and "continually had horoscopes cast for herself and her friends." (See SSF Myth 293-338). It should not be forgotten that H.D.'s father was an astronomer.

⁴³ De Seingalt is better known as Casanova. His full name was Giovanni Jacopo Casanova de Seingalt. This adventurer, born in Venice in 1725, lived all over

him on to that incomparable fête vénitienne.⁴⁴ Had he really seen her? Casanova de Seingalt was a nobleman, a roue and a gentleman. But he thought of Balsamo.⁴⁵

How long had the Embassy been empty?⁴⁶ He had trusted Stephanus, who in any case, had apparently taken things into his own hands. They would take Balsamo to England; it was only whispered among the grooms, that gentleman's agreement. There would be no Revolution. That was the price of his⁴⁷ departure. That is, there would be no Revolution, until the Guard left the Palace and the Guard would not leave the Palace.⁴⁸

Europe and assumed many roles, including journalist, alchemist, preacher, police informant and spy. From 1756 to 1759 he was director of state lotteries in France, made money and frequented high society. He met Cagliostro in Aix, France, in 1769. From 1774 to 1782 he was a police spy in Venice. His untrustworthy Mémoires recount the numerous love-affairs that have made his name a synonym for 'seducer'. It seems likely that he and the historical Saint-Germain would have met.

⁴⁴ "Fête vénitienne" translates as "Venetian festival," but since "lanterne vénitienne" means "Chinese lantern," the image here of a festival glowing with paper lanterns.

⁴⁵ The similarity in character between de Seingalt and Cagliostro brings Saint-Germain's mind back to the present and to Balsamo hidden in the stable.

⁴⁶ He realizes that the ambassador has left during his illness; therefore Balsamo has escaped to England instead of being delivered to the Inquisition.

⁴⁷ "His" seems to refer to Balsamo. The 'payoff' to the grooms for engineering his escape is the assurance that there will be no revolution.

⁴⁸ The Guard will not leave the Palace because Saint-Germain, their commander, will order them not to leave. As he is a Chevalier and knight, he will be obeyed.

It was a question of time and he had cheated time.⁴⁹
 The Fates were those spinning sisters.⁵⁰ You only saw the
 fine web of the texture, when the wings were free.⁵¹ It
 was a web that folded round her, worn as in Venice,
 that--mantilla⁵² No, that was not the word he wanted.
 Was de Seignalt, Spanish? There was the enchantment of
 strings, brushed by Melusine,⁵³ across the water. He had
 not been freed by those syrens of Casanova. The wound
 inflicted by Leopold had been too--poignant? deadly?
 poisonous? There was no word for that wound. But he
 had stood between the messages and the bitter

⁴⁹ His having "cheated time" is an allusion to his "deathlessness" or capacity to reincarnate.

⁵⁰ The Three Fates of Greek mythology, the goddesses of destiny, Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos spin, weave and cut the thread of life respectively. The metaphor is that one's life is a fabric woven of many strands.

⁵¹ The 'fabric' of life is here seen as the web of the cocoon which is left behind when the butterfly, the soul, emerges and frees its wings.

⁵² Elizabeth's white lace scarf resembles the cocoon's white threads, and the way she wears it reminds him of the woman on the bridge at Venice. "Mantilla" is really the right word for such a scarf, but since Elizabeth appears nun-like to Saint-Germain, the right word would perhaps be "wimple."

⁵³ French folklore speaks of Melusine as a fairy voice in the fountain of Lusignan in Poitiers. Thus singing and music floating across the water in Venice seemed to Saint-Germain to have an enchanted origin. He also thinks of this music as the song of the sirens who would have lured Odysseus, so perhaps a momentary sweetheart is implied, an 'incident,' as Pound said Mandetta to have been in the life of Cavalcanti.

repudiation of them. He had stood by the Messenger.⁵⁴ Afterwards, there was a sinister or celestial rumour that he himself had had converse with de Seignalt, while Stephanus was witness, before God, that he lay that night on the eve of the Assumption, helpless and weak, in the dark, watching the reflections of the flickering lanterns, across the slats of the drawn blinds, as they passed in the calle⁵⁵ outside, on the way to the Piazza.⁵⁶ It was always carnival.⁵⁷ De Seingalt was a roué but a gentleman. He⁵⁸ might have been seeing double--he was seeing double. They told me you had the

⁵⁴ The "Messenger," invisible as he is, might be thought of as a modern incarnation of the Greek-Egyptian Hermes-Thoth, shape-shifter and message-bearer of the gods, even though it is virtually impossible to define the 'gods'. Hermes is a recurring figure in H.D.'s poetry from Sea Garden's early poem, "Hermes of the Ways," to the Hermes Trismegistus, founder of alchemy in the opening section of Tribute to the Angels, the second book of Trilogy.

⁵⁵ "Calle" is Italian for "street."

⁵⁶ The Piazza San Marco, the central square of Venice, opens before the famed Church of St. Mark and the Palace of the Doges; it always swarms with people.

⁵⁷ "Carnival" began in Roman Catholic countries as a one-day festival of Mardi Gras, or "Fat Tuesday," on the day before Ash Wednesday, a last fling of eating, drinking and pleasure-taking before the Lenten season of fasting and abstinence for forty days before Easter. The custom eventually extended to a week or more of fun.

⁵⁸ "He" refers to Seingalt. Saint-Germain is trying to explain to himself how Seingalt could have seen Saint-Germain 'where he was not.' Seingalt is also said to have been "a cabbalist" and involved in the then new and "occult sect of Free-Masons." (Bolitho 70, 74)

fever, he⁵⁹ said afterwards, how did you find your way to the Miracoli?⁶⁰ His jests were intimate and witty. Was it a laughing matter? He⁶¹ decided afterwards, it was the Visitor. But that was long afterwards. "If anything, it was more than usual ordered," the porter had said of the Chapel of Saint Wenceslas, after the Miracle.⁶²

But there had been other manifestations, not often; he had recalled them in the Cathedral, there was never a false step, never an inopportune moment, never an appearance that was exaggerated. If the Visitor had chosen him as a--a screen, to use Dante's word, or a veil, as he preferred to call it, He could, it was obvious, use anyone. The Visitor, he had reasoned in the Cathedral and not for the first time, could manifest as anybody. Prince Karl, a Master of the Ancienne Chevalerie,⁶³ had received him, without preliminary

⁵⁹ "He" refers to Seingalt.

⁶⁰ H.D. wrote in End to Torment of being in Venice with Ezra Pound around 1914. He wanted to show her a church. "We darted in and out of alleys or calles, across bridges....It was very hot, May, I think. The church was cool, with a balcony of icy mermaids, Santa Maria dei Miracoli." (6) In section 31 of Tribute H.D. sees an aspect of the "Lady"--another manifestation of Beatrice/Primavera--in "the marble sea-maids in Venice,/ who climb the altar-stair/ at Santa Maria dei Miracoli."

⁶¹ "He" refers to Saint-Germain, not to Seingalt.

⁶² The "Miracle" occurred when the candles went out after Elizabeth left the Chapel of St. Wenceslas.

⁶³ "Ancienne Chevalerie" is the "old" or "former chivalry."

trial, into one of the highest circles of the Knights. There was gossip of the Jesuits, at that time in Venice, and threat of the suppression of the Order.⁶⁴ He had followed the matter closely and finally undertaken the strict rule of initiation. He had orders to go to Paris, disciplined yet ready for wildest emergency, as de Rohan has expressed it, "most flagrant Palace orgies." And this was no trial to him, he was seeking Leopold. That is, when the time came for a candidate to investigate Calioistro's orgies, he was chosen. It was clearly demonstrated, it was Euclid⁶⁵ and the Church Fathers,⁶⁶ it was the role of humility, it was the service of the Order,⁶⁷ it was scientific and reasoned investigation, it was research, it was inquiry, it was seasoned summary of a disease, professional diagnosis,

⁶⁴ The Church's suppression of the Society of Jesus would mean that this 'eternal order' within it would have to continue its work 'underground' to stem protestant Freemasonry.

⁶⁵ "It was Euclid" means that the action he is undertaking is as rationally laid down as a theorem of Euclidean geometry, the conclusion following inevitably from the premisses with the signal Q.E.D., quod erat demonstrandum, "that which is to be demonstrated."

⁶⁶ "The Church Fathers" are the medieval theologians, from Clement and Origen to Augustine and Aquinas, who systematized and defined orthodox Christian doctrine. Saint-Germain's undertaking is therefore sanctioned by church authorities.

⁶⁷ Both the external Jesuit order and the elite 'eternal order' appear to be meant here.

he would risk his life as the Fathers in the Indies,⁶⁸ it was martyrdom, it was penance toward absolution, it was the pledge of obedience, the pledge of silence, the pledge of secrecy, it was again Service--it was the Inquisition, it was damnable.⁶⁹

But he had paid his debt to Cardinal de Rohan and he had paid his debt to Calioistro.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Roman Catholic missionaries ran risk of death when they went to the east and west Indies.

⁶⁹ The ending of this sentence repudiates the rationalizations just given.

⁷⁰ He has paid his debt to de Rohan, his surrogate father, by having helped with the gathering of materials for the Inquisition. He has paid his debt to Calioistro by refusing to betray him and by letting him escape. Now Saint-Germain is free of both and can make a more profound choice of spiritual and mystical path than either of them presented to him.

XV

"I do not know," she said,¹ and as if she were speaking to a child, "I told you yesterday."

"It is the names, I tried to remember and write them," he said, "but Stephanus took away my quill and paper."

"But it is difficult to write the names. One can only say them."

"Say them."

"Susquehanna, Lenni-Lenape, Z'higochgoharo."²

"There was another," he said, "you did not tell me the whole story."

¹ Elizabeth is sitting at the bedside of the still-feverish Louis. She is answering his prior question, which is something like: "Why did the Indians give special names to the Moravian leaders?"

² "Susquehanna" names a large river flowing south through eastern Pennsylvania but lying west of the Lehigh and Delaware rivers, at whose confluence Bethlehem is situated. On the Susquehanna northwest of Bethlehem, the Moravian missionary David Zeisberger established Friedenshütten ("tents of peace"), a community of Iroquois converts. (Hutton Missions 103-4) "Lenni-Lenape" is the Delaware Indians' name for themselves; it means "Indian men" or "original people." (Levering 45, 48; ZN 6[20], 11[27]) "Z'higochgoharo" is Christian Henry Rauch's Indian name; Rauch went as missionary to Shekomeko, New York, in 1741. The Indians gave new names to the Moravians because, they said, their European names were too hard for Indians to pronounce. (Levering 242). H.D. stresses the sounds of these names.

"I can not--I can not," she said, "it broke my mother's heart to lose them--"³

"They are not lost," he said.

He did not know of the intensity of her emotions, as she sat there, Sister Elizabeth, in her white cap and the fine linen folded at her wrists.⁴

"There were many other--names, I mean," she said.
"Tganniatarechev."

"Tgan--?"

"It means, between-two-seas, the name they gave to Christopher Pyrlaeus,⁵ the musician, who wrote the lists

³ "Them" refers to the Indians who left Bethlehem.

⁴ Elizabeth wears the tight-fitting white cap of the Moravian "sisters," tied under the chin with ribbons. whose color indicated the owner's 'choir.' Levering's History shows portraits of women in these caps, which H.D. saw her grandmother wear. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow in 1825 wrote a poem, "Hymn of the Moravian Nuns of Bethlehem at the Consecration of Pulaski's Banner" before he knew that Moravian sisters are not nuns and that the banner was not a large, flowing flag, but a guidon or pennant. Longfellow was romantically touched by the story of Count Casimir Pulaski's visit to La Fayette at Bethlehem in 1778, when Pulaski was presented with the banner designed and embroidered by Moravian sisters. Levering supposes that they honored Pulaski, as a relative of Polish royalty, because he understood the Moravian connection to the old church of the Bohemian Brethren. (485, 488) Z's stepfather, General von Nazmer, was a friend of the King of Poland. (AGS 234) Pulaski carried the banner into battle at Savannah where he was killed in October 1779. H.D.'s notes say merely "Pulaski Count Casimir." ZN [12]

⁵ John Christopher Pyrlaeus (d.1785), a Leipzig University candidate in theology, was under 30 years old when he came to Bethlehem in October 1741. He was ordained bishop in 1742. (Tom Minor, letter, 21 Dec.1987)

of words of the Mohawk and Mochican dialects.⁶ Some pages, copied from the manuscript, are in the library at home," she said.

"Herrnhut," he said.

