Rider Haggard and the Imperial Occult

Hermetic Discourse and Romantic Contiguity

Submitted by Simon Magus, to the University of Exeter as a thesis for the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy* in Western Esotericism, June 2018.

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Atque in perpetuum, frater, ave atque vale

And he said, Thou canst not see my face: for there shall no man see me, and live.

Exodus 33.20.

Abstract

This thesis critically examines the literary oeuvre of H. Rider Haggard, placing it in the nineteenth-century occult milieu in which he wrote, and from which he took ideas which remained with him into the first decades of the twentieth century. Building upon earlier trajectories of Haggard studies, notably postcolonialist, psychoanalytic, and feminist platforms, it critiques and nuances them whilst taking a novel approach in elucidating the religio-philosophical and esoteric ideas which are prolific in his work. To do this I employ the over-arching concept of what I have termed the 'Imperial Occult', by which British occultism is understood to be an epiphenomenon of the counter-invasion and reverse-missionising of religious ideas on the colonial periphery, namely those from Egypt, India, Tibet and South Africa. Whilst it is a commonplace assumption that occultism is one of many countercultural movements, I argue that in Britain it represented an attempt to revitalise and shore-up metropolitan religiosity in the face of continental biblical historicism, Darwinism, and scientific naturalism in general. More especially, this was in response to the stripping away of supernaturalism by Broad Church Liberal reform, notably in the wake of the influential Broad Church *Essays and Reviews.* In this context I examine the syncretic processual mechanisms and discursive religious construction which resulted from an attempt to accommodate religions from the colonies to the Empire as Christendom. Therefore, whereas previously much scholarly work has focussed on Haggard as a writer to be understood in the context of the centripetal force of imperial patriarchy, this study focuses on the impact of the colonial periphery upon Victorian and Edwardian culture and society.

In the context of theological controversy, I argue that Haggard took a more High Church, Anglo-Catholic stance, even though his Anglicanism was far from orthodox, and that his work attempted to convey ideas of the occult or esoteric in this context. Analysing these ideas, the thesis is divided into three sections representing three broad intellectual currents of the Imperial Occult: Christian Egyptosophy, Romanticism, and Theosophy. Within these currents I examine how Haggard's literature presents strategic narratives of religious legitimisation, which frequently seek to endorse biblical historicity. These narratives are considered both in the teeth of Anglican controversy and in the context of Empire, and I analyse how Haggard engaged with the doctrinal controversies of the period. In addition, I examine the intertextuality of Haggard's 'Romance of

Anthropology', the purpose of his posited alternative fictional biblical stories, and the importance of the imagination as a spiritual noetic organ of transcendental apperception. In this context I discuss the 'metaphysical novel' considered as a source of religious truth and occult lore, and as ancillary to scripture, particularly the letters of St Paul. Throughout the thesis, Haggard's engagement with this 'occult lore' is apparent as a pervasive Hermetic discourse of initiatic religion, esoteric/exoteric dichotomy and a secret wisdom tradition. This takes a number of manifest forms including Egyptological, Romantic and Theosophical tropes. As a result the thesis will engage with a rich panoply of esoteric ideas constellated in a Victorian *religio mentis* which was born of the British Imperium.

