

Handbook of the Theosophical Current

Edited by

Olav Hammer
Mikael Rothstein



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON

2013

© 2013 Koninklijke Brill NV ISBN 978 90 04 23596 0

CONTENTS

List of Contributors.....	vii
Introduction	
<i>Olav Hammer and Mikael Rothstein</i>	1

PART I

THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETIES

Blavatsky and the First Generation of Theosophy	
<i>Joscelyn Godwin</i>	15
The Second Generation Leaders of the Theosophical Society (Adyar)	
<i>Catherine Wessinger</i>	33
Point Loma, Theosophy, and Katherine Tingley	
<i>Tim Rudbøg</i>	51
The Third Generation of Theosophy and Beyond	
<i>W. Michael Ashcraft</i>	73

PART II

RELIGIOUS CURRENTS IN THE WAKE OF THEOSOPHY

The Theosophical Christology of Alice Bailey	
<i>Sean O'Callaghan</i>	93
Rudolf Steiner and Theosophy	
<i>Katharina Brandt and Olav Hammer</i>	113
Sleeping Prophet: The Life and Legacy of Edgar Cayce	
<i>Shannon Trosper Schorey</i>	135
The I AM Activity	
<i>Tim Rudbøg</i>	151
The Summit Lighthouse: Its Worldview and Theosophical Heritage	
<i>Michael Abravanel</i>	173

The Theosophy of the Roerichs: Agni Yoga or Living Ethics <i>Anita Stasulane</i>	193
Mahatmas in Space: The Ufological Turn and Mythological Materiality of Post-World War II Theosophy <i>Mikael Rothstein</i>	217
Theosophical Elements in New Age Religion <i>Olav Hammer</i>	237

PART III

THEOSOPHY, CULTURE, AND SOCIETY

Western Esoteric Traditions and Theosophy <i>Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke</i> [†]	261
Lost Horizon: H.P. Blavatsky and Theosophical Orientalism <i>Christopher Partridge</i>	309
Mythological and Real Race Issues in Theosophy <i>Isaac Lubelsky</i>	335
Theosophy, Gender and the “New Woman” <i>Siv Ellen Kraft</i>	357
Theosophical Macrohistory <i>Garry W. Trompf</i>	375
Theosophical Attitudes towards Science: Past and Present <i>Egil Aspren</i>	405
Abstract Art as “By-Product of Astral Manifestation”: The Influence of Theosophy on Modern Art in Europe <i>Tessel M. Bauduin</i>	429
Theosophy and Popular Fiction <i>Ingvild Sælid Gilhus & Lisbeth Mikaelson</i>	453
Index.....	473

MYTHOLOGICAL AND REAL RACE ISSUES IN THEOSOPHY

Isaac Lubelsky

Introduction

The racial issue in the Theosophical doctrine has been fueling a lively debate, which seems to be far from conclusion. A general overview of this debate would point at two main accusations that have been repeatedly raised against the Theosophical Society: that Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–1891), the founder of the Theosophical Society, was infected with racism, as well as with antisemitism, and the assumption that the Theosophical doctrines contributed to the emergence of the Nazi ideology. These claims refer as well to Blavatsky's heirs, Annie Besant (1847–1933), and Charles Webster Leadbeater (1847 or 1854–1934). Both studied racial mythology and wrote about it with great enthusiasm, no lesser than their mentor's.

For any discussion of the racial issues in the theosophical family of religious currents to be useful, a brief definition of the key concept "racism" is in order. I will here take as my point of departure a definition proposed by sociologist Albert Memmi (2000: 100), for whom racism designates "a generalizing definition and valuation of differences, whether real or imaginary, to the advantage of the one defining and deploying them, and to the detriment to the one subjected to that act of definition, whose purpose is to justify (social or physical) hostility and assault." Since we are in the case of Theosophy dealing both with a set of largely mythological texts, and with an organization that produced and disseminated those texts, Memmi's definition can usefully be unpacked in two parts. A racial *discourse* on this view implies (1) the identification of differences that are (2) generalized to entire populations and (3) hierarchically valued. A racial *policy* is one where such generalized, and hierarchically valued differences are deployed in actual practice in order to justify acts of hostility. The distinction between mythological and real race issues in the title of the present chapter reflects that division.

The suggestion that the human species can be divided into distinct and hierarchically valued groups – explicitly designated as "races" by Blavatsky and many of her followers – is indeed ubiquitous in Theosophical writings. Truly innovative, the Theosophical mythology narrates the

imaginary history of various Root Races and Sub-Races. In short, Blavatsky claimed that long before the emergence of our own race, our planet was inhabited by four other human or human-like races. Each main race (Root Race) gave birth to seven offspring – sub-races – before having perished, thus enabling the emergence of a new Root Race. These races were not necessarily inferior to ours, in regard to their intelligence, innovation or technical skills, which in some cases even exceeded ours. Furthermore, as pointed out by James Santucci (2008) these races are all connected via an over-arching concept of spiritual progress. Via the mechanism of reincarnation, even those who at one point in history are born as members of a purportedly “inferior” race will later be reborn in a higher stage. Seen from one perspective, “races” are characterized by their evolutionary level, and are hierarchically ordered. Seen from another, “races” are just the temporary abodes of reincarnating spiritual entities, “the divine spark that ultimately makes all races the same in essence” (Santucci 2008: 37).

The evolution, from birth to decay, of various races was the result of a well-planned breeding program, which was engineered by higher intelligences, as I shall later describe in detail. Naturally, this idea contradicted some of the leading scientific theories of Blavatsky’s time, most notably the Darwinian theory of evolution, which since the publication of *The Origin of Species* in 1859 has dominated the scientific world. Similarly, Blavatsky rejected the popular belief in the continual progress of civilization, from primitivism to a progressed state, and set her own story as its alternative.¹

However, the main focus of this chapter and indeed of Blavatsky’s relevant work is the evolution of the races which dominated our planet through several cycles (a concept inspired by the Hindu *Yugas*), up to the birth of the Aryan race, believed by the Theosophists to be the final stage, so far, of a careful breeding project, and the direct offspring of the Atlantean race. Therefore, I will emphasize the drafting of that imaginative racial history, which was enabled due to the postulated clairvoyant skills of Blavatsky, and of her *protégé*, Besant, as well as Blavatsky’s self-appointed heir, Leadbeater, who had extensively widened her visionary mythology in his own writings.