"The Lord's Watch. My father and my uncle took down many of my grandfather's poems.⁷ He is still reputed to be one of the greatest extempore poets that Germany has ever had.⁸ But they could not record the music, they said. So Pyrlaeus is said⁹ to have

⁶ Pyrlaeus is "chiefly noted as a student and teacher of Indian language, particularly the Mohawk and Mohican dialects, and left some linguistic work of interest in manuscript, which is preserved in the Moravian archives at Bethlehem." (Levering 70)

⁷ The bibliography of Z's work shows that he wrote around three thousand hymns. His followers also took down his sermons, for he often preached extemporaneously. John de Watteville, who taught Christian Renatus and later married Benigna, used shorthand to record Z's sermons at Berlin in December 1738. (AGS 239-40) These notes evidently form the nucleus of the Sixteen Discourses on the Redemption of Man by the Death of Christ. Preached at Berlin..., published in English translation in London in 1740.

⁸ Z's poetry is praised in P. Latrobe's introduction Samuel Jackson's 1838 translation of AGS, xxvi-xxxi.

⁹ Pyrlaeus and his wife stayed at Tulpehocken in 1743 while he learned Mohawk from Conrad Weiser. In September 1745 as "master of the school of Indian languages at Bethlehem," he translated the first verses from the German hymnal into the Mohican language, to the tune In Dulce Jubilo for a missionary love-feast at which each person sang in his or her native language. "Thirteen languages figured in the polyglot harmony," Levering notes. (204-5) At this time "the desire was increased to cultivate the musical talent of Bethlehem to a higher degree of excellence and serviceableness," a desire which did not die. J. Fred Wolle (1863-1933),

explained the Indian language--or languages, there were many."

"There were many?"

"It all seems in the past and far away. Pyrlaeus was one of the early settlement.¹⁰ It is only fifty years, not quite fifty years,¹¹ since the community was established, but in that time, there have been incredible, intolerable transformations. She did not want to talk of this nor recall the heart-ache. "Perhaps

H.D.'s uncle, who studied music in Munich, founded the famous Bach choir of Bethlehem. (Guest 12-13) Music is constantly present in Moravian life. Formerly, deaths and other kinds of news were announced by trombone motifs played from the church balcony, and hymn-singing accompanied daily routines. The Sing-stunde or 'singing-hour,' when people come together simply to sing, is still a favorite feature of Moravian life, and one in which non-Moravians may join. Since the end of the eighteenth century, Moravian hymnals have incorporated popular hymns from many other denominations. (cf. Offices of Worship; H. Williams, personal communication)

¹⁰ When Pyrlaeus arrived in Bethlehem in 1741 with Gottlob Buettner and John William Zander, no Moravians had come since December 1740. These three men increased to 34 the number of Moravians there connected with the European churches. (Levering 70)

¹¹ Since the date of this novel is 1788, the first pioneers arrived 48 years before, in May 1740, on a 5000-acre site in eastern Pennsylvania deeded by William Allen to George Whitefield on which he planned a school for negroes at a place he named Nazareth. The Moravians, through purchase by Z's wife, took over this site the following year, and established the Nazareth and Bethlehem communities. The group of original settlers consisted of John Boehner, Martin Mack, Anton Seiffert, David and Rosina Zeisberger and their son David, Joanna Hummel and two indentured boys from Savannah, Benjamin Sommers and James, whose last name is not recorded, he having soon run away. (Levering 40-45)

my mother thought of them, lived with them, before I was born. I seem to know too much about them, more even than my mother, of whose early visit to the settlement, I have spoken."

"The Six Nations," he said.

"My uncle Frederick, a scholar and something of a classicist, compared them to the Spartans in Greece.¹² They were warriors, held together by political interests and affiliations. They were Iroquois," she explained, "Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas, Tuscaroras.¹³ But I told you yesterday."

"It was those names, I was trying to remember."

"The Athenians, as Uncle Frederick called them, had no confederacy. So the separate tribes¹⁴ dwindled

¹² Elizabeth, like H.D., has an Uncle Frederick-- Frederick de Watteville, the brother of John de Watteville, both sons of Z's close friend, Baron Frederick de Watteville, with whom as a student at the royal school at Halle Z formed the "Order of the Mustard Seed" according to Jesus' parable of the mustard seed in Matthew 13:31: "...the least of all seeds: but when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs." (AGS 9) The "Spartans" are the Iroquois with a confederation of tribes; the Delaware and others who have not formed a league are the "Athenians."

¹³ ZN 4 [15,16] on the left page reads "Hist. 48" and on the righthand page:

Six Nations or Iroquois--"the five Nations", Mohawks, Oneidas, Onodagas, Cayugas + Senecas, In 1715 the Tuscaroras joined them--"the Six Nations." These phrases come from Levering's footnote on p.48. A similar list, but with slightly different spellings, appears on ZN 11 [27], but no source is given.

¹⁴ The "separate tribes" are in the Algonquin nation.

and even then, when Christopher Pyrlaeus began his record of them,¹⁵ some had almost vanished--many had already vanished, I suppose. He said their voices stressed the words, like music. It was music, he said."

"It is music," said Saint-Germain.

"So I seem to feel it. But apart from the usual service and the choir, I was not considered gifted.¹⁶ There were so many accomplished musicians in the community."

"But the Athenians?"

"Ah, that is difficult. There was God, the Great Spirit. There was good and evil, Manito."¹⁷

"Manito?" he questioned.

"They were Algonquin, the Athenians; the tribes

¹⁵ Pyrlaeus began this record around 1744.

¹⁶ This remark is highly personal; H.D. in The Gift says of herself and her brothers:

They had so much to give us, Papa and Papalie... but...we were none of us "gifted," they would say....They didn't think any of us were marked with that strange thing they called a gift, the thing Uncle Fred had had from the beginning...

H.D.'s search for the meaning of "the gift," since she thinks she has one despite what 'they' say, informs her memoir, whose ending concludes that she does indeed have the "Gift of Vision...the Gift of Wisdom, the Gift of the Holy Spirit..." (Gift, ND ed., 11, 135) She is using the word "choir" in its everyday modern sense of 'singers in church', not in the old Moravian sense of chor or organized group.

¹⁷ "Manito" means fundamentally "Great Spirit," the Indian word for "God."

had lost touch with one another. Though scattered and defenceless, they were the high-priests of tradition. Who is manito? it was questioned in one of the recorded chants of their mysteries. He, is the reply, who walketh with a serpent, walking on the ground, he is manito."¹⁸

Who was speaking? Where was he? Who was this speaking to him? I am feeling so much better, he thought. Was it the powders she had left,¹⁹ with special directions to Stephanus? There was all-heal implicit in the names of the simples--this, from Herrnhut, this from Bethlehem. He must not touch the Indian remedies, she said, if he feared them or had a superstition of them. They were powdered bark and dried berries.²⁰ He mother had witnessed the simple, secret preparation of the formula. It was not witchcraft. He had smiled for the first time, to hear Our Lady speak of witchcraft, to see Our Lady, wrapped in her fur-mantle, with that same immaculate veil under the half drawn-back fur-hood.

¹⁸ Z's encounter with the 'serpent,' the puff-adder, (see ch.VIII, n.23) links him with the Great Spirit.

¹⁹ Elizabeth had left medicinal powders with him on a previous visit; she is still sitting beside him, but his delirious senses are uncertain of who is speaking to him--that is, they are manufacturing multiple and visionary identities for her. "Isis takes many forms."

²⁰ Hutton (Missions) lists Indian remedies: "...for head-ache and tooth-ache, white walnut bark;...for stomach disorders, the red berries of the wintergreen..."(84)

She was not a vision. Our Lady²¹ and Saint Wenceslas chose you to light the candles. The words she spoke were invocations--of what? Surely, not the powers of darkness--Manito? He was God and Devil. But between God and Devil, stood Our Lady. She did not die, the blessed Primavera, she went into a Convent. He was the only one who knew this. What Convent had she attended, he had thought when he first saw her. What Covenant had her grandfather made with God?

Cardinal de Rohan had spoke of himself and Zinzendorf as alike marked for leadership. But according to the story as Dohna had been telling it,

21 Elizabeth as a visitor becomes "Our Lady" but in the unconventional sense of "the Lady" appearing in Tribute to the Angels to the company of poets who have evoked through the alchemist's crucible the angels or "seven spirits,/ set before God/ as lamps on the high-altar":

We have seen her
the world over,

Our Lady of the Goldfinch,
Our Lady of the Candelabra...

we have seen her, an empress...

and we have seen her
with a single flower

we see her hand unknot a Syrian veil
or lay down a Venetian shawl...

For I can say truthfully,
her veils were white as snow,

as no fuller on earth
can white them;... (Tril. 93,95,97)

the Plan,²² as he called it, the Jednota or Unitas, assembled at Herrnhut with its stations or missions in odd corners of the whole world, had lost something. Saint-Germain seemed to know what it was, explaining as best he could, his reading of the matter. Zinzendorf was a Protestant Jesuit.²³

It was even so rumoured, she had told him, when speaking of--of--

"I have forgotten the name--Pine Plains, you translated it," he said.

She said, "Schekomeko."²⁴ It was north of

²² Plan is not exactly synonymous with Unitas nor has it the same meaning as "plan," its English cognate. "The word Plan, as used in German, was a favorite term of Zinzendorf," which he variously applied to a "scheme, system, sphere or field of labor, or even an organization." (Levering 199)

²³ Z might well be Jesuit, if judged by his extensive use of military metaphors: "Christ is the conquering Prince, with a voice like the blast of a trumpet, and His royal chariot rolls behind; His preachers, His warriors, His noble prisoners of war are 'comrades of the Noble Order of Mockery'; and His Blood is their guide and their staff." (Hutton Missions 185)

²⁴ At Schekomeko, whose English name is Pine Plains, in Dutchess county, New York, Christian Henry Rauch had begun a mission, an unwelcome presence to the provincial governors. Z and Benigna encountered hostility there on their visit in July 1742. They were arrested for breaking the sabbath--she was copying a poem of Z's for him--and were brought before a justice of the peace and fined. (Reichel Memorials 59-61) In 1744 in New York city, a hearing took place concerning the activities of Gottlob Buettner, Joachim Sensemann and Joseph Shaw, "three Moravian priests" who lived with "many Indians at Schocomico." Since Moravians, like Quakers, do not take oaths on principle, they would not swear allegiance to

Bethlehem, in what is now New York State," she told him. "My grandfather visited there with Benigna. It was the fur-traders. Christian Henry had founded their farm-community. If they had corn, they did not need--"25

She hesitated, for it was the crime of a whole nation.²⁶

"You need not speak of it," he said, "that degradation. The Jesuit fathers had the same problems, after the conquistadores. And the white man's other contribution--"27

"Christian Henry brought his whole community to

to the Crown and were therefore thought to be pro-French, that is, secret Catholics. The Moravians' willingness to talk with anyone of any denomination fed this false rumor and caused the animosity which led Governor Clinton to order them out of New York. The missionaries then returned with their Indian converts to Bethlehem. (O'Callaghan 613-621; Levering 192)

²⁵ The logic of this speech is jumbled. The idea is that the fur-traders caused trouble for the Moravians (although Hutton says it was the whisky-merchants.) "Their" does not refer to its nearest noun, "fur-traders," but to the Indians who had a farm community. The broken-off sentence after "need" should end with "they gave it away," that is, gave it to Indians not in their community, a practice which also raised suspicion in the authorities. (O'Callaghan 615)

²⁶ "The crime of a whole nation" is the slaughter and displacement of the American Indians by European settlers everywhere on the North American continent.

²⁷ The conquistadores in Mexico and South America also murdered the natives, a policy directly counter to the Jesuits' desire to convert them. The reference to "the white man's other contribution" has an ironic ring but is unclear. If the 'first' contribution is war and slaughter, possibly the 'other' is racism.

Bethlehem. They were driven out. There was a special law passed in New York, against vagrant preachers, Jesuits, and Moravians--Jesuits in disguise, they called them."²⁸

"Moravians?"

"Bohemians, really. It was Christian Henry, they called Z'higochgoharo. I don't know what it means. The Indians far outnumbered the settlers in Bethlehem, so they built a village for them,²⁹ below the town, on the Menakessi river.³⁰ Friedensshuetten,"³¹ she said.

²⁸ An official document of 11 August 1744 records "Further Orders Relating to the Moravians" issued by Governor Clinton of New York state. In it he directs sheriffs of Albany, Ulster and Dutchess counties "to give notice to the several Moravian & vagrant Teachers among the Indians...to desist...and to depart...." Z wrote a letter of protest (31 December 1744) saying that they had come "to the colonies hoping to enjoy an unrestrained Freedom of Religion," but he failed to convince the Board of Trade who advised Clinton (28 June 1745) to enforce the "Act for securing of his Majesty's Government of New York" in order to "guard against...all wicked Practices of Designing Persons & Papists in Disguise." (O'Callaghan 617-21; Hutton Missions 94)

²⁹ The pronouns might be confusing here. "They," the Bethlehem residents, built a community for the Indians.