Contents

Abstract………………………………….......................5

Introduction ………………………………….................9

I. The Veil of Isis: Christian Egyptosophy and Victorian Egyptology…………………….............66

1. ATENISM……………………………………………….. 68

2. ORIGINAL MONOTHEISM: EXOTERIC AND ESOTERIC RELIGION……………………………………..77

3. OSIRIDE CHRISTOLOGY AND ANCIENT EGYPTIAN PSYCHOLOGY………………………………………..83

4. UROBORUS AND URAEUS: CYCLICAL AND LINEAR TIME…………………………………………………...98

5. THE MNEMOHISTORY AND METAGEOGRAPHY OF EGYPT…………………………………………………..108

6. AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE IMAGINAL………….114

II. Isis Veiled: Romanticism and the New Romance……………………………………………...120

7. THE ONE GOD AND HIDDEN NATURE …………....127

8. THE INITIATES OF SAIS…………………………...136

9. THE AYESHA MYTHOS AND THE ALCHEMICAL *SHE*…………………………………………………...143

10. ROMANCE AND THE PROVIDENTIAL AESTHETIC...
……………………………………………………………...176

11. THE SUBLIME AND THE NUMINOUS……………..184

12. THE NOETIC ORGAN OF IMAGINATION……….....194

III. Isis Unveiled: Theosophy: From *Theosophia Antiqua* to Religious Pluralism………........207

13. GRAVEN IMAGES: VICTORIAN CONSTRUCTIONS OF BUDDHISM……………………………………….209

14. EGYPTIAN HERMES IN ENGLAND………………..229

15. OCCULT SCIENCE…………………………………...236

16. REINCARNATION AND RELATED CONCEPTS….268

17. THE CARTOGRAPHY OF THE LOST WORLD……280

18. THE TRUTH OF THE METAPHYSICAL NOVEL….308

CONCLUSIONS………………………………………...319

Appendices……………………………………..332

Bibliography…………………………………….343

INTRODUCTION

I. Prolegomena

A New Trajectory

Sir Henry Rider Haggard (1856-1925) was one of the most prolific and popular author-novelists of his age, although he is now remembered principally as the author of *She* and *King Solomon's Mines*. History has not been kind to Haggard: frequently scholars of literature have decried his prolixity, solipsism, and lack of literary craft. Haggard scholarship has tended to follow two main trajectories: the postcolonialist seeing Haggard as an *éminence grise* and propagandist of Empire, and the gender studies platform from which Haggard is viewed as a conservative opponent of the emergent New Woman. Without downplaying the significance of questions of empire or gender to the elucidation of Haggard's fiction, this study argues that fresh light can be shone upon his considerable literary output by situating it in relation to the culturally influential and socially pervasive development of late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century occultism.

In a relatively recent survey of Haggard scholarship since 1980, Neil Hultgren comments that the boom in postcolonial criticism which initially benefited Haggard studies in the 1990s 'eventually placed Haggard scholars of the early 2000s in a difficult position, one in which discussions of imperialism seemed to eclipse other, fresher lines of inquiry.'[1] However, as he acknowledges, a 'growing number of critical editions as well as a series of examinations of Haggard in relation to topics ranging from mummies to the occult have given the field new life.'[2] In the following account I shall follow this newer avenue of inquiry and consider the influence on Haggard of the nineteenth-century occult milieu in which he wrote, and which continued to influence him throughout his writing career well into the first decades of the twentieth century. I shall argue that as an alternative to the picaresque escapism proposed by Patrick Brantlinger,

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[1] Neil Hultgren, 'Haggard Criticism since 1980: Imperial Romance Before and After the Postcolonial Turn', *Literature Compass*, 8/9, (2011), 645-59 (p.647).

[2] Ibid., p.647.

who sees his tales as 'Imperial Gothic'[3] adventure, Haggard's stories present religious dialogues, an esoteric quest for a 'hidden God' or 'hidden Nature', and are demonstrative of what I shall term an 'Imperial Occult.' As Gauri Viswanathan argues:

> In reimagining colonial relationships, occultism performs a function similar to what Robert Young describes as culture's role in imperializing Britain, which allowed for a cross-fertilization of language, history, and literature without the racial "degeneration" caused by sexual contact.[4]

In other words, whilst interracial marriage remained forbidden, the amalgamation of cross-cultural religious ideas and philosophical structures was at least considered admissible in the context of empire. The Imperial Occult is to be considered more a historiographical category than the descriptor of a literary genre. It signals a critical trajectory via the history of ideas exploring the late nineteenth-century fascination with occultism. It credits the imperial project with responsibility for the syncretism and hybridity of religious thought in general and esoteric ideas in particular during the period; it describes the appropriation of alien religious structures contingent upon British forays into Egypt, Southern Africa, India and Tibet – all of which impacted on the literature of Rider Haggard. My concept of an 'Imperial Occult' is an attempt to reappraise the reception and distribution of religious and esoteric ideas, considering more specifically the influence of those flowing in a centripetal direction – what has been termed by J. Jeffrey Franklin a 'counter-invasion'- and how they influenced the metropolitan centre, rather than the converse.[5] It is not primarily a discourse analysis of the accommodation of the religious ideas originating in the dominions to the imperial metropole in terms of a hegemonic struggle or in Gayatri Spivak's term, 'epistemic violence',[6] but rather a discussion of how the employment of peripheral 'exotic' ideas was used to rejuvenate the credos of a national faith-system faltering under continental

[3] See Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), p.227.

[4] Gauri Viswanathan, 'The Ordinary Business of Occultism', *Critical Inquiry*, 1, 27 (2000), 1-20 (p. 2). See Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture, and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 95.

[5] See J. Jeffrey Franklin, *The Lotus and the Lion*: *Buddhism and the British Empire* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008), p.7. See also Franklin, J. Jeffrey, 'The Counter-Invasion of Britain by Buddhism in Marie Corelli's *A Romance of Two Worlds* and H. Rider Haggard's *She*', *Victorian Literature and Culture* (2003), 19-42.

[6] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education Ltd., 1988), pp.271-313.

biblical historicism, internal Anglican division, and the scrutiny of scientific naturalism and Darwinian evolutionary theory. However, it does involve an analysis of the partial revision and reorientation of such alien religious ideas to make them at the very least – if not completely compatible, then not intolerable to late Victorian religious and cultural mores.