¹ Blavatsky’s unique blend of science and spiritualism might have unintentionally influenced several serious modern scientists, who involved non-materialistic elements in their work. Such influence may be traced in 1977 Nobel Prize recipient for Chemistry, I. Prigogine (1917–2003), who formulated the theory of self-organization, which involves factors that balance chaos and equilibrium in nature. His follower, Erich Jantsch, crystallized these ideas into an orderly evolutionary theory; see Hanegraaff 1996: 72–73; Prigogine & Stengers 1984; Jantsch 1980.

This chapter will introduce the reader to the Theosophical racial mythology, point out some scientific sources of inspiration, analyze its ideology, and finally, estimate the positions of Blavatsky, Besant, and Leadbeater in contemporary racial discourse. My suggested analysis focuses on the Theosophical race doctrine as can be extrapolated from the publication of Blavatsky's influential *Isis Unveiled* in 1877, until the publication of Besant and Leadbeater's perhaps less known *Man: Whence, How and Whither* in 1913. Blavatsky was undoubtedly the main creative force responsible for shaping the Theosophical racial doctrine. Nonetheless, her successors Besant and Leadbeater elaborated her vision with a message which was applied to their activity in India, as well as to their interest in messianic and esoteric teachings.² The writings of these three Theosophists form the basis for this survey, both in the ideological sphere and in their chronological order. Racial motifs continue to be present in several post-theosophical currents, but will not be discussed in this chapter. For some currents, this is the case because readily available existing literature investigates the topic in depth. Any discussion of the various Ariosophic movements would only recapitulate well-known publications by Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke.³

Before beginning this survey, I would like to briefly elaborate on two crucial themes – orientalism and the Atlantis myth – which may be repeatedly traced in the relevant Theosophical racial literature. My aim is to show that despite her innovation and rich imagination, Blavatsky (as well as her successors) was not necessarily original, but rather influenced by her contemporary scholarly, philosophical, and pseudoscientific literature. My point is not to downplay the innovative nature of Theosophy, but rather to show that the Theosophical Society was not an isolated, un-influenced phenomenon. Quite the contrary, it flourished on a rich ground, which at the time was inhabited by many other seekers of the occult, the “true” science and “true” history of mankind.

Orientalism

The first phase in the development of the Theosophical doctrine spread over the dozen or so years between the publication of *Isis Unveiled* in 1877

² For further discussion on Theosophy and New Age thought, see the chapter by Olav Hammer in the present volume; cf. also Hanegraaff 1996: 448–455.

³ For others, e.g. Anthroposophy, the reader is directed to the relevant chapters of the present volume.

and *The Secret Doctrine* in 1888. These publications offered seekers of the occult a new way of searching for the unknown, beginning with a geographical reorientation of the object of the search. When Blavatsky first began to write on occult topics, her ideas were clearly influenced by Hermetic and neo-Platonist philosophy. But gradually ancient Hindu and Buddhist philosophies came to occupy a greater place in her theory, as if while writing it she was trying to blend her early Hermetic beliefs with new conclusions apparently drawn from current scientific research, particularly from the massive nineteenth century orientalist body of works, which she was acquainted with by the 1870s.

This is especially noticeable regarding Blavatsky's references to the geographic sources of magic. In the early stage, she referred mainly to ancient Egypt as the source of arcane knowledge, but as time passed India became the destination for her search after the occult. The shift inevitably affected the decision of Blavatsky and the Society's co-founder, Henry Steel Olcott (1832–1907) to move to India in 1879.

The Theosophists' original interest was in hermetic philosophy, Kabbalah and Western occult sciences, and they viewed the Hindu and Buddhist philosophies they encountered in India as laden with the same significance. They perceived various Hindu scriptures as belonging to the same corpus of writings that included the *Corpus Hermeticum*, or Giordano Bruno's writings. In other words, the Theosophists were certain that the same esoteric doctrine underlay Hindu, Egyptian, and Western esoteric traditions (Sharpe 1985: 89–92).

This notion had its roots in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' academic orientalist research, which was at that time dominated by the Aryan Myth – the belief in the common origin of Hindus and Europeans. This idea was first conceived by Sir William Jones (1746–1794), who had mastered Sanskrit in Calcutta in the 1780s, and was the first scholar to observe and define the affinity between Sanskrit, Greek and Latin. This led him to the conclusion that the ancestors of the Hindus and the modern Europeans were related to the same mother nation, which in pre-history inhabited the territory of modern Iran. Jones named this mother nation Aryan (based on the adjective *ārya*, 'noble' in Sanskrit), and claimed that some of these ancient Aryans had migrated west and settled in Europe, while others headed east and conquered India. According to Jones, the Eastern and Western Aryans preserved their shared history through language. Language thus became the principal research tool for anyone who sought to reconstruct the history of the Aryan migrations,

and the only viable evidence of the common origin of the oriental and occidental Aryans (Jones 1788: 415–431).

During the nineteenth century, several major European philologists embraced Jones' Aryan hypothesis and indeed the theory was taught as a solid scientific fact in the European academia. The most prominent of these scholars was the Anglo-German philologist Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900), who is considered to be the founder of the academic discipline of comparative religion (Masuzawa 1993: 58; Wach 1958: 3; Eliade 1959: 229; Sharpe 1987: 35). Müller was quite famous in his time, mostly because of his solid academic status at Oxford University, his close connections with influential politicians, queens and kings, and fellow scientists, and his authoritative stand in regard to his fields of research: religion, mythology, Sanskrit philology, and Indian studies in general.⁴ As I will show later, it seems that he had won Blavatsky's respect and admiration, and thus influenced her in embracing the Aryan Myth. The Aryan Myth played a major part in Blavatsky's attempt to formulate a new historical interpretation of the evolution of mankind in general and of the various human races in particular.

The Atlantis Myth

Another prominent concept in Blavatsky's mythology was the myth of Atlantis. Although popular interest in Atlantis began in the West in 1882, with the publication of Ignatius Donnelly's *Atlantis: The Antediluvian World*, Blavatsky's *Isis Unveiled* had dealt with Atlantis already in 1877, as did *The Secret Doctrine* in 1888.