³⁰ ZN (5, [17-18]) reads: "Note 46. Monocacy Creek. Menagassi or Menakessi (Monakasy, Monocasy or Monocacy) i.e. creek with bends." (cf. Levering 46) This creek flows into the Lehigh, in Delaware "Lechaweeki," i.e. where there are forks, just above Bethlehem. Wunden Eiland, the "Isle of Wounds", which figures in The Gift, was located in Monocacy Creek.

³¹ The conflated stories continue through a confusion of two villages each named Friedensshuetten but separated in time. Here H.D. alludes to the earlier

But they were being driven, remorselessly through the snow. "Many died on the way."³²

"From--Pine Plains?"

"Schekomeko," she said, "and a few years after,

community. In September 1745 the increasing number of Indian refugees led to the building of "the group of Indian houses at Bethlehem....[T]he cluster of log cabins...received the name Friedenshuetten--Habitations of Peace." (Levering 192)

³² The mention of "snow" shows definitively the conflation of the 1745 evacuation from Schekomeko with the final exodus, in 1765, of Indians who had lived at Wechquetank, near Bethlehem. This story begins in 1763 during "Pontiac's War" when white militiamen shot Indians on sight. Moravian Indians, living well in organized communities, suffered double enmity--non-Christian Indians hated their affluence and white people thought they were simply Pontiac's savages. In October 1763 the missionary Bernhard Grube evacuated 150 Moravian Indians to Nazareth from Wechquetank, after which the village was torched. At nearly the same time, a Moravian Indian named Renatus, of the community at Nain, near Wechquetank, was accused of killing John Stenton, who kept a tavern about nine miles from Bethlehem. Renatus was jailed, tried in May 1764 and acquitted, but as anti-Indian and anti-Moravian feeling was high, the colonial government at Philadelphia ordered the 143 Wechquetank Indians into protective custody at Philadelphia. They were released on 22 March 1765 into a heavy snowstorm through which they were forced to walk to Bethlehem. Sixty of them died on the way, leaving 83 in the group, whose "arrival awakened much sympathetic interest at Bethlehem." On 3 April they departed for the Wyoming valley to the west, accompanied by government guard and the missionaries Zeisberger and Schmick, reaching Machwihilusing (Wyalusing) on 9 May. "There a village was laid out, with gardens and fields...which received the name Friedenshuetten--Habitations of Peace--like the temporary Indian village of twenty years before, at Bethlehem." (Levering 393-407) Levering adds: "Thus, with the departure of those Indians from Bethlehem on April 3, 1765, Moravian Indian missions in the Lehigh Valley came to an end."

there was small-pox.³³ They were Mohigans at Schekomeko, one of the lost tribes.³⁴ Their last chief was buried at Bethlehem. Chingachcook,"³⁵she said. "They called him John Wasamapah.³⁶ I don't know why."

"Was there any--any reason that you know of, for calling your grandfather Johannes?"

"That is the sort of question that Henri--my cousin and I ask each other, for they never told us of the things that really seemed to matter."

There was Monna Vanna, Giovanna or Johanna. They

³³ A smallpox epidemic broke out among the Indians in the summer of 1746 and spread to Bethlehem and Nazareth. (Levering 193)

³⁴ Z believed that the Indians of the Six Nations were, in his own words, "partly mixed Scythians, and partly Jews of the 10 lost Tribes." He cites as evidence certain prophecies in Deuteronomy and gives additional reasons why the Indians are Jews: "They have Jewish customs" and "Achsa, onas, and innumerable other words are pure Ebrew..." William Penn also thought the Indians were "of the stock of the Ten Tribes," and said, "I find them of like countenance." (Reichel Memorials 18-19; Hutton Missions 90-91)

³⁵ Chingachgook is the Indian hero in Fenimore Cooper's novel, The Last of the Mohicans.

³⁶ The smallpox epidemic of 1746 carried off "that most valuable Indian assistant to the missionaries, John Wasamapah (Tschoop)."Tschoop is a corruption of Job. ZN 5 [18] says: "Johannes, Joe, John Wasamapah. 596.---buried. [in Bethlehem cemetery] Tschoop is said to be the original of Cooper's Chingachgook (Levering 596) "Tschoop" was a drunkard; the story of his conversion by Rauch's genuineness and non-puritanical approach inspired other missionaries. (Hutton Missions 86-87; cited in ZN 5[17-18])

were Johannites,³⁷ but how explain this to her?

"There was a legend," he said, "a heresy, if you will, that Our Lord had transmitted to his favourite Disciple--"³⁸

"My grandfather was known as the Disciple,"³⁹ she said.

"He would know," said Saint-Germain, "that Our Lord was not dead. I am not speaking of the transfiguration or the transmutation, of the ascension, the communion, nor even of the Paraclete,⁴⁰ the Holy

³⁷ The Johannites were an eastern Christian sect, contemporary with the Templars. According to Lévi, they claimed that they alone were initiated into the Saviour's religion; they claimed also to know the true history of Jesus Christ.... They regarded the facts in the Gospels as allegories, of which St. John had the key. The proof was his saying that if all things done by Jesus were recorded, "I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written." They held that such a statement would be ridiculous exaggeration unless it referred to allegory and legend. (208)

³⁸ St. John is the "favorite disciple," the one "whom Jesus loved" who was "leaning on Jesus' bosom" at the Last Supper. (John 13:23) The "heresy" is a Gnostic story that Jesus, "instead of being buried in the new tomb of Joseph of Arimathaea, having been swatched and perfumed, was brought back to life in the house of St. John." (Lévi 298)

³⁹ "The Disciple," der Jünger, is a title used for Z. Martin Mack refers to Z as "the sainted Disciple"--der selige Jünger. (Reichel Memorials, 100)

⁴⁰ The Paraclete is the Holy Ghost as advocate or intercessor with God, as in John 14:26: "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter." John 14:26 says: "But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things..." (KJV)

Spirit. Yet, I am speaking of the Holy Spirit. You will forgive me, if my mind seems to wander. I think I can read your rubrica,⁴¹ as Dante called it, Countess von--"

"My friend, I am Sister Elizabeth, when I call upon you," she said.

"You were Monna Vanna when I saw you first, wrapt in meditation, in the Chapel of Saint Wenceslas. She was a screen, a veil; Johanna, Primavera was a screen, a veil for Beatrice. She could appear where she was not. I saw her, on a bridge in Venice."

He felt she had sat with the dead and dying, Sister Elizabeth, for she gave no sign that she thought he was demented.

"They can not tell you your grandfather's secrets," he said, "for I do not think they know them."

⁴¹ Rubrica, "rubric," appears in the opening sentence of the Vita Nuova: "In that part of the book of my memory before the which is little that can be read, there is a rubric, saying, "Here beginneth the New Life." Under such rubric I find written many things; and among them the words which I purpose to copy into this little book... (PD 547) Louis seems to be saying that he can read spiritually the 'book' of Elizabeth's mind and interpret her experience allegorically, the way Dante 'read' Primavera and Beatrice.

XVI

"I cannot tell you," he said,¹"but you ask the sort of questions that Goethe asked me; those questions startled me and inspired me to ask more. But my questions have not been answered. That is, the questions that would give the reason for our visit here. Your special question--?"

"I was wondering through what exact channel of tradition, it was inevitable--inevitable, I say, that the Little Strength--you say sailing from Rotterdam?"

"The company assembled from Herrnhag and Marienborn, met the Herrnhut group at Rotterdam. From there, Captain Garrison²carried them to Cowes, where members of the English colony joined them. That is

¹ "He" refers to Henry Dohna. He is speaking to Saint-Germain, who is still lying ill in bed in his quarters.

² The Little Strength, bought by the Moravians and captained by Nicholas Garrison, set sail from Rotterdam on 16 September 1743 with 33 young couples recruited from Herrnhag and Marienborn and bound for Nazareth, and 16 people from Herrnhüt. They reached Cowes, England, by September 25 and took on fourteen English colonists, making the full complement of the Second Sea Congregation. (The First Sea Congregation left in March of 1742 on the Catherine, arriving in America in May.) In the "Sea Congregation" (Seegemeine), passengers were organized, as in their home communities, by groups or 'choirs,' with separate quarters and duties. Garrison was both captain of the Little Strength and the congregation's elder. (Levering 108-11, 166-69)

history, family history and recorded. But what is inevitable, to use your word, about the Little Strength?"

"The ensign you say she carried. True, the seal is episcopal.³ But I felt as you told me of it, that your grandfather had some personal, heraldic claim."

"I don't know. There again, is an interesting theory. It might have survived from the Ehrenhold tradition. They were one of the twelve chief reigning Austrian houses. From Ehrenhold to my grandfather, there were twenty-two generations.⁴ But surely, I fatigue you with family history?"

"It is more than family history. It is history. You say, the original Jednota was established by the Greek church?"

"In the ninth century, by Cyril and Methodius of

³ Levering says that the ensign of the Little Strength "is described as 'a lamb passant [walking] with a flag on a blood covered field'--the device that has always figured...on the episcopal seal of the Church, and as its general official emblem." (166) This ancient seal of the Unitas Fratrum he also describes as "a shield with the figure of a lamb carrying a cross from which is suspended a banner of victory, and around the shield is the motto: Vicit Agnus noster, Eum sequamur, i.e., Our Lamb hath conquered, Him let us follow." (5) This insignia is also referred to as the Agnus Dei.

⁴ ZN 5 [3] reads: "11 c. Z. family among 12 chief noble Austrian houses. Founder: Ehrenhold: to Z: 22 generations." (AGS v)

Constantinople."⁵

"Then, the lamb passant with the cross or the cross and banner, is the Templar's or the Crusader's emblem?⁶

"I am out of my depth. Your theories fascinate and bewilder me a little."

"You must forgive my pedantry. I was in charge of a certain--certain branch of theological or if you will, mystical investigation. I myself am gaining insight into my own bewilderment. Vicit Agnus noster, you say the seal read. In hoc signo vinces.⁷ It is the same seal."

"But my cousin will reproach me, when I go back. I have tired you."

"No," said Saint-Germain, "but why do I think of England?"

⁵ See chapter two, note 21. These brothers, born in Thessalonika, were probably Graecized Slavs. Cyril's name was originally Constantine; he was known as "the Philosopher" at Constantinople before he became a monk. Constantinople was the center of the Greek Church and eastern Christendom, rivalling Rome, from 330 to 1453 A.D. (EB 1957, 15: 362, 305)

⁶ In The Gift, H.D. records that her grandmother told her that the Moravians' "sign which is a lamb...is a flag the crusaders used or a banner." (ND ed. 83)

⁷ In hoc signo vinces, "in this sign thou shalt conquer" was a message seen in a dream by Constantine the Great (288?-337) along with a flaming cross, as he was about to besiege Rome in 312. This vision converted him to Christianity; he then did conquer Rome that year. Upon becoming emperor, he secured toleration for Christians, hitherto persecuted, and paved the way for the christianizing of the west.

"Because I am thinking of England," said Henry Dohna.

"We have been speaking of England," said Saint-Germain, "and the Little Strength."

"Myself, it recalled a carol or poem that Christian Renatus--I told you of him--sent from London. They had Lindsay House⁸ on the Chelsea river, or on the Thames at Chelsea. He must have watched the sails passing the window, as he lay there, those last days.⁹ I saw three ships a-sailing is the first line of the carol. A Christmas carol.¹⁰

"It is nearing Christmas," said Saint-Germain.

"My cousin especially wants to spend it with you."

"Stephanus has followed her instructions and you

⁸ Lindsay House, "situate near the Thames at Chelsea," was bought by the Moravians in 1750. It had formerly been the residence of the duke of Ancaster. In 1753 Z moved there from Westminster and, while he always considered himself a pilgrim without permanent residence, used it as a convenient headquarters halfway between the American and European communities. (AGS 399, 428)

⁹ Christian Renatus had tuberculosis, a condition worsened by his efforts to make up for his mistakes at Herrnhag. During its last stages, he was staying at Lindsay House, where he died on 28 May 1752.

¹⁰ This carol is printed in the Oxford Book of Carols but it is not attributed to Christian Renatus, although various sources for its tunes are given. It is not, apparently, Moravian; they wrote hymns with theological weight. But I personally recall, in the carol books of my childhood, the tradition of this song which H.D. cites.

see me, almost myself again."

Saint-Germain was propped upright in a low arm-chair. He wore the rose-brocade dressing-gown, which he remembered (as he lifted his arm to pull the bell-cord, to his right as he sat there) was part of the decor, the decoration, the costume, the beginning of it, that evening when he came back after his first meeting with her. This was that Saint-Germain. Myself again? Almost myself again? He had re-assembled that self, during his enforced retirement. There was nothing he could do. The Abbot had sent special messages, after Cardinal de Rohan's departure for Rome, but Stephanus had tactfully spared his master. There were only two visitors. Visitors?

"The Chateau for Count Dohna," said Saint-Germain to Stephanus.

"The Chateau? I do not follow," said Henry Dohna.

"Stephanus understands," said Saint-Germain, and almost immediately Stephanus had returned with glasses and decanter. "I expected this, sir," he said, "so I had the Chateau ready."