In this context, I shall argue that Haggard's apparent glorification of the imperialist project is, as Tania Zulli remarks, 'a glorification that appears more contradictory and complicated to contemporary critics'.[7] As she continues, Haggard 'leaves space for the introduction of multiracial encounters between white colonizers and native people, which sounds as a caveat to the Victorian socio-political credo of British unquestioned superiority'.[8] Previously, feminist and political lines of enquiry have shared the 'common premise that Haggard is an unreflecting, almost primitive writer whose work acts a conduit for contemporary fears and obsessions'.[9] This account endeavours to demonstrate not only the complexity of Haggard's position with regard to religious and socio-political concerns, but also that there are other equally important aspects of Haggard's fiction, namely those resulting from the influence of ideas passed back and forth between a destabilised Anglican orthodoxy, an occult milieu and the 'New Romanticism', all in the context of Empire. As Jude V. Nixon has it, 'Religion and religious discourse contributed meaningfully to the formation and definition of British national identity in the nineteenth century. "The center of Victorian discourse, in which all questions were implicated and to which all road[s] led, was religion."'[10] I shall argue that there are important and largely unaddressed themes in Haggard's fiction which are religio-mystical - alongside those of Imperial propaganda or the much-vaunted opposition to female emancipation. Inevitably, the backdrop of Empire is crucial, but this account facilitates a shift in the focus of Haggard criticism.

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[7] Tania Zulli, Introduction to '*She*: Explorations into a Romance', in *Studi Di Anglistica*, 20, (2009) 7-14 (p.10).

[8] Ibid., p.10.

[9] John D. Coates, 'The "Spiritual Quest in Rider Haggard's *She* and *Ayesha*', *Cahiers Victoriens et Édouardiens*, 57 (2003), 33-54 (p.34).

[10] Jude V. Nixon, ed., 'Framing Victorian Religious Discourse: An Introduction', in *Victorian Religious Discourse: New Directions in Criticism* (New York, NY Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp.1-24 (p.1). Nixon cites Dorothy Mermin, *Godiva's Ride: Women of Letters in England, 1830–1880* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993), p.107.

Haggard was exposed early in his adulthood to the *fin-de-siècle* occult milieu, attending spiritualist circles and séances, and his fiction at once reflected and enhanced contemporary interest in the globally oriented Theosophical and esoteric pursuits, practices and debates that characterised Victorian and Edwardian society. In the following account, Haggard's 'Imperial Occult' is considered under three broad rubrics: Christian Egyptosophy, Romanticism, and Theosophy. 'Egyptosophy' is a term coined by Erik Hornung and is used here as a more neutral signifier than the negatively inflected 'Egyptomania'. 'Already in antiquity', Hornung argues,

> there was an opinion that the land of the Nile was the fount of all wisdom and the stronghold of hermetic lore. Thus began a tradition that is still alive today, and which I venture to designate "Egyptosophy." It was only after the decipherment of the hieroglyphs by Jean-François Champollion in 1822 that its younger sister, the discipline of Egyptology, made its appearance.[11]

As I argue in the following account, the boundaries between these aspects of the study of Egypt, especially the history of that study, are in any case blurred. Where, for example, does biblical Egyptology fit in this schema, especially when looking for archaeological witness to the miraculous? In an attempt to answer this question, I have further qualified Hornung's term as 'Christian Egyptosophy', and I concur with Christina Riggs when she says that 'the Manichean duality between "esoteric" and "academic" Egyptology' that Hornung has proposed 'is misleading'.[12] There are significant difficulties to be negotiated in delineating Egyptology and Egyptosophical speculation, including the Egypt which found its way into Haggard's fiction.

Hornung touched on the idea of Egypt as the source of Hermetic lore or Hidden Wisdom. The ideas of 'Hidden Nature' and the theological Other are central to the thesis and are carried throughout by the dominant metaphor of 'The Veil of Isis.' The occultist perspective is one of a veil drawn over the workings of magic which as 'occult science' is a manifestation of hidden natural law. The Romantic perspective suggests that this knowledge of the transcendent is ultimately unattainable, that Isis remains veiled and her unveiling results in dissolution and death. For the Theosophists however, this knowledge had been revealed in their literary

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[11] Erik Hornung, *The Secret Lore of Ancient Egypt*: *Its Impact on the West* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), p.1.

[12] Christina Riggs, 'Discussing Knowledge in the Making' in *Histories of Egyptology: Interdisciplinary Measures*, Routledge Studies in Egyptology, 2 (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015), 129-38 (p.136).

corpus; hence Helena Blavatsky, the founder of the Theosophical Society, entitled her first major work *Isis Unveiled.* For Gauri Viswanathan, *Isis Unveiled* 'is a masterful exposition of the intertwined histories of Christianity and occultism, conventionally seen as opposites but having a more intimate relationship than acknowledged by the Church.'[13] This account explores this intimate relationship through Haggard's occultist perspective, in both his correspondence and fiction, and in particular demonstrates how his romances reflect the late nineteenth-century combination of the sacred imagination and the esoteric. All of these elements will be examined in considerably more detail as we proceed. However, before we can discuss Haggard's occultism, we need to briefly introduce his overt theological ideas, which are articulated with what might be considered surprisingly technical specificity on his part.