The roots of the myth of Atlantis go back to Plato's two famous dialogues, the *Timaeus* and *Critias*.⁵ The story in both describes an advanced civilization that existed 9000 years before Plato on a large island west of Gibraltar, which was linked by a chain of islands to a vast continent beyond the ocean. The Atlantean civilization ruled over the Mediterranean world, and was destroyed by an earthquake, followed by a flood that submerged the island.

The rediscovery of Plato's writings in the Renaissance revived interest in the myth of Atlantis, notably demonstrated by Francis Bacon's 1627 work,

⁴ For some of his representative works, see Müller 1893a [1856]: 1–141; Müller 1893b, 1999 [1883]. For further reading on Müller, see Jankowsky 1979; van den Bosch 2002.

⁵ The relevant passages are *Tim.* 24e–25d; *Crit.* 108e–109c & 113c–121c.

The New Atlantis. This utopian work describes how a group of mariners are washed up on an island called Benshalem by its inhabitants. These long-lived, highly advanced people produce artificial metals, various minerals, poisons and medicines. They obtain sophisticated mechanical tools and “also engine-houses, where are prepared engines and instruments for all sorts of motion.” The source of their knowledge was the civilization of Atlantis, which according to Bacon, existed in America until 3000 years ago and dominated the sea lanes (Bacon 1974 [1627]: 215–247).

Ignatius Donnelly’s *Atlantis* appeared in 1882 and became a best-seller, sparking a widespread interest in lost continents. Donnelly attempted a kind of scientific investigation based mainly on circumstantial evidence to verify the pre-historic existence of the continent of Atlantis, following its description by Plato. His book included seismological observations and surveys of fossils found in various continents, side by side with such absurdities as the discovery of smoking pipes in various parts of the world long before the discovery of America and the tobacco plant. Donnelly quoted many authorities, including William Jones and Müller, and argued that the Aryan race had originated in Atlantis, and that the Indian Aryans in particular had reached India from Europe and Atlantis (Donnelly 1950 [1882]: 214–220).

Donnelly continued his attempts to reconstruct the civilization of Atlantis in his next book, *Ragnarök*, published in 1883, in which he tried to explain the destruction of Atlantis as the result of the strike of a huge meteor, thousands of years ago (Donnelly 1883). His two books probably promoted the widespread acceptance of Blavatsky’s further development of the Atlantis myth in *The Secret Doctrine* in 1888 (Trompf 1998: 269–296).

To conclude this short discussion, one may determine that Blavatsky was indeed influenced by previous and contemporary literature. This conclusion is based on the great similarity between her own writings and various accessible nineteenth-century sources.⁶ I shall now briefly analyze Blavatsky’s two major works, and examine the racial views they reflect.

Isis Unveiled

Blavatsky’s first major work, *Isis Unveiled*, was published in two thick volumes in 1877, two years after the founding of the Theosophical Society in

⁶ For a further, detailed discussion, see Lubelsky 2012, ch. 5.

New York. Despite Blavatsky's later own criticism of the book ("with its misprints and wrong quotation-marks"; Blavatsky 1891), she never denied the accuracy of its content. After all, she had always maintained that she had only been the mediator in its writing, as it had been dictated to her by the Mahatmas of the Great Brotherhood, who initiated her in Tibet.

The introduction to the first volume of *Isis Unveiled* declares: "Our work, then, is a plea for the recognition of the Hermetic philosophy, the ancient universal Wisdom-Religion, as the only possible key to the Absolute in science and theology" (Blavatsky 1877, vol. I: vii). The key hermetic formula, "as below, so it is above," appears here as well, accompanied by the then common assertion that ancient Egypt was the source of esoteric knowledge. Blavatsky declared that the ancient Egyptians knew everything there was to know about science, that in its time, Egypt was the center of knowledge for all interested in the sciences, and that it was indeed the source of all the Greek philosophical doctrines, including those of Pythagoras and Plato (Blavatsky 1877, vol. I: 518, 528–531, 539–542 & vol. II: 92–93, 366–368, 431–432).

The greatness of Egypt was, however, relevant only to the first phase of the history of magic, as outlined in *Isis Unveiled*. Another, earlier historical phase was identified, as the result of the above-mentioned orientalist studies that influenced Blavatsky at the time. Blavatsky suggested that it was not the Egyptians who had created the ancient magical lore; rather, they had actually received it from an even earlier source, which was ancient India. According to Blavatsky, ancient Hindu magic was the source for Egypt's greatness. Similarly, India was the source of all human knowledge, as everything the Egyptians, Phoenicians, Jews, Greeks and Romans knew, they had learned from the Indians.

In 1877, the major global academic authority regarding India was, as mentioned, the orientalist F. Max Müller. One of his objectives in his many relevant writings was to change the British misjudgments and prejudices against India. Accordingly, one of his chief arguments was that ancient Aryan Indian culture was not inferior to modern Western culture. He therefore concluded that the West would benefit and secure prosperity in the future from the study of the Orient. Blavatsky cited his writings to support her own new history of magic and race, in which humanity, having a cyclic history, had once been more developed than at present, and nearer to understanding the cosmos and the deity. Accordingly, she was certain that humanity was currently undergoing a historical cycle, but was still far from its peak.

After having mentioned the Egyptian and Indian cultures, *Isis Unveiled* speaks of a third culture – the true source of human knowledge – the lost continent of Atlantis. According to Blavatsky, fugitives escaping Atlantis as it sank beneath the waves settled in various parts of the world, notably in a mysterious island in the prehistoric ocean, which became the refuge of the last Atlanteans. There was no marine communication with the island, but it was linked to other parts of the world by subterranean tunnels. The Atlantean survivors who lived on that island bequeathed their esoteric secrets to the present human race. According to Blavatsky, their story was the source of the mythologies of many cultures which referred to defying the deity and the fall, or expulsion from the deity's domain – among them the stories of Adam and Eve, Lucifer, and Prometheus (Blavatsky 1877, vol. I: 298–299, 589–593).