"It's our Chateau Saint-Germain," said Saint-Germain. "You cannot refuse France. I shall soon be leaving."

"You should not go. We have so much to say to one another. And you told me that you would help me

with the book. We have assembled the historical facts, rather we have sifted the old matter and saved only what we felt was true gold. There is, as I told you, a veritable mountain of legal documents and letters. And, by the way, I have a commission for you. May it prove a blessing on your journey, if you must go. But why go? You yourself say that this threat of trouble, of which in fact, we ourselves, before we came here, heard strange rumours, is now over. You yourself say there will be no--"

He did not wish to speak that word,¹¹ associating it as he did, with America and Elizabeth's distress. Nicholas de Reuss had written diplomatically, at great length, from Vienna, reviewing the situation and forecasting grave disaster. It was even argued that the American war was the match that would light the tinder.¹²

¹¹ The word is "revolution."

¹² Historians generally believe that the success of the American revolt against the King of England gave impetus to the French Revolution. Thomas Carlyle wrote in The French Revolution of the period in which Louis XV lay dying in 1774:

Borne over the Atlantic, to the closing ear of Louis, King by the Grace of God, what sounds are these; muffled-ominous, new in our centuries? Boston Harbour is black with unexpected Tea: behold a Pennsylvania Congress gather; and ere long, on Bunker Hill, DEMOCRACY announcing, in rifle-volleys death-winged, under her Star Banner, to the tune of Yankee-doodle-doo, that she is born, and, whirlwind-like, will envelop the whole world! (7)

"My cousin, de Reuss, in Vienna, writes me," said Henry Dohna, "that the crisis is past."

This will break Elizabeth's heart, he thought.
Does he know she loves him?¹³

"I had spoken to the--the Abbot," said Saint-Germain, "of the contents of your letter, the last time I was at the Castle. He had known Father de la Tour, in Paris. The Abbot is a very old man. He had heard of the--the *lié*¹⁴ between your grandfather and the Premonstrants. It was his opinion that your grandfather was ready to join the Dominican Order.¹⁵ How old was he at the time?"

"About twenty, I think," said Henry Dohna. "We

¹³ The pronouns here might be confusing. The question is in Henry's mind: does Louis know that Elizabeth loves Louis? It is not Henry whom she loves; for him she only has affection as for a brother.

¹⁴ The French term "*lié*" means "bond"--that which binds--or "connection," which came to Z through his sense of 'heart-religion.' In Paris in 1720 as a student, Z was attracted to Father de la Tour's unworldliness, which led to their conversation and the introduction to Cardinal de Noailles, who "acknowledged the grace that dwelt in the Count...spoke with him on christian experience, and dismissed all disputes about religion." Z urged the Cardinal "to be faithful in the circumstances in which he was placed....They were, therefore, united in heart, although each retained his peculiar creed." (AGS 20-21)

¹⁵ Father de la Tour and Cardinal de Noailles "endeavored to bring him over to the Romish church." (AGS20) There is no evidence that Z ever intended to convert. He did not have a sectarian mentality, as is shown by the fact that later Moravian communities were made up of Lutherans, Reformed and Bohemian Brethren.

have a portrait of him at that period, en chevalier, I mean, in perruque and court dress."

"Do you know what altered his obvious calling or intention?"

"He returned from Paris, on a formal visit to Castell. There was some sort of crisis. He was ill there. Actually, he had fallen deeply in love with Theodora de Castell, his youngest cousin."

"Your grandmother?"

"No, he married the sister of his dearest friend, his alter ego, Henry de Reuss. De Reuss married Theodora de Castell."

"I should have thought this disappointment would have sent him back to Paris, at least, to Father d'Albizi of whom you speak in your letter."

"I don't know, here is the Mystery." Henry Dohna reached for the portfolio which contained the notes they had been discussing. "This is the commission of which I just spoke to you. I found these letters, when I was searching the archives at Herrnhut, after Goethe spoke to me of secret records or of Arcana. I have a feeling that whatever secret records there were, were carefully destroyed and traces of the Mystery.¹⁶ I found my own

¹⁶ Historically, it appears that there were no secret records to destroy. The "disgraceful Twelfth Appendix" to the Hymnal, whose hymns H.D. copied from Rimius, was withdrawn from use in 1750. (Hutton Church 281)

clues obliquely. For instance, Bishop Spangenberg in his official biography of my grandfather, speaks of Christian Renatus' return, as it were, to grace,¹⁷ before his death in London. He was entangled, as the good Bishop says, with the extravagances¹⁸ which prevailed at some of the Moravian stations. We know of the scandal of Herrnhag and our grandfather's exile from Saxony. As I say, there was no use trying to find the answer to the Mystery, in the veritable mountain of reports, records, legal documents and endless, tabulated bundles of old letters. But while going through the shelves and boxes, I found these." Henry Dohna laid the letters on the table. "My grandfather's script is inclined to be cramped, rather than expansive, as one

¹⁷ Christian Renatus' efforts to compensate for his errors led to over-exertion and undermined his health. Spangenberg says:

His former cheerfulness and vivacity was changed into an unwonted seriousness. His greatest pleasure consisted in composing hymns and poems, by means of which, he hoped to impart his altered sentiments and ardent love to the Saviour.... Having little time for this during the day, he often spent whole nights in these labours. He was, at the same time, indefatigable in waiting upon his father, and did not let him know how often he had passed the night without sleep.... This...extraordinary state of heart and mind...excited in some of his most intimate friends, though least of all in his father, the idea that the Lord was hastening with him towards his dissolution. (419)

¹⁸ Spangenberg's exact words are: "[T]he young Count had been entangled in the extravagances which prevailed in some of the Moravian stations." (418)

would expect. He wrote closely, as a rule, on both sides of the paper.¹⁹ There is no date. The simple direction, destroy when read, is Zinzendorf's. I have not read the letters. They are addressed to Theodora de Castell."

"You wish me to read the letters?"

"My cousin sent them to you."

"My youth's dear book," said Saint-Germain.

"My youth's--?"

"It is Dante's description of the Vita Nuova,²⁰ the poem or prose-poem he wrote to--to Beatrice, on which he later built the whole structure, the plan²¹ of the Commedia. You speak of Wolfgang von Goethe and the

¹⁹ The letter handwritten by Z, which H.D. owned, shows small, rather neat, German script in brownish ink written in close lines on both sides of a small cream-colored sheet. To Count Reuss 28, it is dated 6 February 1757 and signed simply "Ludwig." (Mss. box Moravian Church, Beinecke)

²⁰ The young Hilda Doolittle was the subject of Ezra Pound's "youth's dear book," called "Hilda's Book," long missing but now reprinted as an appendix to H.D.'s memoir of Pound, End to Torment. It contains 25 love poems written between 1905 and 1907, highly influenced by medieval and Provençal poetry, as was Dante's Vita Nuova. Pound surely was conscious of the parallel to Dante's relationship with Beatrice. One poem, "Shadow," reads: "I saw her yesterday./ And lo, there is no time/ each second being eternity....But trouble me not/ I saw HER yesterday." Pound also called her "Is-hilda" and "Ysolt." (ET 67-69; 76) Her, short for Hermione, is the name H.D. gives herself in the roman à clef titled Her, about her youthful relationship with Pound.

²¹ The word Plan overtly links Z, Dante and Goethe, and to them, covertly, Pound through his Cantos.

manuscript chapters that he lent you, of his book. Do you think his Faustus can compare with the *Commedia*?"

"I don't know," said Henry Dohna. "But I myself compared Faustus with my grandfather. I don't know why. I did not think of Dante. I have only a superficial knowledge of his work and only in translation. But the letters?"

"I do not think I can destroy them," said Saint-Germain. "His youth's dear book--it is a poem to Beatrice."

XVII

He¹ seemed to know the whole story. He seemed to know what was in the letters. He had pretended to be sleeping, when Stephanus came in to make up the fire. The decanter and goblets were still on the table. Dohna was aware of the present danger. He had invited him,² after the New Year, to the Lord's Watch. The New Year? There were still some days left, more than a week left.³

¹ "He" is Louis; the scene is centered in his consciousness. He is still convalescent in his rooms.

² "He" here refers to Henry Dohna.

³ The novel's end coming near Christmas suggests the endings in Trilogy, where the transcendent comes down to earth and becomes incarnate. At the end of Tribute to the Angels, "the jewel melts in the crucible" and leaves "not ashes, not ash-of-rose/...not vas spirituale,/ not rosa mystica even/ but a cluster of garden-pinks/ or a face like a Christmas-rose." (109-110) The Flowering of the Rod ends with the three magi bringing gifts to the stable and to Mary, "shy and simple and young." (172) The Moravian Christmas at Bethlehem epitomized true unity for H.D., "for there is the church and we all belong together in some very special way, because of our candle service on Christmas Eve which is not like what anyone else has anywhere..." (TF 33) Later she told Freud more details:

I went on to tell him of our Christmas candles..... He said, 'There is no more significant symbol than a lighted candle. You say you remember your grandfather's Christmas Eve service? The girls as well as the boys had candles?'....He said, 'If every child had a lighted candle given, as you say...by the grace of God, we would have no more problems....That is the true heart of all religion.' (TF 123-4)

He could burn out like a flambeau, he could flame out and be finished. But the Plan compelled him, a mysterious plan of world-unity without war. So Zinzendorf had seen it, but it was formula already registered, already put in practice. He had thought in the Cathedral, it was no Mystery. It was ordered, it could be explained exactly. It was part of a Plan, so subtly presented, yet so clearly that you could not miss its meaning. That was the candles that had gone out, in the Chapel of Saint Wenceslas. They were her candles. "There was her usual gold piece," the porter had said.

He had gone on, through the tempest,⁴ through the lower causeway. He had not been surprised to see de Rohan, for his mind was functioning in another dimension.⁵ "It will be small things and little people

⁴ "The tempest" is the Prague snowstorm, now associated with the Pennsylvania storm which killed the Wechquetank Indians, but the wording also suggests Shakespeare's "Tempest," on which H.D. based By Avon River, a meditation on Elizabethan poetry but finally on the love of a father for a lost daughter. It was finished just as The Mystery was begun in 1949.

⁵ He is not surprised to see de Rohan because they had shared "another dimension" of consciousness in the Masonic ceremonies. This other dimension is described by H.D. in connection with her psychoanalysis: "Past, present, future, these three--but there is another time-element, popularly called the fourth-dimensional.... This fourth dimension, though it appears variously disguised...in the Professor's [Freud's] volumes...is yet very simple....as simple and inevitable in the building of time-sequence as the fourth wall to a room." She then numbers the walls of Freud's consulting room, and the fourth wall, opposite the couch and therefore the

will decide the issue," Stephanus had said, that evening, when he returned, after that first greeting.⁶

It was not de Rohan who had so decided. "And forgive us our sins as we forgive those who have wronged us,"⁷ he had prayed as he watched the reflection of the level low row of candles, in the jewels beyond the altar. He had been lighted from within by that reflection, like "Charles", as the porter called the heart-shaped ruby.⁸ He had not known, his mind had not realized redemption, though his heart had touched it. "And forgive us our sins as we forgive those who have wronged us." It was only afterwards that he remembered

one the analysand looks into, is "largely unwallled, as the space there is left vacant by the wide-open double doors. The room beyond may appear very dark or there may be broken light and shadow. Or even bodily, one may walk into that room..." (TF 23) Friedman points out that H.D.'s language matches that of Evangeline Adams' description of "the vibrations of Uranus" in Astrology: Your Place Among the Stars. (SSF Myth 322) "Vibrations" and bodily entrance into another dimension are integral concepts in theosophy. (Besant 92ff., 119ff.)

⁶ He is thinking of his first meeting with Elizabeth.

⁷ This line from the Lord's Prayer is given clearer wording than the standard version which exists in the Moravian Offices of Worship and Hymns (1891) and which H.D. would have recited in school chapel and church services, if not at home: ...and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us.

⁸ He is remembering St. Wenceslas' Chapel and its altar with the jewel said to have been once Charlesmagne's. (cf. ch.6, n.13)

Leopold.⁹

It was the shock of finding Balsamo, wild-eyed and shivering in the study. No doubt, it was an equal check to Balsamo to find him. Dohna had told him that Goethe, in his search for material for his Doctor Faustus, had visited a certain master of the black arts in Sicily.¹⁰ "You may have heard of him," Dohna had said, "he was at one time, in Paris. Calioistro." Yes, there had been rumours of occult practices, he had countered, but was it necessary for Wolfgang von Goethe to encounter this--this magician, in order to portray the temptation or the fate of Faustus?¹¹ Why had he connected the Faustus legend with his grandfather? "I

⁹ The idea here is that if Louis had remembered the wrong done him by Leopold, his older brother, he would not have prayed that Leopold be forgiven.