Haggard's Theological Discourse

We can state at the outset that Haggard was profoundly involved with many of the theological issues and controversies of the day, and here I provide a few examples of this from his work. By introducing this analysis early on, it will serve to foreground Haggard's awareness of theological debate at the Anglican metropolitan centre, which he strove to resolve by adducing alien religious structures from the colonial periphery, and will allow me to subsequently more readily parse the religious syntax of his writing.

Haggard was obviously familiar with the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican Faith;[14] he was also aware of the prominence of German biblical historicism.[15] The novel *Love Eternal*, written in 1918 but alluding to his youth in the 1870s, betrays his engagement with the controversies within the Anglican Communion. In this story, the Rev. Knight - father of

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[13] Gauri Viswanathan, Introduction to 'Helena Petrovna Blavatsky: Isis Unveiled – A Master-Key to the Mysteries of Ancient and Modern Science and Technology (United States, 1877)', in *Religious Dynamics under the Impact of Imperialism and Colonialism: A Sourcebook*, ed. by Björn Bentlage and others (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp.172-75 (p.173).

[14] See H. Rider Haggard, *Love Eternal* (London: Cassell and Company, Ltd., 1918), p.114. This work is discussed in some detail in Chapter 15. The Thirty-Nine Articles comprise the historically defining statements of doctrines and practices of the Church of England with respect and in response to the controversies of the Reformation in England. Their content was finalised under Elizabeth I in 1571. See E.C.S. Gibson, *The Thirty-Nine Articles of The Church of England*, 5th edn (London: Methuen & Co., 1906). For a contemporary commentary, see J. I. Packer and R. T. Beckwith, *The Thirty-Nine Articles: Their Place and Use Today*, Latimer Studies 20-21, 2nd edn (London: The Latimer Trust, 2006).

[15] See for example H. Rider Haggard, 'The Real "King Solomon's Mines"', *Cassells' Magazine*, July 1907, p.144.

Godfrey, one half of the titular 'love eternal' - is described as 'low-church, and narrow almost to the point of Calvinism'.[16] He had been planning a great work of scholarship on Church history, whose provisional title was '"Babylon Unveiled" (he would have liked to have substituted "The Scarlet Woman" for Babylon) and its apparent object an elaborate attack on the Roman Church, which in fact was but a cover for the real onslaught.'[17] The Rev. Knight, like Haggard himself, had certain sympathies with the Church of Rome in the matters of monastic orders and celibacy. However, 'The real targets of his animosity were his high-church brethren of the Church of England', who retained all the privileges of Anglicanism including marriage whilst not hesitating to adopt every error of Rome including making use of 'her secret power over the souls of men by the practice of Confession'.[18] He had planned a magnum opus which 'began in the times of the Early Fathers' to run to 10 volumes, but ultimately it 'came to a final stop somewhere about the time of Athanasius'.[19] In addition, we read that Isobel, Godfrey's soul mate, 'read the Divines, also much of the Higher Criticism, the lives of Saints, the Sacred Books themselves, and many other things'.[20]

Throughout this account we shall encounter Haggard's theological discourse, whether in his correspondence, his autobiography or in his fiction. A frequent style of presenting these arguments in his fiction is the use of the Socratic dialogue; typically, and importantly, this is in the form of a discussion between a man and an educated New Woman, sometimes lovers or those at least emotionally involved. Whilst Haggard's mystical romances provide fertile ground for discussions of metaphysical ontologies, even his more mundane 'drawing room' fiction can provide evidence of ethico-moral and theological debate. The novel *Beatrice* (1890) is one such source.[21] As an introduction this is a useful place to begin - in tandem with a few observations from the autobiographical *A Note on Religion* (1912). In a chapter of *Beatrice* called 'Geoffrey Lectures', the protagonist Beatrice Granger directs a conversation with Geoffrey Bingham away from one of socially alarming amorous entanglement into a discussion of her loss of

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[16] Haggard, *Love Eternal*, p.11.
[17] Ibid., p.18.
[18] Ibid., p.18.
[19] Ibid., p.18.
[20] Ibid., p.38.
[21] On Haggard's positive treatment of Beatrice Granger as the educated New Woman, see Richard Reeve, 'H. Rider Haggard and the New Woman: A Difference in the Genre in *Jess* and *Beatrice*', *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 2, 59 (2016), 153-74.

personal faith following the death of her brother. Geoffrey launches into a 'lecture' on Providence and evidence for the divine, and the dialogue engages in an exposition of a number of contemporary Anglican shibboleths.