The second volume of *Isis Unveiled* contained several interesting conclusions relevant to the debate over Blavatsky's presumed racial and anti-semitic ideas. It discussed the historical and philosophical bonds between Christianity, Judaism, and the religions of India, opening with a bitter attack against Christianity, which Blavatsky accused of tyranny. Her principal argument was that the Church was not the true inheritor of Christ, since it did not practice compassion and peace. Blavatsky was no less critical of Judaism, Christianity's spiritual parent, arguing that it suffered from a congenital defect because it had chosen to ally itself with the Semites, which were the least spiritual race. She claimed that the Semites had never succeeded in developing a language capable of holding moral or intellectual ideas, and were never able to convey anything higher than sensual idioms. That was why their literature never created anything original that had not been borrowed from Aryan thought. Accordingly, their science and philosophy could at best hope to approximate the high metaphysical systems of the Indo-Europeans. To prove its inferiority and the fact that Judaism, and hence Christianity, derived its sources from older myths, Blavatsky quoted Müller, who in her view had proved that Sanskrit was much older than Hebrew. Clearly then, she argued, the source of the biblical narratives lay in the Vedic literature.

Blavatsky's ideas did not differ in this sense from what was already commonplace in European nineteenth-century racial thinking.⁷

⁷ For further discussion of the emergence of the nineteenth-century new Aryan terminology, the diminishing acknowledgement of the Jewish contribution to Western culture and the disparagement of "Semitic spiritual qualities" in general, see Arvidsson 2006; Trautmann 1997; Inden 1990.

Nonetheless, it is worth noticing that despite her offensive description of the Hebrew language, Blavatsky did try to etymologically analyze many Hebrew words, following Müller's methods, not always very successfully. For example, she claimed that St. Peter's name, which phonetically derived from the Greek term for a rock, originally derived from the Hebrew root *petēr* (to decipher). *Isis Unveiled* is abundant with many similar spurious interpretations (Blavatsky 1877, vol. I: 570, & vol. II: xxviii, 29, 411, 434–435).

Isis Unveiled concludes with the statement that the acquisition of magic “is practically beyond the reach of the majority of white-skinned people.” Blavatsky maintained that the near-absence of magic in the West was because only one European in a million might have the ability to become a practicing magician. This reflected the typical Victorian view of the Orient as a place of mystery, where the native population is endowed with natural magical gifts, denied to the magic-less West (Blavatsky 1877, vol. II: 635–639).

One may assume that this diagnosis was of key significance to the Theosophists in India and Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka), at least during the latter part of the nineteenth century. At a time when European racism towards the local “colored” natives was widespread, Blavatsky and Olcott showed an alternative approach, by crediting the Hindu and Buddhist cultures as superior to the declining, materialistic Western culture. True, the two white Theosophists aspired to be the spiritual liberators of the local, decayed Eastern subjects. This is clearly evidenced with Olcott's mission to Ceylon, where in the 1880s he literally transformed himself into a Buddhist priest, and did all he could to educate the locals what “true” and “authentic” Buddhism was all about. A particularly clear example of this approach was Olcott's *A Buddhist Catechism*, which purported to describe and interpret the true nature of Buddhism (Olcott 1915 [1880]). The *Buddhist Catechism* may have presented an image of Theravada Buddhism rather at odds with much of the historical heritage of that tradition, but it was part and parcel of the growing Buddhist modernist movement and came to be greatly appreciated by many Sri Lankan Buddhists.⁸

The Secret Doctrine

The purpose of *The Secret Doctrine* (1888), which was also comprised of two thick tomes, was to reveal to the world an ancient secret body of

⁸ For a further discussion of Olcott's adventures in Sri Lanka, see Prothero 1996: 85–116.

knowledge that contained the essence out of which all religions derived, especially the ones based on Aryan thought (Blavatsky 1888, vol. I: vii–viii).

The book included a translation, with partial commentary, of an ancient poem named the *Book of Dzyan*, which according to Blavatsky came to her possession by miraculous means. Her copy of it, she claimed, was the only one extant in the West. It was written in an ancient language called Senzar, which Blavatsky claimed was known to practitioners of the occult in ancient times. *The Secret Doctrine* offered the first translation of this poem into a Western language.⁹

The first volume of *The Secret Doctrine* described the creation of the universe and its diverse component parts, arranged in a hierarchy of seven divine forces which create and shape their surroundings. These forces are responsible for creating the cosmos, from the cosmic material to the galaxies, from a single planet to a planetary chain. This creative process continues throughout the various evolutionary stages of every world, until the appearance of life and of humanity. According to Blavatsky, the universe is made of planetary chains, each of which comprises seven worlds, but only one of these is physical and visible. The other worlds are made up of different energy materials and exist on parallel planes. The number of these planetary chains is infinite, and they exist only in the four lower planes of the seven planes of creation, while the highest planes exist in an archetypal universe (Blavatsky 1888: vol. I, 21–34, 101, 152, 574–575).

The volume dealt, again, with the Jewish subject. Quoting her own *Isis Unveiled*, Blavatsky wrote: “They became a hybrid people... not alone with the Canaanites, but with every other nation or race they came in contact with.” The implication was that a nation comprised of hybrids could not produce an original culture. Its religion and heritage would likewise be hybrid, a mongrel mixture derived from diverse sources and therefore unworthy of respect or study.

This harsh criticism may imply that Blavatsky was expressing an antisemitic sentiment. However, Blavatsky’s words should be read carefully. Again, one should bear in mind that her criticism was directed primarily at the Christian Church. Taunting Judaism served to further her claims against its offspring. Blavatsky was never zealous in her anti-semitism especially when compared with the typical antisemitic ideas

⁹ Blavatsky 1887: vol. I: 1, 21–23; It is worth noticing that Gershom Scholem thought that the *Book of Dzyan* was an adaptation of *Sifra Di-tzeni’uta*, a kabbalistic text, attributed to Rabbi Shimon Bar Yochay (Scholem 1941: 398–399).

that characterized the social class she originally belonged to. Nonetheless, it was in fact her close disciple, the Russian Theosophist Juliana Glinka (1844–1918), who delivered the antisemitic propaganda text *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* from Paris to Russia (Cohn 1967: 15–24, 100–101; Blavatsky 1888, vol. I: 313, 444–445).