¹⁰ Goethe went to Italy in September 1786 in search of closer contact with classical art. In April 1787 he visited the Balsamo family in Sicily but did not meet Cagliostro, who was in England in disgrace at this time. The Balsamos' piety and sincerity impressed him. He promised to carry a letter to London from Cagliostro's sister, so the implication is that Goethe may have met Calioistro elsewhere than in Sicily. (Carlyle IV: 289-92) In 1788 Goethe returned to Weimar and resumed work on Faust. (Lange vii)

¹¹ It is said that Goethe in his youth performed alchemical experiments similar to those in the Invocation scene of Faust. (F.Crit. 489) His own experience, it seems, primarily fed into his characterization of Faust. Goethe's family had surrounded him with an interest in magic from childhood. (See Hemispheres IV, 1945) In Poetry and Truth he reports that when he was involved with Susannah von Klettenberg and the Moravians,

was trying to explain it to my cousin," Dohna had said.

"I felt that our grandfather's experience was the same--in contradiction. That is, that he had sold his soul or his shadow, as some legends tell it, but for saving--to his Saviour, to save others. He had originally gathered a very small group about him.

Candace souls,¹² he called them, but had later been

a Pietist physician recommended that he read "certain mystic, chemical or alchemical works" in support of a "universal remedy." He read Welling's "Opus Major Cabalisticum" and works by Paracelsus, Basil Valentine [a Gnostic], Helmont, Starkey and others. He later alludes to "that interest with which super-sensuous things inspired me," and says that he formed his own religion, based on Neo-Platonism, to which "the hermetical, mystical and cabalistic also made their contribution." (DW, Moon, tr., 304-5)

¹² Because the Jews as a nation had not accepted the coming of Christ, Z concluded that "no heathen nation, as such, could or would accept the Christian religion." He therefore did not try to enlarge established missions in the West Indies and North America, but sent messengers everywhere in search of "Candace-souls.... Each nation, he declared, possessed a few chosen spirits in search of the truth....The chief business of the Church of Christ was to find them and gratify their aspirations." The term "Candace-souls" is derived from the story in Acts 8:26-40 in which the apostle Philip baptizes an Ethiopian eunuch, servant of Queen Candace, whom Philip encountered reading Isaiah, a sign of prior readiness to hear the gospel of Christ. "Candace-souls," when found, were also referred to as "First Fruits." A painting by Haidt of twenty-two of these in native costume standing before the enthroned Lamb bears the text, "These were redeemed from among men, being the first fruits."--Rev. XIV, 4. (Hutton Missions 155, 183) H.D. in ZN 9 [23] writes:

CANDACE souls.

Hutton--148--'55--'61--'83 --'93. "...a few chosen spirits in search of the truth...Candace-souls."
 "...his First Fruits Idea." 1764 synod resolves
 "not merely to seek for Candace-souls, but to preach the Gospel to all."

inspired to extend his teaching. Perhaps that was a mistake, Dohna had continued, "at least, I mean, from my own point of view." He explained the early division of the already persecuted Church of Bohemia. There were Hussites, followers of the martyr, John Huss, and Calixthenes¹³, the original scholars and aristocrats. Not unlike, though vastly different, from the Cromwellians or Puritans¹⁴ in England, and the artists--Royalists in art and drama, who succeeded Shakespeare, rather than the actual Catholic faction.¹⁵

Calixthenes?

Dohna had explained it; they claimed to be the actual inheritors of the original Jednota. They were the cup-bearers or the upholders of the old Communion.

¹³ After the death of Hus in 1415, the Hussites split into two factions. The Taborites, political radicals from the lower classes, refused compromise with Rome. The more moderate Utraquists, also known as Calixtenes (or Calixthenes) "embodied the university party, and most of the titled classes," and were more willing to compromise according to circumstances but nevertheless insisted on communion with both bread and wine as an essential church reform. (Levering 9)

¹⁴ The Puritans, like the Taborites, were interested in both democratic political reform and in freedom from an established church. H.D. is connecting the European and American religio-political patterns.

¹⁵ The 'royalist' artists H.D. has in mind are Robert Herrick (1591-1634)--"For his Royalist sympathies he is ejected from his parish"--and other 'cavalier' poets whom she meditated upon The Guest, the second section of By Avon River. (59) These did not take part in political action to restore a Catholic monarch, like the "actual Catholic faction."

Communication?

Saint-Germain could not go into all that. They were Johannites; he had tried to explain yesterday to--to--

The name was de Watteville.

He had sold his shadow, he had bartered his soul, equally to God and Devil.¹⁷

He could see the hieroglyphs, like light and shadow on the wall before him,¹⁸ though his eyes were half-closed. His eyes were closed really, but he saw the flickering of the lanterns, through the slats of the Venetian blinds,¹⁹ as they passed down the calle to the Piazza, that eve of the Assumption. It was that evening or at mid-night, that de Seingalt had spoken with him. Had Wolfgang von Goethe experienced the--the

17 "He" is Louis; a parallel is being drawn between Ludwig von Zinzendorf and Louis Saint-Germain. "God" is divine Love, Beatrice, "she who bears blessing," who appears in the form of Elizabeth, whose name, de Watteville, reminds him that she is the real object of his knights-templar quest. The "Devil" is Calioistro.

18 In describing the 'writing on the wall,' H.D. wrote: "...the pictures on the wall were like colorless transfers...the figure was dim light on shadow, not shadow on light...a silhouette cut of light, not shadow, and so impersonal it might have been anyone..." (TF 45)

19 The light through the blinds suggests the fourth image in the series of 'writing on the wall,' a series of lines of light which draw themselves until "at last, there it is,.... a ladder of light.... There are seven rungs to this ladder, maybe five...it is Jacob's ladder, if you will; it is a symbol common to all religious myth or lore." (TF 53-54)

Visitor? Why had he²⁰ questioned Dohna so closely on the matter of Zinzendorf, meeting Christian David at the house of the Master of the Horse in Schweinitz? That Goethe should so question, puzzled Dohna. Was the poet seeking, as he had apparently sought in Sicily, material for his epic? And why should he speak of Arcana? It was Dohna's question. Goethe seeking material, seizing on a legend had opened the door to Dohna's inquiry and ambition. Could he assemble the material, the inner reading?²¹ He, Saint-Germain was prepared to do this, would do this, but time was lacking. He could at least, indicate as clearly as possible, the sources of the legend, and Dohna could follow, with--with Elizabeth to help him. Count Zinzendorf was apparently in Dresden, when he made his pact with Christian David, the convert from Rome, at the house of the Master of the Horse in Schweinitz. It was a play or an epic. It was already written.²²

²⁰ "He" refers to Goethe, not Louis, the narrator.

²¹ "He" refers to St-G. "The inner reading" is mystical and symbolical, as of Tarot or a horoscope. The metaphor is that the world is a text which the adept reads.

²² In "H.D. by Delia Alton," the manuscript formerly known as "Notes on Recent Writing," H.D. described the The Mystery as "my last romance, which I know is written though I have not yet transcribed it." She sketches in plot and theme, then comments: "We [Delia Alton and H.D.] have not finished The Mystery. That is, we have not yet written it down." She thinks of what she writes not as invention but as discovery of an eternal 'text.'

The players followed on, from other players. It was a small round, but it contained the universe. He had challenged Leopold Ragoczy as Dante challenged Cavalcanti. The Visitor had manifested to Christian David, as the young Count, though it would only be Zinzendorf himself who would know this. The Visitor had manifested to de Seingalt as Saint-Germain, but only Saint-Germain would solve the Mystery and that, long afterwards,²³ It was written and easy to understand, but only by those who had had experience of it. Was that a more astute definition of the canon or the method, described as acroamatique? He had tried to recall the word, while the Cardinal spoke of the inner teaching. He had only remembered it, as Balsamo finished speaking... "the grooms were sympathetic. Even, brother, I could with my persuasion, find a place for you among them."²⁴

²³ Here it seems that Saint-Germain has an inkling of himself as eternal, the Ascended Master whom the theosophists of the nineteenth century took him to be. From the point of view of eternity, there is no Mystery. The Ascended Masters, having become pure spirit, are the source of power which manifests as 'visitations' or 'bi-location'--the capacity to 'be where one is not.'

²⁴ The offer by Balsamo (Cagliostro) of an escape with the stable grooms presents a diabolic parallel to Z's meeting with Christian David at the house of the "Master of the Horse," i.e., at the stable-master's house. Z chose to follow up on this meeting, that is, to "act out the legend for himself," not refusing his role in history; Louis also refused escape for the same reason.

Balsamo was on his way to England, perhaps would soon be there. The Cardinal had by this time, presented his credentials to the Vatican. It was the old story. He had spoken of that first circle²⁵ to the Cardinal. Hugh de Payens had not intended primarily, to serve the Patriarchs of Constantinople, by the secret alliance of the Templars with the Greek Church. That secret clothed or veiled another secret, the alliance within the alliance, with Theoclet, the Eastern Adept,²⁶ who claimed to have inherited the Secret Doctrine, by uninterrupted transmission from Saint John.²⁷ No doubt, the doctrine had been degraded and the

²⁵ The "first circle" are the original small group of Knights Templar under Hugh de Payens and Geoffrey St. Omer.

²⁶ "The inmost thought of Hugh de Payens, in establishing his order was not precisely to serve the ambitions of the patriarchs of Constantinople," says Lévi. It was to join the secret church of the Johannites, founded, they said, by St. John. The head of the Johannites "at the epoch of the foundation of the Temple was named Theoclet. He was acquainted with Hugh de Payens, who he initiated into the mysteries and hopes of his suppositious church; he seduced him by ideas of sovereign priesthood and supreme royalty; in fine, he designated him his successor. Thus was the order of Knights of the Temple tainted from the beginning with schism and conspiracy against kings." (210)

²⁷ The Johannites' secret doctrine, according to Lévi, includes an alternative version of the life of Jesus. In it Miriam of Nazareth, who was betrothed to Jochanan, was raped by Pandira (or Panther). Jochanan left her "without compromising her." When the child Joshua or Jesus was born, he was adopted by a rabbi named Joseph who took him to Egypt where the boy was "initiated into the secret sciences" and "the priests of Osiris,

Church had punished the apostates.²⁸ But there was still the legend of an undefiled transmission. It had been their²⁹ purpose to re-establish the Templars, within the Order of the Jesuits. But treason and betrayal was no corner-stone for that foundation. Almost, Balsamo recalled him--but he could go no further than he already had gone. Dante with his numbers, his circles, his revelation of Love, was Johannite and Gnostic.³⁰ But it was only after he had reached the lowest depth of the Inferno that he retraced his path toward Paradise. There

recognizing that he was the true incarnation of Horus, consecrated him sovereign pontiff of the universal religion. Joseph and Joshua return to Judaea and discover the crime of Pandira and Miriam's sufferings. Joshua's first impulse is to deny her: "Woman, what is there in common between you and me?" But later he repents and says: "My mother has in nowise sinned...she is virgin and yet mother--let twofold honour be paid to her. As for me, I have no father on earth; I am the son of God and humanity." (208-9)

²⁸ Irenaeus and Origen opposed what they called the heresy of Gnosticism, as did the Council of Niceaea which gave the Church its creed. The Cathars, descendants of the Gnostics, were burned in collective pyres around 1205. For a view of the attacks on the Gnostics, see Elaine Pagels, The Gnostic Gospels.

²⁹ "Their" refers to Saint-Germain and de Rohan and a few companions who parallel the original Templars.

³⁰ Dante is Gnostic and Johannite because he wrote a vast allegory which can be read the way the Johannites (and the Christian theosophists) read scripture, and because his vision is centered on Divine Love as female, as in, for instance, the Gnostic Secret Gospel of John where a divine Wisdom, Sophia, is superior to the lower god, rather like the God of the Israelites, who deludes himself that he is the ultimate and only god. Gnostic imagery also centers on Light, as does Dante's.

was treachery inherent in the return process. How did he get back--it was acrobatic (was that acroamatique?)³¹. He reversed dogma, he escaped from Tartarus, by standing on his head.³²

Was it possible that these Greeks, Cyril and Methodius of Constantinople, of whom Dohna had spoken, here and only an hour ago, had transmitted the Doctrine, unpolluted, to the Bohemians? Was it possible that the Doctrine had been received here and cherished, some centuries before Hugh de Payens received it from Theoclet? Was it possible that Theoclet's doctrine was already polluted, or should he say diluted with the dark magian³³ power? Or was

³¹ This virtual pun nevertheless embodies H.D.'s belief that words which sound alike, by virtue of that alone, have some connection in meaning. This theory of language generates sections 40, 41 and 43 of The Walls Do Not Fall and sections 8, 11, 12, 15 and 42 of Tribute to the Angels in Trilogy.