The exchange begins on the subject of how Beatrice might earn a living. Geoffrey suggests the stage or literature (of which the former is, of course, out of the question for a Victorian lady). Beatrice reports that she lost her imagination when she lost her faith. Geoffrey has this to say on religion and the imagination – of which we shall have significantly more to say later:

> A mind without religious sentiment is like a star without atmosphere, brighter than other stars but not so soft to see. Religion, poetry, music, imagination, and even some of the more exalted forms of passion, flourish in the same soil, and are, I sometimes think, different manifestations of the same thing.[22]

Beatrice says she ceased to pray after her brother died, as though her prayers had been mocked. Geoffrey proceeds to argue via the early Christian Church stories:

> Have you not been amused, sometimes, to read about the early Christians? How the lead would not boil the martyr, or the lion would not eat him, or the rain from a blue sky put out the fire, and how the pagan king at once was converted and accepted a great many difficult doctrines without further delay. The Athanasian Creed was not necessarily true because the fire would not light or the sword would not cut, nor, excuse me, were all your old beliefs wrong because your prayer was unanswered.[23]

Here Geoffrey casts doubt on the evidence for faith from miracles. The doubting of the evidence for the Athanasian Creed brings up the trinitarian/unitarian dichotomy as the Creed deals with the consubstantiality of the Trinity, Christology and the question of what is *anathema* i.e. accursed or damnable. Those who do not hold to the creed are subject to eternal damnation and Hell fire - all issues of discussion during the period.[24]

Geoffrey continues that it is rash to expect that Providence will alter its eternal laws to suit the whims of passing individuals, thus querying the

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[22] H. Rider Haggard, *Beatrice: A Novel* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1890), p.117.
[23] Ibid., p.118.
[24] On the cessation of the congregational recital of the Creed and a criticism of its contents see A.P. Stanley, *The Athanasian Creed: With a Preface on the General Recommendations of the Ritual Commission* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1871).

value of petitionary prayer. He argues that prayers answered might lead to unforeseen sorrow. Beatrice responds that she understands his argument:

> I read the histories of the religions and compared them, and I read the works of those writers who have risen up to attack them. I found, or I thought that I found, the same springs of superstition in them all - superstitions arising from elementary natural causes, and handed on with variations from race to race, and time to time.[25]

This is the argument from scientific naturalism, with rational explanation and empirical evidence for the causation of natural phenomena rather than the supernatural. Beatrice continues:

> The continual spectacle of human misery which to my mind negatives the idea of a merciful and watching Power, at last it came to pass that the only altar left in my temple is an altar to the 'Unknown God.'[26]

The cadences, phrasing and prosody of the King James Version of the Bible were well known to the Victorian reader, to whom it would be obvious that Haggard is referring directly to the Acts of the Apostles and the discussion of the 'Unknown God', the *Ἄγνωστος Θεός*, by Paul of Tarsus when he addresses the Athenian elite on the Areopagus.[27] Here Paul asserts aspects of what would come to be termed *logos theology* in which he says that all along the Athenians with their altar to the 'Unknown God' have been worshipping the Christian deity without knowing it. Geoffrey says: 'I am no theologian, […] and I am not fond of discussion on such matters'[28] (by which we know for certain it is Haggard speaking). For Geoffrey, the argument from theodicy i.e. the presence of evil in the world, is insufficient for the absence of deity. If a man has any doubts as to the presence of a 'Superior Mercy', he should look to the 'starry heavens' and they will vanish. Beatrice responds:

> "No," said Beatrice," I fear not. Kant said so, but before that Molière had put the argument in the mouth of a fool. The starry heavens no more prove anything than does the running of the raindrops down the window-pane. It is not a question of size and quantity.'[29]

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[25] Haggard, *Beatrice*, p.118.
[26] Ibid., p.119.
[27] Acts 17.23.
[28] Haggard, *Beatrice*, p.119.
[29] Ibid., p.119. The allusion to Molière is too thin to come to a convincing conclusion about which 'fool' in Molière's writing Beatrice is referring to. However, it does point to Molière's four-handed *Jealousy Series* of plays as an influence on *Beatrice* as a novel.