Most of the second volume of *The Secret Doctrine* was devoted to further expansion of issues that were first raised in *Isis Unveiled*: the true history of the world, the civilizations and races that preceded the current human race, and the resulting implications for humanity's future. According to Blavatsky, five human races have so far developed in five different regions of the globe, and two are still to appear. They were created by the seven divine forces described earlier. Man was essentially a Logos, a reflection containing everything that exists. His creation was dualistic in nature, because it entailed the creation of both body and soul. Accordingly, Blavatsky maintained that the Hindu swastika was a mystical Aryan symbol, which reflected the dualistic human condition. Its right side symbolized the human arms, pointing at the sky, while its left part symbolized the human connectedness with the earth. Thus, unintentionally, Blavatsky perhaps contributed to the later adaptation of the swastika by the Nazis (see Blavatsky 1888, vol. II: 25, 82, 98–99).

In the distant past there were four ancient continents which sank under the sea, among them Atlantis and Lemuria, a continent that she – following a then current theory – suggested had formerly connected Asia and Africa. These four continents were inhabited by the four human races that preceded our own. The locale and identity of the fifth continent is slightly confusing. According to Blavatsky, “the Fifth Continent was America... but as the sequence of the continents is made to follow the order of evolution of the Races, from the first to the fifth, our Aryan Root Race, Europe must be called the fifth great Continent” (Blavatsky 1888, vol. II: 8). According to Blavatsky, humanity is far older than the scientists maintain. It first appeared on our planetary chain exactly 1,664,500,987 years ago. Present-day humanity appeared as far back as 18,618,728 years ago. Similarly, the great pyramid in Egypt (attributed to Cheops) was, according to Blavatsky, built much earlier than the archaeologists suggest – in fact, 78,000 years ago. This new reckoning of human history would promote the understanding that our civilization was preceded by ancient civilizations which were not inferior to our own in terms of technological capabilities.

As mentioned above, in *Isis Unveiled* Blavatsky described a mysterious island, settled by fugitives from Atlantis. She returned to this topic in

The Secret Doctrine, and described the life of the inhabitants in great detail. She claimed that every Hindu Brahmin or Yogi knew that the ancient temples in his country stood above the subterranean labyrinth which spread in all directions, and was connected to that island.

The giant statues on the Easter Islands provided further visual evidence for the existence of ancient human civilizations and races. These statues depicted the fourth human race, the one directly preceding our own, whose members had fought against the Atlantean magicians.

The historical scheme of *The Secret Doctrine* is projected into the future: a new human race, the sixth in the series, will according to Blavatsky appear simultaneously with the rise of a new, sixth continent, to which all the lucky survivors of an upcoming catastrophe will escape. The emergence of the new race, with its diverse nations, will parallel the slow demise of our race over the next several thousand years (Blavatsky 1888, vol. I: 6–8 & vol. II: 66–69, 221–224, 432, 445–446).

In the final part of *The Secret Doctrine* Blavatsky referred to Darwin's theory of evolution, and declared it to be baseless:

The Darwinian anthropology is the incubus of the ethnologist, a sturdy child of modern materialism, which has grown up and acquired increasing vigour, as the ineptitude of the theological legend of Man's "creation" became more and more apparent. It has thriven on account of the strange delusion that... all hypotheses and theories with respect to the rise of man can be reduced to two (the Evolutionist and the biblical exoteric account). (Blavatsky 1888, vol. II: 689)

She maintained that the similarity between man and gorilla did not indicate a common origin, but an ancient merger between astral beings and ape-like mammals. In a related connection she argued that the human races had mixed with the earlier races in history, which accounted for the mental superiority of the Aryan race. The ancient Aryans mated with the last survivors from Atlantis, and inherited some of their evolved spiritual abilities. In other words, the Aryan race was the direct heir of the Atlantean civilization (Blavatsky 1888, vol. II: 688–689, 743).

Before concluding this short survey of the *Secret Doctrine*, it is important to note that the book was full of notes, remarks, and theories, which a modern reader would most certainly define as racist, particularly when regarding Blavatsky's discussion of the native peoples of Hawaii, Australia, or Tasmania, who were arrogantly described as inferior to the white Europeans. Her commentary on the seventh stanza of the *Book of Dzyan* reads as follows: "Here the *inferior* races, of which there are still some analogues left – as the Australians (now fast dying out) and some

African and Oceanic tribes – are meant. ‘They were not ready’ signifies that the *karmic* development of these monads had not yet fitted them to occupy the form of men destined for incarnation in higher intellectual races” (Blavatsky 1888, vol. II: 162). Another example is her explanation to the sudden “attack of sterility” in a Tasmanian tribe: “Crossing, as it is called, of Europeans with Tasmanian women – *i.e.*, the representatives of a race, whose progenitors were a ‘soulless’ and mindless monster and a real human, though still a mindless man – brought on sterility” (Blavatsky 1888, vol. II: 196). Another example of Blavatsky’s explanation of the extinction of non-European, colonized populations, reads as follows: “Redskins, Eskimos, Papuans, Australians, Polynesians, etc. – all are dying out. Those who realize that every Root Race runs through a gamut of seven sub-races with seven branchlets, etc., will understand the ‘why’. The tide-wave of incarnating Egos has rolled past them to harvest experience in more developed and less senile stocks” (Blavatsky 1888: vol. II, 780).

Besant’s Contribution to the Theosophical Racial Doctrine

Following Blavatsky’s death in 1891, Annie Besant succeeded the founder as the leader of the Esoteric Section of the Theosophical Society. In 1907, after co-founder Olcott’s death, Besant was elected president of the international Society. In the next decade the Theosophical message grew increasingly nationalistic, as the Theosophical Society became a decisive factor in the modern Indian national awakening. Having concluded her role in India’s national leadership, in the 1920s Besant concentrated on the promotion of the cult of the World Teacher, the Hindu Jiddu Krishnamurti (1895–1986). What follows is an analysis of selected compositions by Besant, with an emphasis on the World Teacher concept, which connects directly to the main theme of this chapter – the evolution of human races.

Besant’s first important book, *Esoteric Christianity*, was published in London in 1901. It contained the principal elements of her credo. The most noteworthy were her interpretations of the Christian religion, and a Blavatsky-like mixture of scientific influences based on the current scholarship of comparative religion and anthropology.