³² He is escaping from Hell as Dante had done, when Virgil reversed direction while crawling along Satan's body and carried the poet up into the light at Mount Purgatory. This theme of the reversal or transvaluation of values is adumbrated in The Walls Do Not Fall, section 30. H.D. writes: "the elixir of life, the philosopher's stone/ is yours if you surrender/ sterile logic, trivial reason;" but then adds that the mind, having "dared occult lore,/ found secret doors unlocked, floundered, was lost in sea-depth" and suffered from "reversion of old values,/ oneness lost, madness." (40-41)

³³ The "magian" power is corrupt since it comes from Simon Magus, a magician who offered to pay to learn Jesus' secrets. But it is power. "The seal of a Cagliostro is as significant as that of Solomon and attests his initiation into the highest secrets of science." (Lévi 301)

Theoclet, as they claimed for each new Master, living the Christ in his own person? Was the Doctrine degraded by the Templars, or the Templars by the Doctrine?³⁴

It was not a question of Candace souls, but a question of power and expansion with de Payens. And what exactly did Candace signify? It suggested superficially and yet inevitably, lilium candidum,³⁵ the Ave coeleste Lilium of Saint Francis.³⁶ It was said, a

³⁴ Lévi sheds light on this question:
The Templars had two doctrines; one was concealed and reserved to the leaders, being that of Johannism; the other was public, being Roman Catholic doctrine....The Johannism of the adepts was the Kabalah of the Gnostics, but it degenerated speedily into a mystic pantheism, carried even to idolatry of Nature and hatred of all revealed dogma....they went so far as to recognise the pantheistic symbolism of the grand masters of Black Magic... With the seeds of death sown in its very principle, and anarchic because it was heretical, the Order of the Knights of the Temple had conceived a great work which it was incapable of executing....The Templars were Jesuits who failed. (211)

A note on a back page of the fourth book of H.D.'s handwritten version reads: "The Templars were Jesuits who failed. E.L."

³⁵ H.D. sees the sound-link ('can-') as "inevitably" leading to a sense-link. Lilium candidum is the scientific or botanical name for the Madonna or Annunciation lily, with pure white waxy flowers, which appears as fixed iconography in paintings of the Virgin Mary. Candidum is Latin for "pure" or "white," from candere, to burn, to be white, to shine. H.D.'s grandfather, Francis Wolle, was a botanist and expert on freshwater algae. (Pearson, intro TF viii; King, 301-17).

³⁶ The translation is "Hail, celestial lily," referring to a mystic vision of St. Francis'.

holy frenzy had inflamed his followers.³⁷ So it seemed, from Dohna's first outline of the story, that Zinzendorf's disciples had scattered, like seeds burst from a weighted seed-pod, over the whole earth.³⁸ They had assembled the Tibetan dictionary, even before the Jesuits got there.³⁹ But though no doubt, they were now faithful guardians of the original stations or missions, the flame, the fantasy or the fanaticism had gone. They were as Dohna astutely reasoned, like the Cromwellians or Puritans in England. No flame of that red-rose or of that fire-lily! They were no more Calixthenes, nor even perhaps had ever heard of them,

37 The word 'inflamed' puns on the Latin root of Candidum, which is also the root of "candle," drawing together two attributes of Our Lady.

38 The imagery of the seed-pod follows from both Z's "Order of the Mustard Seed" and from the term "hidden seed" for the Old Church of Bohemia, which continued, after imperial edicts in 1627 "made every non-Romanist practically an outlaw," to meet in secret groups in Poland, Hungary, Silesia and particularly in Moravia, where there was more opportunity to meet without incurring the death penalty. (Levering 17-18).

39 H.D.'s statement is both an anachronism and untrue; the Jesuits were in Tibet in the 17th century. (EB 1957, 13:12), the "first [missionary] to Lhasa being the Jesuit John Grueber, who arrived in 1661. (Bernstein, New Yorker, 14 Dec. 1987, 67) The Moravians did much linguistic work in Tibet, however. In 1866, "A Romanized Phonetic Tibetan and English Dictionary," compiled by the "most distinguished linguist of the Moravian Church," Henry Augustus Jäschke, was published. He translated multitudinous sermons, tracts and Biblical materials into Tibetan. After leaving Tibet in poor health, he compiled a huge English-Tibetan dictionary, published in 1871. (Hutton Missions 360)

the worthy brethren. Was not Christian Renatus nearer their reality, encouraging or perhaps inspiring those extravagances which prevailed at the stations, so frowned upon by the good Bishop, Dohna quoted? It was Saint John who bore the cup, Saint John inseparable companion of Our Lady.⁴⁰ What did she know of this, Our Lady, embarrassed by a lapse, "how foolish you must think me. As a child, they called me Lillie."⁴¹

He saw her, as with the young Count--Renatus? But she was the next generation. Christian Renatus had inherited that red-rose of Bohemia, revealed some three centuries before Hugh de Payens claimed Messiah-ship for the Templars. Hugh de Payens' history was recorded and the descent of the Military Masons,

⁴⁰ John, the "beloved disciple," is said to have carried the wine-cup at the Last Supper. He was also at the Crucifixion. Jesus, on the cross, asked John to care for Mary, Jesus' mother. "Now there stood by the cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother's sister.... When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son! Then saith he to the disciple, Behold thy mother! And from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home." (John 19:25-27, KJV)

⁴¹ H.D. had an experience in childhood, perhaps a dream, in which a gardener gives her "an Easter Lily or Madonna lily" from a summer garden, which she plants on her grandfather's grave at Nisky Hill. A day or so later, the gardener "sends his sleigh. It is a beautiful sleigh with sleigh-bells. The gardener is the coachman. There is a thick fur rug. We drive across the untrodden snow.... 'When will he come again?' I ask my mother.... But no one had sent us a sleigh, my mother told me." Freud replied to H.D. that "the old man was obviously, ...God." (TF 121-22)

through the twenty-two Grand Masters of the Temple, before 1312 and the suppression of the Order.⁴² There were the names of those fortresses in Syria and Phoenicia and nearer to Jerusalem, Montgizard, Ibelin, Blanche Garde, Beth Gibelin, Ascalon, Darum, Montreal, Ile de Graye.⁴³ What castles had the true Crusaders or the inheritors of the lost Grail?⁴⁴

Castell⁴⁵--her name was Theodora de Castell, so Dohna told him.

⁴² The first two pages of notes in ZN are taken from Crusader Castles by Robin Fedden. Page two reads: "22 Grand Masters of Temple (before 1312), 5 died in battle, 5 of wounds, + one [?] starved to death in Saracen prison." (Fedden, 1950 ed., p.71)

⁴³ ZN 3 [2] lists, after the heading Jerusalem: "Montgizard/ Ibelin/ Blanche Garde/ Beth Gibelin/ Ascalon [p.44]/ Darum/ Kerak/ Montreal/ Ile de Graye" [pp.26,60] H.D. seems simply to relish the sound of these names.

⁴⁴ The Moravians, descended from the Calixtenes, who have the communion cup or chalice as their symbol, are the true questors or heirs of the quest for the ultimate truth represented by the Holy Grail, the cup used by Christ at the Last Supper. The Grail therefore symbolizes an eternal connection between God and the human world, a connection reaffirmed for H.D. wherever the cup-like shape is found.

⁴⁵ The "castle" of the new 'crusaders,' or the Moravians under Zinzendorf, is human, indicated by the sound-link with the last name of Theodora de Castell--another allegorical interpretation. Theodora is an avatar of Elizabeth, so it is shown that the Moravians also belong to 'the Eternal Order.'

XVIII

It was white wine, the Saint-Germain. He was surprised that Stephanus left him, after beating up his pillows and re-arranging another chair with more blankets, for him to rest in. He did not want to break the continuity. There were two goblets on the table. Stephanus had left more candles on the small table at his elbow, after placing the single lighted one by the decanter and the glasses. No, he did not want his quill and paper. It seemed almost as if Stephanus were following directions, as if she had instructed him after her last visit, we must humour him, now he is convalescent. He could hear the low voice with the at times, quaintly stressed old-world French way of speaking. He forgot so easily, for all of Herrnhut, Marienborn and their talk of Herrnhaag and Friedenshuetten, that she was German-speaking. De Watteville? But her father was French, probably exiled Huguenot from Switzerland.¹ Her father? It was her grandfather

¹ John de Watteville was born in Walschleben, Thuringia, but his adoptive father, Frederick de Watteville, (in German von Wattewille), as a youth lived at Basle, Switzerland, where Z visited in 1720. (AGS 24) H.D. appears to be reiterating the sound-link of Schweiz (Switzerland) and de Schweinitz mentioned in chapter two.

that had brought her to Prague, that had brought them together, through Henry Dohna's letter. He had lost his father when Leopold Ragoczy turned on him, revealing bastardy.²

He had regained his father in Prince Karl³ and in de Rohan. Though Prince Karl had hinted of his origin, he had not told him of it. It was de Rohan who revealed it to him, and the fantastic theory that a little quibbling and a pontifical blessing from Rome, would prove him the legitimate heir to the French throne. There was another Louis, half-imbecile and impotent, in the direct line--his brother? There was a child whom no one considered seriously, as the Dauphin of France.⁴

There was a legend of knight-errantry, Prince Karl had told him, and a mother in the forest. He was

² Historical evidence is lacking to substantiate the claim, once made by Saint-Germain, that he was a Prince Rakoczi. To this extent the "legend" touches reality.

³ One known fact is that Prince Karl of Hesse sheltered Saint-Germain for the last years of his life, out of respect for him as an alchemist. Saint-Germain's exact death-date is not known; he died sometime between 1780 and 1785.

⁴ The line of succession to the French throne is tangled; there were over 40 pretenders by the time of the restoration of the monarchy in 1814. The Louis referred to here might be Louis-Stanislaus-Xavier, grand-son of Louis XV, who would become king after Louis XVI if the dauphin died and had no younger brothers. This Louis was, however, not an imbecile but quite clever, and eventually became Louis XVIII.

seven. Was this symbolism,⁵ he had asked himself, after the Cardinal's reference to the story. "We fostered that, as well as the Venetian legend," the Cardinal had said. He remembered this, when seated on the wooden bench, he had faced Calioistro, in the small room. He must remember to tell Stephanus that he had bundled his habit under the bench, but no doubt Stephanus had already found it and hung it on its usual peg beside the locked door. Was the door locked? It was there, to his left, as he lay, propped upright as he had been, when Dohna was talking to him. What had they left unsaid? There was nothing, really. "You cannot refuse France," he had said to Dohna, and the decanter was almost empty when he left. He turned his eyes to catch reflection of the candle, in the glass bowl, but the decanter was not empty. Stephanus must have replenished it, while he was preparing for bed; this bed, actually, with its nest of pillows, was more comfortable than the narrow cot upstairs, in his own room. He had not thought--where have the cushions come from?⁶ Had Stephanus been plundering the House of

⁵ "Symbolic" means that he is undergoing initiation, and the legends of himself are to be understood as allegories of spiritual progress by an adept.

⁶ Both the replenished wine-decanter and new pillows suggest Faustian powers reconstructed not as dark but as light, in the reversal of Faust's bargain and in the spirit of the 'white' magician, Albertus Magnus.

Köstriz or had Jacobus, of whom he had spoken been sent around with them?

It was impossible, he could not have forgotten. "Give me your child until he is seven," had become a favourite Jesuit axiom. He had thought often of it, but himself (the child) he had banished from memory. Only the shock of de Rohan's treachery, or rather with the shock of connecting Balsamo with Leopold, did it reveal itself, but screened symbolically. It was neither de Rohan nor Leopold who was responsible for the first blow. Was it a King of France who had deserted and then recalled his mother? He was seven and the then Dauphin⁷ was already perhaps, displeasing to his father. Prince Ragoczy of Transylvania was entrusted with the secret and the welfare of Antoine-Louis--Saint-Germain, as they called him. It was an hereditary title, the Prince had told him, the second son⁸ had his holdings in France. He could not have forgotten. Her fur-hood fell back from the lace-scarf, bound over her hair, as she stooped to kiss him.

She had told him that the scarf was inherited from

⁷ The "then Dauphin" was also a Louis, the oldest son among the seven children of Louis XV and his queen, Maria Leszczyńska of Poland. The dauphin married Marie Joseph of Saxony; Louis XVI (b.1754) was their son.

⁸ The "second son" of the Rakoczi princes is being referred to.

her godmother; Theodora de Castell, she said, as she unfastened the clasp of her cloak and drew the lace from under the fur-hood. It reminded him of something, he had said, but he was certain that she thought he was delirious, as she had answered, "Sir, I will leave it with you, for your memories." No, he had not touched her. He had not flung himself against the soft fur, he had not been enfolded in the fall of the white veil, he had not clutched, like a small animal, at the fragrant pelt whose very substance he was.⁹ He had propped himself up on an elbow, such power and strength had suddenly renewed him, and he had smiled for the first time, to hear Our Lady speak of witchcraft.