Here Beatrice and Haggard are alluding to Immanuel Kant's famous quotation (and epitaph) from the conclusion to his *Critique of Practical Reason* (1788): 'Two things fill the mind with ever new and increasing wonder and reverence, the more often and more steadily one reflects on them: the starry heavens above me and the moral law within me.' The passage continues:

> I do not need to search for them and merely conjecture them as though they were veiled in obscurity or in the transcendent region beyond my horizon; I see them before me and connect them immediately with the consciousness of my existence.[30]

There are several intersecting perspectives here which are not concordant with Kant's original intended meaning. Kant, to clarify, is talking about the lack of necessity for the appeal of humanity to a search for an explanation of the world in terms of transcendent metaphysical realities which the Human cannot in any case know; Geoffrey is appealing to the awe-inspiring Sublime as evidence of deity. And most importantly for this discussion, Beatrice is dismissing evidential theology: the material evidence for the spiritual in general and the divine in particular. She continues with considerable puissance, referring directly to William Paley's 'arguments from design', an important point of contention in this era:

> "No; I am afraid," said Beatrice, "all this reasoning drawn from material things does not touch me. That is how the Pagans made their religions, and it is how Paley strives to prove his. They argued from the Out to the In, from the material to the spiritual. It cannot be; if Christianity is true it must stand upon spiritual feet and speak with a spiritual voice, to be heard, not in the thunderstorm, but only in the hearts of men.[31]

For Beatrice in any case 'the presence of a Creative Force does not demonstrate the existence of a Redeemer', [32] which one infers can only be procured as an act of faith. Beatrice is more concerned for the multitude of the dead and their post-mortem persistence, to which Geoffrey answers that there was room for them all on earth as the universe is wide. Haggard, through Geoffrey, hints broadly at Theosophical answers to these questions, many of which we shall explore in detail in Part III of this thesis:

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[30] Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Practical Reason,* quoted in Patrick Frierson, 'Kant and the End of Wonder', in *Philosophy Begins in Wonder: An Introduction to Early Modern* Philosophy, ed. by Michael Funk Deckard and Péter Losonsczi, (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2010), p.14.

[31] Haggard, *Beatrice*, p.120.

[32] Ibid., p.120.

the cyclical creation and destruction of worlds in parallel with the cyclical incarnations of human beings, possibly on other worlds:

> Worlds die, to live again when, after millions of ages, the conditions become once more favourable to life, and why should not a man? We are creatures of the world, we reflect its every light and shadow, we rejoice in its rejoicing, its every feature has a tiny parallel in us. Why should not our fate be as its fate, and its fate is so far as we know eternal. It may change from gas to chaos, from chaos to active life, from active life to seeming death.[33]

Geoffrey then goes on to refer to elements which combine in the ideas of logos theology: the principal idea that all faiths have an underlying value or truth, a common Wisdom. It also suggests that even when humanity is worshipping different gods it is unwittingly worshipping the same God - and that a Christian one. This was St Paul's message as noted above when he referred to the 'Unknown God.' Geoffrey continues that the same superstitions may be found in all religions, with the same spiritual myths coalescing in almost all of them. If this is the case, he asks, 'Well, does not this suggest that the same great truth underlies them all, taking from time to time the shape which is best suited to the spiritual development of those professing each.'[34] Thus, there are also elements of a *fulfilment theology*, and Haggard clearly suggests, through Geoffrey, that all other religions are a preparation in some way for the Christian faith, and that they all build one upon the other on the path to a final fulfilment. Every new religion is better than the one that came before: 'You cannot compare Osirianism with Buddhism, or Buddhism with Christianity, or Mahomedanism with the Arabian idol worship. Let your altar be to the 'Unknown God', if you like for who can give an unaltering likeness to the Power above us?'[35] We shall have particular cause to analyse a purported anticipatory relationship between Christianity and the Osirian cultus in Part I of the thesis.

Finally, Geoffrey concludes his 'lecture' with an assertion of the action of divine Providence. He tells Beatrice that in spite of all apparent indications to the contrary, there is a 'watching' Providence, 'without the will of which we cannot live, and if we deliberately reject that Providence, setting up our intelligence in its place, sorrow will come of it, even here; for it is wiser than we.'[36]

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[33] Ibid., p.120.
[34] Ibid., p.121.
[35] Ibid., p.121.
[36] Ibid., p.121.

We now turn briefly to Chapter XXIII of Haggard's autobiography entitled *A Note on Religion*, which is to be considered his apologia on the subject as it stood in 1912. Haggard begins by denying that he is a theologian, and then proceeds to provide a relatively in-depth theological account. Here I shall confine myself to summarising the main points that he makes as we shall have cause to return to the salient quotations as they arise throughout this work.

As we have seen, Haggard denies that he is a theologian or that he is interested in Low or High Church perspectives, though he obviously engages with the arguments. Though superficially appearing to bear a Broad Church attitude in terms of ecumenism and religious pluralism, he nonetheless favours Catholicism in terms of confession and priestly celibacy, thus veering towards an Anglo-Catholic, High Church praxis. He suggests a leaning toward the Protestant doxa of *sola scriptura*, stating that 'the Scriptures are of no private interpretation.'[37] By this statement one would understand that Haggard was directly opposed to the critical ethos of *Essays and Reviews.* However, it is important in this regard to include a comment here from Lilias Haggard in her biography of her father. Religion was generally not a topic of conversation at home, other than the orthodox religion associated with the family's regular Sunday church-attendance, which was '"based upon the Bible" as Rider used to say, who had his own interpretation of Holy Writ and took it for granted that it was the only interpretation deserving of belief'.[38] Haggard assumes that his personal interpretation is *the* interpretation; this will prove important, as aforementioned, when we encounter Haggard incorporating alien religious structures without apparent difficulty into what he considers orthodox Anglicanism.