Esoteric Christianity surveyed the history of occult lore, and drew on contemporary studies of comparative mythology, which claimed that religious teachers in ancient times had risen above their cohorts and taught Truth, which over the centuries deteriorated into mythology. According to Besant, the sources of the occult were to be found in Central

Asia, where the Grand Lodge of the Theosophical Masters was located. This lodge – whose location fit the orientalist thesis of the origin of the ancient Aryan race – was responsible for the propagation of occult lore in various countries, including ancient Egypt and the land of Israel. Throughout history, the Masters who are members of the spiritual hierarchy which directs human evolution (The Great Brotherhood) were responsible for sending a World Teacher to guide each and every new civilization, or sub-race, from the moment of its inception. Such was the case in the first days of Christianity, when a World Teacher was sent to Judea, and materialized in Jesus' physical body in his last three years (Besant 1901: vii–x, 15–19, 33–35, 112–119, 130–183).

These originally Blavatskian ideas – the birth of a new human race and the appearance of a new World Teacher to guide it – developed significantly in Besant's writings. In 1912 she declared that the current World Teacher, who arose to guide the new (Teutonic) Aryan sub-race, was the successor of Buddha and Jesus.¹⁰ She also asserted that there were signs of a new continent rising in the Pacific Ocean. Every time a new continent rose, she stated, there were indications of the birth of a new Root Race destined to inhabit it. However, our fifth Root Race had so far comprised only five sub-races, though six are needed before a new Root Race can arise. The solution to this problem, Besant suggested, lay in America, where scientists report the rise of a new man, unlike his predecessors in physical measurements and facial features. She stated that English people who visit their American "cousins" every few years are amazed by the spreading of this new sub-race, which looks intellectual and strong-willed, as indicated by the set of his jaws, different and distinct from his forerunners (Besant 1912: 97, 117–123).

Besant listed other reasons for expecting the imminent appearance of a World Teacher. These included her observation that more and more people with supernatural abilities were appearing in the world, again, chiefly in the United States. This, she said, was due to changes in the global climate and the electric charge in the atmosphere, which affects the human nervous system and enhances its capacity to foresee the future. Such changes characterized the inter-era periods, which heralded the birth of a new human race (Besant 1904: 73).

¹⁰ See Besant's 1912 book, *Initiation: the Perfecting of Man*, which followed the foundation of the "Order of the Star in the East" in London, (8 May 1911, White Lotus Day, the anniversary of Blavatsky's death). The first reference to the identity of Jiddu Krishnamurti as World Teacher predates this mention by three years.

The World Teachers who came to planet Earth in the past to guide the Aryan sub-races were known by various names, though in most cases they were the same entity. The first World Teacher of the first Aryan sub-race was Buddha, who in his earlier life as a man belonged to the Aryan Root Race. The World Teacher of the second Aryan sub-race – which had spread westwards from East Asia and led to the Aryanization of the Arab countries, North Africa, and the Mediterranean littoral – was known as Hermes (the Egyptian Hermes Trismegistus). The World Teacher of the third Aryan sub-race, who initiated the Aryanization of Persia, was known as Zoroaster. The World Teacher of the fourth sub-race, the Celtic, was Orpheus, and the World Teacher of the fifth sub-race was known as Jesus (Besant 1927 [1910]: 5–27).

In 1913 Besant published a collection of lectures, in which she discussed the divine plan for the development of human races. She maintained that this plan involves differences among the descendants of the Aryan sub-races which reflect the progress of human evolution: The characteristics of the French, descendants of the fourth Aryan sub-race – the Celts – are marked by their admiration for aesthetics *per se*. In this they differ from the offspring of the fifth sub-race, the Teutonic, whose German and English descendants exhibit a greater tendency toward science than art. The sixth sub-race, which was just beginning to emerge and take shape, was characterized by a strong development of the intuition.

In these lectures Besant connected the figure of the Western World Teacher, or Christos, with that of the oriental Buddhist *bodhisattva*. She argued that the history of the five Aryan sub-races corresponded to the history of the five Aryan religions – Hinduism, the ancient Egyptian belief, Zoroastrianism, the Greek school of philosophy, and Christianity. The World Teacher, who came in the past to guide the first Aryan sub-race, concluded his task after having materialized as Gautama the Buddha. The World Teacher now expected by the Theosophists, who was once incarnated as Jesus, had earlier been incarnated as Krishna (Besant 1913: 6–12, 37–51; Santucci 2009; Lubelsky 2009).

The idea that the new World Teacher, the young Hindu Krishnamurti, was the incarnation of both Jesus and Krishna demonstrates the change in the Theosophical Society leadership's attitude towards the local population of India. As I mentioned before, the attitude shown by Olcott, Besant's preceding president of the society, was more arrogant. During Besant's long presidency, her attitude became milder and humbler in many ways. Naturally, this had to do with her political aspirations in the local Indian arena, which were finally fulfilled in 1917, when she was

elected president of the Indian National Congress (Kumar 1981: 117–118). However, promoting this original idea, side by side with the growing admiration to Krishnamurti, was not an easy thing to digest for a large part of the European Theosophical Society membership. The main objections to Besant's affection for the Orient were raised by Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925), who in 1912 resigned from his post as secretary of the German Section, and founded the Anthroposophical Society in 1913.¹¹

Leadbeater's Contribution to Theosophical Race Discourse

Charles Webster Leadbeater, a former clergyman, quickly rose through the ranks of the Theosophical Society after joining in 1884. Leadbeater accompanied Blavatsky on her journey back to Adyar that year, and stayed on in India after his patroness returned to Europe in 1885. After her death, in 1891, Leadbeater sought to continue her research on paranormal subjects. Indeed most of his writings dealt with subjects similar to those that concerned Blavatsky, with Leadbeater claiming to employ scientific tools in examining the occult. Leadbeater became Annie Besant's confidant and close friend and accompanied her for many years as second in the Society's hierarchy (although not formally), until 1914, when he decided to move to Australia. The two friends would spend many hours together, during which they experienced supernatural visions. These visions were the raw material for books on a wide range of issues, from the qualities of Man's non-physical bodies, to reconstructions of the "true" history of the world. The following is an analysis of one of their compositions, *Man: Whence, How and Whither*, published in 1913.