It was a slow renewal. The memory had not come like a flash of lightning, nor reviewed his whole life in a single series of pictures that moved instantaneously before the mind, as the legends say has been reported by some, saved at the last breath, from drowning. Was that too, symbolical? The pictures had returned, but inward pictures, not startling, not visionary. He was waiting with Stephanus but it was not Stephanus.

⁹ Elizabeth had come in wearing her furs, thus causing him to 'live back' into a buried memory of his mother, whom he lost at the age of seven. Seeing Elizabeth made him feel that he wanted to throw himself into her arms as into the arms of his mother--his "very substance"--as he would have if she had ever come back.

It had happened before. She had gone off, this other¹⁰ said, before, alone in the sleigh, and there was nothing to it. "Nought to it," he said. That was not Stephanus speaking. Hadn't she always come back? He was tearing at a great door, a heavy knob, almost too high to reach, and past it, he was struggling with a giant-bolt but it slipped finally with a clatter and the door swung back. He stood in the snow that had drifted in the hall-way, the wind was howling from the river. There were no marks in the snow. Had he ever had a mother?

"...the foot-prints is blown over or I could have showed you," the school-porter had said, when they finally found shelter in Saint Benedict on the Walls.

The Cathedral had turned round, but that had happened before, though usually in his own bed, waking at night. The scene had veered around, acroamatique, was he standing on his head? Perhaps, after his abstinence, it was the Saint-Germain, but he drew the decanter toward him. He had found his brother in the astute, aristocratic Dohna. My Aunt Agnes met Henri's father, my Uncle Maurice, she had said, at an assembly

¹⁰ His 'living back' in memory continues. "This other" is a servant from his childhood, "not Stephanus," who has just said to the child Louis that his mother has "gone off," that is, she has gone away and left him.

at San Souci.¹¹ Frederick had instituted a little France, within his empire.¹² He had entertained Count Zinzendorf and had admired his writings.¹³ One or the other¹⁴ must have told him of it. They were inseparable in his imagination. He had found his brother in the only son of Maurice, Count Dohna, but he had not found his sister in the daughter of Baron John de Watteville. The names were so important. They

11 "San Souci" was the mansion and favorite residence of Frederick The Great (1712-1786), who became King of Prussia in 1740. I have been unable to find any historical evidence for the meeting of Agnes and Moritz Graf zu Dohna there. H.D. is perhaps extrapolating from the fact that Dohna was a captain in the Prussian army for a time, and his father was commanding general during the Seven Years' War in East Prussia, so inevitably the father would have been close to Frederick.

12 Frederick the Great strongly advocated French culture and literature, which were far more advanced than German when Frederick was being educated. His friends who joined him evenings at San Souci were mainly Frenchmen; he was at one time close to Voltaire. (EB 1957, 9: 716-18.)

13 H.D. conflates, deliberately or accidentally, the figures of Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, and his father, Frederick William, to whom Z went in October 1736 in order to clear up charges made against him. They held a three-day conversation, after which Frederick William wrote that he found Z "to be an honest and intelligent man, whose only intentions are to promote true and real religion." ZN reads: "1736--The King, Frederick William, + Z.--1737...King Fr.W. agrees to ordination of Z. as "bishop of his Moravian brethren." (12 [9]; AGS 219-22) Frederick the Great succeeded his father in 1740, but Spangenberg does not record visits of Z to him.

14 Either Elizabeth or Henry told him these things.

seemed more allied to France than to Germany. The Order of the Temple had not deeply touched the Teutonic Knights,¹⁵ but these two, in their sympathy and outlook, seemed to accept both factions, even as their grandfather had imagined a world-unity.

Father d'Albizi? He wished he knew more about him, could have given Dohna further details of the Dominican connection. When he returned to Paris--but he would have other problems. Perhaps, as the Cardinal put it, the more important adherents of the Church would leave. But he did not see the heroic Daughters of Saint Genevieve or the simple Friars of Francis leaving Paris.¹⁶

His right hand rested on a sword-hilt. It was his

¹⁵ The Order of the Temple, Ordre du Temple, or Knights Templar had little connection with the similar military order of the Teutonic Knights of St. Mary's Hospital at Jerusalem, founded in the Holy Land in 1190-91 as a charitable organization. It soon became military, enrolling only German noblemen, and returned by 1228 to make its permanent home in Germany, acquiring much land and wealth as a kind of chartered company in the 14th century. Its power declined into extinction by the time of the French Revolution. (EB 1957, 21:983-4)

¹⁶ "Les Filles de Ste. Geneviève" did function in Paris early in the Revolution. Also known as the Miramionnes after their founder, Mme de Miramion, they were a secular order whose activities--running of schools, a dispensary and a retreat center--continued until the Convention decree of 6 November 1794. The Revolution abolished religious orders but made an exception for nuns who did socially useful work, such as running hospitals. One order, the Augustines of the Hôtel-Dieu, were able to stay in Paris throughout the Revolution. (Boussoulade 71)

way of distinguishing right from left hand, in these moments. If he had not deliberately, for purposes of policy, followed the left-hand path,¹⁷ he would never have found her. And this was not Jesuitical defence nor argument. He would not have bound himself to Althotas, he would not have sworn loyalty to Acharat. The vows could not be broken. It was the Cardinal who was Judas. He was standing on his head now.¹⁸ He had been elected, instructed to bring the two¹⁹ together. But "there was no crossing that bridge," Calioistro had

¹⁷ The "left-hand path" is a specific theosophical term. Besant says:

The Right-hand Path is that which leads to divine manhood, to Adeptship used in the service of the world. The Left-hand Path is that which also leads to Adeptship, but to Adeptship that is used to frustrate the progress of evolution and is turned to selfish individual ends. They are sometimes called the White and Black Paths respectively. (145-6) This dual concept of adeptship helps H.D. to account for her periods of breakdown and put them to use, seeing them not as 'dangerous symptoms,' as Freud had, but as evolutionary stages in her spiritual progress.

¹⁸ "He" refers to Saint-Germain, not de Rohan, the Judas. The image again is of Dante's Inferno, where Judas is eternally devoured by Satan who stands frozen in ice in Hell's bottom-most circle. Louis is standing on his head because, as Dante said of Virgil crawling along Satan's body, he has "turned his head where his feet had been." (PD 185) The turn-about also is reminiscent of the mystical experience of the 'reversal' in the Cathedral. It also suggests that the seeker of truth must reject conventional behavior, as Z did.

¹⁹ "The two" are specifically the Left-hand and Right-hand Paths. He wants to bridge the dichotomy between the true mysticism of Z and the false magic of Calioistro between God and Devil, and between Love and Death. Calioistro is a dualist, so he sees no possible bridge.

said.

He would not touch the veil that she held toward him. He watched her re-arrange the scarf. He saw her face as in a mirror. They²⁰ were Candace souls. There was another of their company.²¹ No, she did not return to Versailles, nor did she die, the blessed Primavera. She was going away. She spoke between the candles, Our Lady of the Snow, Louis, you will serve France.²²

²⁰ "They" are Louis and Elizabeth, "Candace-souls" of this new religion of unity.

²¹ Elizabeth belongs to the 'eternal Order,' of which Louis has revised his conception to make it larger and truer than what de Rohan, erstwhile "father," had laid out for him. The child's surpassing the father's view subtly mirrors the way H.D.'s religious thought both respected and expanded from Freud's assumptions about the nature of the unconscious.

²² Elizabeth, as she came through the snow, is Our Lady of the Snow, Maria von dem Schnee, who is one of the forms of the eternal feminine presented, through the name of the church in Vienna, in Tribute to the Angels. (31) The passage is in the same poem section that mentions the church of Santa Maria dei Miracoli in Venice. The theme of Cathedral as Dream is also implied here.

XIX

He would be sleeping in the hall, Stephanus. He would know when the fire died down, but Saint-Germain did not think that Stephanus would disturb him. "So, you married the nun Charity?" He spoke to the presence¹ opposite whose goblet he re-filled when his own was empty.² "He never knew me to lose my head," he explained, "so we will go on with our Saint-Germain. Yes, the family was waiting to receive me--it is like you to ask about the family--the lesser and greater Saint-Germains, the King's cousins."³ It was natural for

¹ Since Z's second wife was Sister Anna Charity Nitschmann, this remark tells us that the "presence"--the third Visitor, fairy-tale style--is Zinzendorf. The "presence" sits where Henry Dohna had sat, at the sick man's bedside. Louis' statement echoes St. Francis' declaration that he had wed the Lady Poverty.

² The suggestion is that possibly these two goblets are one--that is, the projection is both real and a product of Louis' unconscious. H.D. could not say where the 'writing on the wall' had come from: "Whether that hand or person is myself, projecting the images as a sign, a warning or a guiding sign-post from my own subconscious mind, or whether they are projected from outside--they are at least clear enough..." (TF, 46)

³ Louis retells the "legend" of how he came to France. Many French kings lived at St. Germain-en-Laye, so perhaps Louis XV or XVI actually had cousins with that name.

the senile Saint-Etienne⁴ to mistake me for my uncle or my great-uncle, as Stephanus had insisted. So the legend started--or the legend renewed another legend. I could explain away the fatuous Elixir.⁵ I could explain to Versailles, when the Venetian legend found its way there, that I was mistaken for a nephew. But I could not explain to myself, how I appeared to de Seingalt, Giovanni Jacopo Casanova de Seingalt. Another Giovanni.⁶ It was by the bridge, before Mary of Miracles,⁷ that we talked together. What I wanted to ask de Seingalt and never did ask, was: what was I wearing?⁸ An odd irrelevance, you may consider. I never dared ask de Seingalt nor inquire further.

"Nor did you inquire how Christian David found you (in riding-cloak? in court dress?) at the house of

⁴ Saint-Etienne appears to be a name, possibly invented, of someone close to the court at Versailles who originally told the story, parallel to Mme. de Gergy's, which the embassy valet repeated to Stephanus.

⁵ Saint-Germain's "elixir" was accompanied by a sensible regimen of light eating and non-drinking which may have accounted for the healings and rejuvenations attributed to him. (Lang 272)

⁶ "Giovanni" is John, another name-link in the mystical chain.

⁷ "Mary of Miracles" translates Santa Maria dei Miracoli, the church mentioned earlier.

⁸ The idea seems to be that, if he had a correct description of the clothing he wore in his transformation into 'Visitor,' he could more rationally explain the seeming 'miracle' of bi-location.

the Master of the Horse, in Schweinitz?

"It can be explained with lines and parallels and reflecting mirrors.

"He was a Shadow of God--when and how did you discover it?--Who was again a Reflection.⁹

"It was exactly indicated to Saint John.¹⁰ How has it escaped the orthodox? You remember, if all the things done by Our Lord were recorded, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written¹¹ But there is a freshness and simplicity that would escape even those books...sur la berge, fleurit un rosier, à l'unique rose épanouis que

⁹ "He" appears to allude to Z as Visitor, appearing to Christian David in Schweinitz while the 'real' or corporeal Z was still in Dresden. The 'Visitor' as a 'Shadow of God' explains the shadow that the school-porter saw fall over the door to St. Wenceslas' Chapel and extinguish the candles. The central metaphor of the mirror in the film, "The Student of Prague," seems to influence this line of thinking.

¹⁰ St. John is apparently seen by H.D. as author of not only the Gospel, the Epistles and the Book of Revelation, but also the Gnostic Apocryphon or Secret Gospel of John. The Gnostic John tells a dualistic creation myth which makes Jahweh a deluded ruler who creates human bodies as 'duplicates' of the spiritual bodies of light in which souls should properly reside. This notion seems to fit with the capacity of members of an 'eternal elite' to manifest in more than one body.

¹¹ These are the final lines from the canonical St. John's Gospel: "And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written. Amen." (KJV) The Johannites' view of scripture is being alluded to, and also H.D.'s allegiance to writing.

butine un immense papillon.¹² There were twelve children.¹³ I did not even wonder nor ask if she¹⁴ had children. She¹⁵ told over their names like the beads in a rosary. There was Christian Frederick, there was Theodora Caritas, there was Anne Theresa, there was Christian Louis, there was Salome--I can not remember the others, all children.¹⁶ I know Benigna, Agnes, Elizabeth and Christian Renatus grew up, though Renatus

¹² "On the bank a rose-tree flowers, with a single blooming rose which an immense butterfly is plundering." ('plundering' in the sense of a bee's gathering of honey.) These lines suggest both Dante's celestial Rose which is shown to him by Beatrice, and the Rose who stands for the woman erotically loved in the allegorical Roman de la Rose. These lines appear here for their symbolic conjunction of Love--the Rose--and the Soul, Psyche, the butterfly which is the new and resurrected body, arisen from the cocoon of the human body. Psyche is also the goddess of Greek myth. It is a vision of eternal Love, inseparable from the figure of a woman.

¹³ This passage recalls the fact that Zinzendorf and his wife, Erdmuth, had twelve children.

¹⁴ "She" refers to Elizabeth.