Returning to *A Note on Religion,* Haggard states that what is not there - i.e. in Scripture - is *non-existent.* In respect of these non-scriptural aspects of faith therefore he appears anti-traditionalist, anti-patristic and hence *anti-*Catholic. He reports that he has admiration for the Salvation Army, but disagrees with their exclusion of the sacraments - baptism, Eucharist, and so on - suggesting a more Anglo-Catholic stance in this regard (he said in his autobiography that Booth instigated this exclusion 'of set purpose' because he didn't think people understood the sacraments).[39] Again,

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[37] H. Rider Haggard, *The Days of My Life: An Autobiography*, ed. by C.J. Longman, 2 vols (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1926), II, p.235.
[38] Lilias Haggard, *The Cloak That I Left* (London: Stodder & Houghton Ltd., 1951), p.16.
[39] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, II, p. 236.

opposed to the questioning of biblical historical veracity, Haggard states his belief that the main facts of Scripture are *true*: he sees the varying and conflicted accounts of historical events as evidence of their veridical nature. As a barrister, he notes that when witness accounts are verbally identical – which therefore do not allow for the vagaries of the personal memory of incident– suspicions would be aroused.

The crux of Haggard's faith is indeed the Cross. This crucicentrism arises out of his devout Paulinism, and he holds that without a belief in the death and resurrection of Christ, the Christian faith fails. Nevertheless, as we shall see, he can quite easily negotiate a Christian eschatology and simultaneously hold a belief in reincarnation - that we 'will live again and dance in other rooms'.[40] In concordance with this belief he rejects Calvinist election and eternal damnation. For Haggard, *this* world with its multiple reincarnations can be considered a representation of Purgatory.

Haggard's approach to evil presents a near-Manichean dualism. He reports that over many years he has come to a belief in the reality of the Devil as embodied evil. In addition, he describes Spiritualism – with which he engaged in a youthful dalliance – as the work of the Devil. For Haggard, there are certain barriers we are not meant to cross, and certain things which we are not meant to know – a Romantic perspective which he reiterated throughout his career, most enduringly in the form of the 'Veil of Isis'. In terms of what we do not know, he makes a passing reference to 'theosophy' with its 'interesting and gigantic dreams', but avers that whatever the truth, the Christian has no need of these and can fall back on faith.[41] As we shall see however, he was much more accommodating to such Theosophical dreams than he was prepared to admit. Finally, he concludes his sermon with a mention of the 'still small voice' of a providential deity guiding mankind from on high, and reaffirms his belief 'That the heart of Faith is Christ, and to His Cross I cling.'[42]

During the course of this work, the arguments around these doctrinal aporias will recur repeatedly. My aim is to facilitate an understanding of how Haggard explored such questions, and searched for a reaffirmation of faith; how he sought this specifically in the religious cultures of Egypt, India, Tibet and South Africa, and how this intellectual process at large was instrumental in the development of British Occultism at the *fin de siècle*

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[40] Ibid., p.242.
[41] Ibid., pp.250-51.
[42] Ibid., p.259.

and beyond. This process in turn can be seen as reflecting 'the emergence of what has alternatively been termed a 'global religious system' or 'global religious field' in the wake of historical developments during the high tide of imperialism i.e. the decades around 1900.'[43] Thus, by further dissecting an entangled history, we shall elucidate the religious dynamics of a dialogic exchange of ideas under Imperialism and Colonialism, between the colonies and the metropolitan centre - what Chidester has deemed 'relations of reciprocal reinvention'.[44] Now that we have outlined some of Haggard's principal religious concerns, we can consider the sources of the arguments with which he was engaging.

The Theological Overture to Imperial Occultism; Anglican Scholasticism: Essays and Reviews (1860) *and the Anti-Essayist Responsa*

In the second half of the nineteenth century, 'the entire emphasis in Christian theology was in the process of shifting, from belief in the authority of Book or Church, to belief in the authority of a God actually revealed in the unfolding of history.'[45] This theological reorientation, which brought into being both European Catholic Modernism and Liberal Protestantism, was one in which transcendent doctrines of God were widely exchanged for immanentist doctrines. The persisting Deist view which had seen deity as 'essentially external to the historical process was being replaced by a doctrine of God "at work", progressively revealing himself within the very process which evolutionary theory was engaged in tracing'.[46] Although some scientists could claim that there could never be a reconciliation between evolution and theology, at a doctrinal level, 'theology was not static in the way the scientists supposed, and a far-reaching reconciliation was in fact attempted.'[47]