The book purported to survey, in the spirit of Blavatsky, the "true" history of the world and of humanity, and offered a vision of the future of the human species. This vision was especially intriguing, because, as we shall see, it revealed the authors' racial-political philosophy. The book was based on research (as the authors saw it), carried out at Adyar during the summer of 1910 – Leadbeater and Besant would withdraw to their chambers and experience visions, while two of their confidants, Don Fabrizio Ruspoli and Mrs. Van Hook, recorded their words. The authors predicted that their combined efforts would be viewed in the future as "pioneering work" (Besant & Leadbeater 1913: 1–3).

¹¹ See the chapter on Anthroposophy by Katharina Brandt and Olav Hammer in the present volume.

The first five chapters of the book discuss planetary chains, such as the chain of the Moon (originally a separate planet), which was an evolutionary precursor of the chain of the planet Earth. The chain of our sister-planets was also different in the past, when the surface of Mars was inhabited by developed life forms and resembled Earth. At a certain point, determined by the plan of creation, various entities began to arrive on earth, coming mainly from other planets linked to our chain, namely Mercury and the Moon, the latter too having once been inhabited and about to end its evolutionary role. About 200,000 BC the continent of Atlantis experienced a catastrophe, caused by the practice of black magic. Most of the continent disappeared under the waters, leaving only two large islands. In 75,025 BC another catastrophe plunged these islands under the Atlantic Ocean. During the time the Atlantean civilization flourished, its offspring built daughter-civilizations in Egypt, India, Mesopotamia, and South America. In that early era those civilizations reached technological and spiritual achievements that the present members of the Aryan race are still far from accomplishing.

The plans that eventually led to the creation of the Aryan race began to take shape a million years ago, when the Lord of the Moon (named Manu in the ancient Hindu texts) decided to create his own civilization on Earth. The fulfillment of his plan involved the creation of several human races, and reached its final stage – the breeding of the Aryan race – not long before the second catastrophe that befell Atlantis, when the Lord of the Moon initiated the enhancement of a group of human beings, who were five-sixths of Aryan origin and one sixth Atlantean. 60,000 years ago these people settled in what is today known as the Gobi Desert, and after an extended period of time, during which they were further physically and spiritually improved, they began to settle the globe. The Aryan migration began about 40,000 BC, when the first and second Aryan sub-races conquered China and Japan, Formosa and Siam, Sumatra and Java, as well as Australia, which was previously inhabited by Lemurians of the third Root Race.

Just like Blavatsky's major writings, *Man: Whence, How and Whither* also discussed the Jews. According to the authors, the Jews were originally a fanatical sect in Southern Arabia, who regarded themselves as pure by comparison with the corrupt culture surrounding them. At a certain stage they were induced by a prophet to leave their homeland and cross the Red Sea to the coast of Somalia. From there, after a few hundred years, they migrated to Egypt, where the Pharaohs welcomed them and even granted them privileges. But after a long stay in Egypt they fell out of favor with

a Pharaoh who wanted to cancel those privileges, and consequently moved to Palestine, where they became known as Jews. They still adhere to the theory that they are the chosen people, without knowing the origin of this concept.

The people of the third Aryan sub-race, the Iranians, set out on their campaign of conquest in 30,000 BC. The fourth Aryan sub-race, the Celts, was sent by the Lord of the Moon in 20,000 BC to the Caucasus, from where they spread into Europe. Among their descendants were the ancient Greeks, who finally defeated the last Atlantean empire (an idea found in Plato, but perhaps also an argument intended to show that Aryan superiority has ancient roots).

The fifth Aryan sub-race, the Teutonic people, was bred in parallel with the fourth, and enhanced with various racial elements. This improvement produced tall, strong, good-looking people, fair-haired and blue-eyed. Their migration took place in three settlement stages. The descendants of the first wave were today's Russians, Croats, Serbs, and Bosnians; those of the second wave – the Latvians, Lithuanians, and Prussians; those of the third – Germans, Scandinavians, Goths, and Englishmen. These conquered central, western, and southern Europe, and later (in our time) took possession of Australia, North America, and India. With this "historical" description, Leadbeater and Besant explained the supposedly natural and pre-planned developments, which had led up to the political world order at the start of the twentieth century. They stated that the fifth sub-race had not yet accomplished its historical role; in the course of the next few centuries this sub-race was destined to take over the entire world, aided by a union between Germany, England, and the United States. In the resulting empire there would be a distinguished place for India, which was already beginning to rise again and occupy its proper position. The reason for India's venerated status was its unique historical role as the birthplace of Aryan wisdom. India first rose to such status in 18,875 BC, when it began to be Aryanized. Besant and Leadbeater added further details to Blavatsky's imaginary history, in claiming that India was responsible for founding the Egyptian civilization when a mission that was sent from India in 13,500 BC started a dynasty of Aryan Egyptian kings, who ruled for thousands of years and made Egypt into a world center of knowledge.

Man: Whence, How and Whither concludes with an interesting vision of the world in the distant future. Leadbeater and Besant proclaimed that the world would be ruled by a federation of nations centered in Europe, where representatives of all the nations would serve in turn. The future condition of the world would be positive, free from fear or wars.

The people of the world would speak a new international language, a kind of shorthand version of English. Although all the world's nations would continue to exist, the world would in fact be ruled over by the British Empire. The world's spiritual centre would naturally be in Adyar, India, the locale of the Society's headquarters. Thus, the future world will be dominated by Aryan political and spiritual structures and its inhabitants would live under Aryan hegemony.¹²

Conclusions

Racist discourse could in pre-1930s Europe be found almost anywhere, from popular to scientific and pseudoscientific literature. Theosophical doctrine is part and parcel of that cultural milieu. It deals extensively with racial issues, and would on the definition presented at the outset of this chapter be seen as an example of racist discourse. However, merely assuming that racist discourse in any direct way implies racist policy would be simplistic. The questions that need to be asked, therefore, are: First, did Theosophical racist discourse have a practical goal? Secondly, did it differ in any significant way from the large body of similar literature of the turn of the 20th century? And thirdly, did it actually create a visible impact on other, later racist ideologies, such as that of the Nazi?