¹⁵ Elizabeth told Louis these names, but in so doing she created a palimpsestic image over Erdmuth, the mother, mourning her lost children one by one. The images of the two women blend; 'Our Lady' is nearby.

¹⁶ These are the names of Z's children who died in infancy or early childhood. H.D. in ZN carefully records each of the deaths as reported by Spangenberg:

24 Nov. 1724--first infant now "departed this life"...1729. Sept.18, Christian Frederick. [died] Oct. 30....March 19, 1732. John Ernest--[died] May 16, 1732./ 2nd dec. Theodora Caritas "who went to her eternal home." (11 [7])...Anna Theresa, 5 years old, "the Saviour took to himself"...1736 "...decease of his son, Christian Louis" (13, 12 [9]) 1741 "...daughter Salome"(14 [10])

died in London. They were all important to me,¹⁷ for my nephews and nieces--cousins, really--were a later importation. Or I was later grafted to that La France rose¹⁸ which--but we must not speak about it. The wings were not freed by those syrens. There had been that earlier enchantment of strings, brushed by Melusine, across the water. But the wound inflected by Leopold was not healed and La France and Melusine were alike, temporary opiates. No doubt, you loved your Countess and revered her. There were twelve children. They seemed stars around her head,¹⁹ like an image of Our Lady, as she told them. Your children, but she claimed them. Were your wings freed by Theodora de Castell, before you married Erdmuth Dorothea de Reuss?

"It is written somewhere, among the many heresies that it was my--my duty²⁰ to decipher, that it²¹ is

¹⁷ The "me" in this enigmatic statement seems to identify Saint-Germain fully with Z.

¹⁸ The La France "rose" perhaps suggests that the royal lineage of France is like a rose-tree, to which, through love, symbolized by the rose, he was allied.

¹⁹ The image not only reflects the iconography of medieval altar-pieces but suggests Beatrice in Paradise as Dante saw her: "I lifted up my eyes and saw her where she made for herself a crown, reflecting from her the eternal beams." (Par. XXXI, 70-3)

²⁰ He hesitates over the word "duty," because he is alluding to his career of duplicity, with de Rohan, as a heresy-hunter for the Inquisition.

²¹ "It" appears to refer to a 'Visitation.'

experienced once in fifty years, that is, once in a lifetime.

"You have written it in these letters? My friend, you cannot refuse France. He never knew me to lose my head, so we will re-fill our glasses. And you talked to the chairs, she told me²²--another child in Our Lady's rosary²³--because your father died (Nicholas, she called you then) and your mother married a Prussian field-marshal, when you were four.²⁴

"You were accused of gross and scandalous mysticism,²⁵sc Dohna told me.

* * *

"You are no devil, Louis, so to tempt me.²⁶ The

²² In childhood, Z was "as fond of speaking as of hearing of his dear Saviour; and when he was alone, or left to himself, he even spoke of him to the chairs, which in his playfulness he had collected together." (AGS 5) ZN reads: "wrote notes to Saviour...he even spoke of him to the chairs--" (8 [5])

²³ Elizabeth, by speaking of Z as a child, thereby includes him in her "rosary" of names.

²⁴ ZN reads: "father dies 6 weeks after birth of Nicholas--mother re-marries Prussian field-marshal after 4 yrs." (AGS 2)

²⁵ The accusation comes from Rimius, who, after citing sermon passages which offend him, says: "I question, whether Examples are to be found of a Fanaticism more extravagant, and a Mysticism more gross and scandalous." (CN 70)

²⁶ The temptation is not to return to France; Saint-Germain could decide not to adhere to his code of honor.

Guard could be disbanded? No, Louis, it is not possible. France would never be the same, if the Guard were so disbanded. Look--I sacrifice the Guard for a dream, a legend²⁷ that has already vanished? You say, Louis, that France is no more, but the lilies²⁸ can not be--disbanded. You can not dismiss the lilies. You say, they are good fellows, let them go home.²⁹ And Stephanus, why should he go back there? Ah my friend, how neatly you play into our hands³⁰--Stephanus? There is Lamotte, a sewing-girl she was, as he reminded me but recently, it was Calioistro made her 'Countess.' What plan had Balsamo for Lamotte and the Queen, he asked me. I had no answer but he knew the answer.

"You know the answer--there is Lamotte and the Queen.

"They could be smuggled out of Paris? Not now, my dear Louis, later perhaps, with our help and the new

²⁷ He is asking himself, by asking the "presence," who also has the name Louis, whether he should to go back to Paris and sacrifice the Guard, as well as himself, in a hopeless attempt to preserve the monarchy and its attendant value-system of knighthood, when these are now only a dream and a legend.

²⁸ The "lilies" are the fleur de lys, symbol of French royalty, extending the Grail symbolism for this knight.

²⁹ The Guard would of course go home to Switzerland.

³⁰ The temptation to stay becomes very strong as Saint-Germain realizes that Stephanus too may well be killed along with the Guard when the two of them return together to Paris.

pass-words.

"France would never be the same, if we let Lamotte and the Queen perish. But enough of tragedy. There will be a fine flourish and I feel a giant.³¹ I will pay my respects to the Castle. Stephanus brought all my trappings.³² We will borrow the Castle's coach-and-four or sleigh-and-four. We will be driven to the Tower in fine style, to make our adieux. You see, that little rumour has blown over.³³ We return, summoned by the Palace, en chevalier, to re-inaugurate and re-dedicate the Guard, as is customary New Year's Eve.³⁴ So we will see the New Year in, and even at Versailles, the chandeliers shall be lighted for Him. You see how I remember? Dohna was reading to me from a Pennsylvania sermon or a sermon at Zeist.

"My friend, the Little Strength? He saw three ships a-sailing. He lay dying in Lyndsay House in London, on the Thames. Christian Renatus sent them

³¹ These words show that the wine has gone to Louis' head. He is in a dionysiac ecstasy or trance.

³² He will don the full-dress knight's regalia--sword, decorations, plumed helmet--of the chevalier and thus live up to his old-fashioned knightly code.

³³ His story to the noblemen of the Castle will be that the Revolution will not take place, although of course he does not believe this.

³⁴ He will act as if the King, at his Palace, Versailles or the Tuileries, has summoned him back to engage in the ritual re-dedication of the Swiss Guard.

this Christmas carol, Dohna told me, and later he explained the myth, legend or Mystery. They were Joseph of Arimathaea's ships³⁵--but why three? To honour the Trinity, you will tell me. It was One Ship or Three-in-One-Ship, wasn't it? Or it was three journeys of one Ship? They took the Grail to England.³⁶ The Little Strength renewed that Mystery with your Lamb passant--and then to America. America? But it was not America, it was Transylvania, I mean Pennsylvania and it was Bethlehem. But they brought the Grail back, so she told me, or so she seemed to tell me, when the Bethlehem Indians left Friedensshuetten.

"Let there be no more argument, my dear Louis--to you, Nicholas Louis, Count and Lord of Zinzendorf and Pottendorf; Lord of the Baronies of Freydeck, Schoeneck, Thurnstein and the Vale of Wachovia; Lord of the Manor of Upper, Middle and Lower Berthelsdorf --(you see how I remember, that is the Exercitia that

³⁵ Joseph of Arimathaea buried Jesus after the Crucifixion, according to all four Gospels. It is a "poetic" invention, not even an established legend, that he sailed to England "and constructed the first Christian Church in the land in Somerset, afterwards Glastonbury." (EB 1957, 13: 52)

³⁶ The story that Joseph of Arimathaea brought the Grail to England is also a poetic invention, appearing in Robert de Borron's Joseph of Arimathaea, a romance composed late in the 12th century. (EB 1957, 10:604)

laid its iron-rule upon me)--and Hereditary Warden of the Chase to his Imperial Roman Majesty, in the Duchy of Austria, below the Ems.³⁷

"Also the Dresden Socrates."³⁸

"But we have no time for Socratic argument. This is the last candle. No, save the half-goblet, for the decanter is quite empty. I would only say that your Mysticism is naturally repulsive to men, who would at all costs elevate the Father above all, and above all, above the Mother.³⁹ Your poem to that effect--I will

³⁷ This list of titles, word for word, is taken from the introduction to Spangenberg. "Chase" is spelled "Chace" in AGS; "Ems" is H.D.'s typographical error for "Ens." The introduction adds: "and at one time Aulic and Justicial Counsellor to the Elector of Saxony." (v)

³⁸ Spangenberg says that in 1725, while he was still serving as counsellor in Dresden, Z appeared before the public as the "Dresden Socrates," under which title he published a weekly periodical; without its being known, however, at first, that he was the author of it. In this publication he speaks very freely....Some were enraged at it....The Count's object...was (to use his own words) "to bring, like Socrates, his fellow-citizens to reflect upon themselves, and by his example to show them the way to the attainment of real and lasting contentment." (62-3) H.D.'s notes read: "1725--'Dresden Socrates,' republished later 'German Socrates.' Z. anon.--periodical confiscated. weekly, till 34th Number." (11 [7])

³⁹ One of the most offensive aspects of Z's theology to Rimius and other detractors was Z's declaration that the Holy Ghost is female, the "mother of the Church." He says: "The Holy Ghost is called by the Herrnhutters, the eternal wife of God, the mother of Christ, the Mother of the Faithful, the Mother of the Church....They make his [Jesus'] Name of the feminine

not quote it⁴⁰--was enough to burn you at the stake, like that John Huss whom they bound, outside here by the Cathedral.⁴¹ Your heresy goes deeper than his, but you are an older soul, my Dresden Socrates, and the Dominicans had a part in your instruction. You worshipped the Wounds of Our Lord--the Wound in excelsis in Our Lord's side, as the rosa mystica.⁴²

Gender, calling him their Mother, their Mamma Jesua." He quotes Z: "The children of Grace...have a careful Mother amongst the holy Trinity, and also a dear Father and faithful Bridegroom of their souls." It follows that the soul is the Bride; everyone's soul is "of the feminine Sex. There are only animae, no animi, says the Moravian bishop with great Elegance. To think that there are Male-Souls, would be...the greatest Folly... All that is of the Male Quality, and was adapted to our Body, is detach'd from it as soon as it is interred. It belongs not to its natural and primitive State. 'Tis an Addition, made to it afterwards." (CN 40-2; 59) H.D. is writing this novel, as well as her late poems, to establish recognition of the centrality of women's spiritual power. That Z saw the Spirit as female is the most important aspect of him for H.D.

⁴⁰ This poem is cited in ZN, quoting from Rimius: "41. 1896th Hymn to Holy Ghost. (Z.) Gott, du Mutter der Kirchen all, Gott Vaters ewiges Gemahl, which translates "God, thou mother of the whole church, eternal wife of God the Father." (8 [39]) The idea is Gnostic, as Lavington emphasizes (14,16,36) and therefore viewed as heretical, sufficient cause for burning at the stake.

⁴¹ Hus was actually put to the stake in Constance, in Baden, Germany, on the Swiss border, not in Prague.

⁴² The "mystic rose" unites sexual love, as expressed in the Roman de la Rose, with spiritual divine love, as represented by Beatrice and the Rose of the Paradiso. The "Sifting Period" language of the worship of Christ's side-wound presents an extreme of sexual imagery only excused by the felt passion of the devotee. H.D. notes: "44. ...great Devotion for the Five red Wounds" (8 [39]). She copies, in German and English, a hymn which illustrates

This, my friend, is gross and scandalous mysticism, as the Protestant Court decided. But Louis, your proscribed Aves reached heaven.

"They heard you and they sent Our Lady to us. No, I will not read the letters. I will take them to her with the Star five-pointed,⁴³ the fingers of a hand, the nails or the Wounds of God.

"But with happiness--almost intolerable exaltation.

"And--à bientot, Nicholas."⁴⁴

the style:

Hymn 1883 [from the 12th Appendix, later suppressed]
 What Pleasure doth a Heart perceive,
 that rests in the precious Hole,
 lives there, loves & sports, works & praises
 the little Lamb....

My heart dwells in Jesus' Side,
 I kiss with the greatest Tenderness
 the Scars on his Hands & Feet, I kiss
 the Spear; how would I, O Soldier,
 run over to kiss thee for this

Piercing... (10[41]; CN 45)

H.D. copies a number of hymns with similar language but uses none of them; they are simply too literal. Rosa mystica symbolically embodies the poet's feeling, which agrees with Z's, that sexuality is to be sanctified, like every other activity, by being united with love, while avoiding the crudity of "Sifting Period" language.

⁴³ He will offer the letters to the Virgin, the Blessed Mother, who has a five-pointed crown but also the Five Wounds, showing that she and Christ are one.

⁴⁴ Saint-Germain uses the name "Nicholas," not his own name, Louis, as he is separating from the "presence" who is the essential founder of the new religion as well as the projection of Elizabeth and H.(enry) D.(ohna). He will see Z "soon" as in the realm of the Eternal Order.

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