The answers to the first and second questions are most probably negative. The racial doctrine of the Theosophists derived largely from the attempt to create an alternative history for their followers. It did so by reflecting common scientific and cultural motifs of the time. Heavily influenced by academic orientalist research, Blavatsky wholeheartedly embraced the Aryan Myth, which in many ways continued to dominate the European academia at least until the 1940s. The distinction between "Aryan" and "Semitic" cultures found its place in Theosophical writings because of Blavatsky's strongly anti-clerical stance. As the historical origin of mainstream Christianity, the Jewish religious tradition became suspect by association. The arrogant and racist remarks regarding the indigenous populations of Australia, Tasmania, and other locales reflected nineteenth-century European racism, and entered into Blavatskian mythology as examples of "survivals" of purportedly more primitive populations.

¹² This summary of the main elements of Theosophical mythic history is culled from Besant & Leadbeater 1913: 1–3, 7–8, 114–119, 133–140, 237–273, 275–276f, 287–289, 293–322, 328–330, 454–466.

These remarks by themselves go a long way toward answering the third question. Theosophy appears to have been the conduit of racist discourses prevalent in nineteenth century society, and, if at all, only indirectly a source for the more virulent racial ideologies of the first half of the twentieth. Even the decidedly racist off-shoots of the Theosophical current admirably charted in such works as Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke's *The Occult Roots of Nazism* seem to have had a much smaller impact on the ideologues of the Third Reich than the title of that book would seem to imply.

References

- Arvidsson, Stefan. 2006. *Aryan Idols: Indo-European Mythology as Ideology and Science*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bacon, Francis. 1974 [1627]. "New Atlantis." In *The Advancement of Learning and New Atlantis*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Besant, Annie. 1901. *Esoteric Christianity, or the Lesser Mysteries*. London: Theosophical Publishing Society.
- . 1904. *Theosophy and the New Psychology*. London: Theosophical Publishing Society.
- . 1912. *Initiation: The Perfecting of Man*. London: Theosophical Publishing Society.
- . 1913. *Superhuman Men in History and in Religion*. London: Theosophical Publishing Society.
- . 1927 [1910]. *The Coming Christ*. Chicago: Theosophical Publishing House.
- Besant, Annie & C.W. Leadbeater. 1913. *Man: Whence, How and Whither*. Adyar: Theosophical Publishing House.
- Blavatsky, H.P. 1877. *Isis Unveiled: A Master-Key to the Mysteries of Ancient and Modern Science and Theology*, 2 vols. Facsimile ed. Pasadena: Theosophical University Press.
- . 1888. *The Secret Doctrine: The Synthesis of Science, Religion, and Philosophy*, 2 vols. Facsimile ed. Pasadena: Theosophical University Press.
- . 1891. "My Books." *Lucifer* (May, 1891 issue).
- Bosch, Lourens P. van den. 2002. *Friedrich Max Müller: A Life Devoted to the Humanities*. Leiden: Brill.
- Cohn, Norman. 1967. *Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World-Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode.
- Donnelly, Ignatius. 1883. *Ragnarök: The Age of Fire and Gravel*. New York: D. Appleton and Company.
- . 1950 [1882]. *Atlantis: The Antediluvian World*. London: Sidgwick & Jackson.
- Eliade, Mircea. 1959. *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.
- Hanegraaff, Wouter J. 1996. *New Age Religion and Western Culture: Esotericism in the Mirror of Secular Thought*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Inden, Ronald. 1990. *Imagining India*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Jankowsky, Kurt. 1979. "F. Max Müller and the Development of Linguistic Science." *Historiographia Linguistica* 6, 339–359.
- Jantsch, Erich. 1980. *The Self-Organizing Universe: Scientific and Human Implications of the Emerging Paradigm of Evolution*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Jones, Sir William. 1788. "The Third Anniversary Discourse, On the Hindus." In *Asiatick Researches: or, Transactions of the Society, Instituted in Bengal, for Inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature, of Asia*, vol. 1. Calcutta: Manuel Cantopher, 415–431.

- Kumar, Raj. 1981. *Annie Besant's Rise to Power in Indian Politics, 1914–1917*. New Delhi: Concept.
- Lubelsky, Isaac. 2009. "The Star in the East: the Theosophical Perception of the Mystical Orient." In Andreas Önnersfors & Dorothe Sommer (eds.) *Sheffield Lectures on the History of Freemasonry and Fraternalism*, vol. 1: Freemasonry and Fraternalism in the Middle East. Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 85–108.
- . 2012. *Celestial India: Madame Blavatsky and the Birth of Indian Nationalism*. Sheffield and Oakville: Equinox.
- Masuzawa, Tomoko. 1993. *In Search of Dreamtime: The Quest for the Origin of Religion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Memmi, Albert. 2000. *Racism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Müller, F. Max. 1893a [1856]. "Comparative Mythology." In *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. 3. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1–141.
- . 1893b. *Theosophy or Psychological Religion*. London: Longmans Green, and Co.
- . 1999 [1883]. *India: What Can It Teach Us?* Escondido, Ca.: The Book Tree.
- Olcott, Henry S. 1915 [1880]. *A Buddhist Catechism, According to the Canon of the Southern Church*. Adyar: Theosophical Publishing House.
- Prigogine, Ilya & Isabelle Stengers. 1984. *Order out of Chaos: Man's New Dialogue with Nature*. Toronto: Bantam.
- Prothero, Stephen. 1996. *The White Buddhist: The Asian Odyssey of Henry Steel Olcott*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Santucci, James. 2008. "The Notion of Race in Theosophy," *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions*, Vol. 11/3, 37–63.
- . 2009. "The Conception of Christ in the Theosophical Tradition." In Olav Hammer (ed.) *Alternative Christs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 190–211.
- Scholem, Gershom Gerhard. 1941. *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*. New York: Schocken.
- Sharpe, Eric J. 1985. *The Universal Gita: Western Images of the Bhagavad Gita, a Bicentenary Survey*. La Salle: Open Court.
- . 1987 [1975]. *Comparative Religion: A History*. La Salle: Open Court.
- Trautmann, Thomas. 1997. *Aryans and British India*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Trompf, G.W. 1998. "Macrohistory in Blavatsky, Steiner and Guénon." In Antoine Faivre & Wouter J. Hanegraaff (eds.) *Western Esotericism and the Science of Religion*. Leuven: Peeters, 269–296.
- Wach, Joachim. 1958. *Comparative Study of Religion*. New York: Columbia University Press.