The Victorian period was particularly rich in terms of the development of factionalism in the English Church, and controversies were readily fomented. Aside from numerous varied congregations amongst the voices of Nonconformist dissent, the Anglican Church itself was subject to division along fracture lines of doctrine. Although it is not within the scope of this study to discuss these differences in detail, it is useful to consider

[43] Marion Eggert, 'Volume Introduction', in *Religious Dynamics under the Impact of Imperialism and Colonialism*, p.1.
[44] Chidester, *Empire of Religion*, p.18.
[45] Eric J. Sharpe, *Comparative Religion: A History*, 2nd edn (London: Duckworth, 2003), p.148.
[46] Ibid., p.148.
[47] Ibid., p.148.

three broad divisions of the Anglican Communion in Britain as a simplistic overview – simple though necessarily so for the doctrinal thought which is subsequently discussed. These broad divisions are 'Low-Church' Evangelical - tending more towards an emphasis on the importance of preaching and reliance on faith in scripture, and moving away from apostolic tradition, sacramentalism, and ecclesiastical hierarchy; 'High-Church' veering more towards Roman Catholicism - in its most pronounced form evolving as Tractarianism/Anglo-Catholic sacramentalism and sacerdotalism; and Broad Church which can be thought of in terms of liberal reformist theology. As Charles Richard Sanders avers there has been much confusion in discussions of what constituted the Broad Church because of a tendency to lump all liberals together as 'Broad Churchmen'. This fails to recognise that there were two main groups:

> The one group, which included Copleston, Whatley, Hampden, Dr. Arnold, Blanco White, Baden Powell, Mathew Arnold, and Jowett, was closely associated with Oxford. The other group, the Coleridgeans, which included Coleridge himself, Hare, Sterling, Maurice, Kingsley, and, in many respects, Carlyle, Tennyson, and Browning, is in the main associated with Cambridge.[48]

Although both groups emphasised the importance of freedom of inquiry and opinion, 'the Oxford school was predominantly Aristotelian and displayed a faith in formal logic, while the Cambridge school was predominantly Platonic and Kantian.'[49] The Cambridge group tended to be hostile to what it perceived as mere logic, and at the same time it favoured 'the use of intuition, or the "reason" of Coleridge and Kant, as a means to the perception of truth'. Whilst both groups supported biblical historicism, the Oxford school 'tended to exalt the intellect' whereas the Cambridge group insisted that 'the intellect could not of itself create truth, which God must reveal, and that the only sure evidence of truth was in the testimony of the whole man, not merely in that of the understanding.'[50] Coleridge's influence was nevertheless very important to both groups, and their differences were rather more in emphasis and method. As will be made apparent, though eclectic and syncretic in his theology, Haggard was more inclined toward an Anglo-Catholic sensibility. However, at this juncture, in order to position Haggard's theology accurately we need to consider what is effectively the manifesto of the Oxford school.

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[48] Charles Richard Sanders, *Coleridge and The Broad Church Movement* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1942), p.14.
[49] Ibid., p.14.
[50] Ibid., p.14.

It was out of the milieu of Oxford Broad Church reform that the volume *Essays and Reviews* would emerge. Published in the year following that of the *Origin of Species, Essays and Reviews* (1860) was a compilation of six essays produced by Anglican clergy and one review by a layman which, though intended as a Broad Church rapprochement with modern scientific discovery and the historical criticism of Testamental narratives, provoked a crisis of faith more pressing to the religious mind than did Darwinian evolutionary theory.[51] Within the Anglican Communion, the Broad Church reforms were seen as much more than mere nostrums for the maladies inflicted on the Church by scientific naturalism. For the Church as a whole it was an agonal event; for both the liberal reformist theologians and those of an orthodox Anglican *religio mentis* it ushered in an age of ecclesiastical doubt at mid-century. As Altholz would have it, '*Essays and Reviews* was at once the culmination and the final act of the Broad Church movement.'[52] The controversy generated by the *Septem contra Christum* – the 'Seven against Christ' as they would become known – is, perhaps surprisingly, important to an understanding of the development of the Imperial Occult as an attempt at the revitalizing of metropolitan religiosity in general and the Anglican canon in particular.

In the following we shall consider some of the points of dispute raised in this controversy as later they will be important to an understanding of how ideas of a non-Christian religio-philosophical origin would be deployed in an attempt to resolve difference, mitigate between opposing doctrinal views, or eliminate the question altogether by the substitution of completely new ideas. The seven Essayists broached a broad series of issues:

> The first, by Frederick Temple, was a warmed-over sermon urging the free study of the Bible. Rowland Williams wrote a provocative essay on Bunsen, denying the predictive character of Old Testament prophecies. Baden Powell flatly denied the possibility of miracles. H. B. Wilson gave the widest possible latitude to subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles and questioned the eternity of damnation. C. W. Goodwin (the only layman among the Essayists) wrote a critique of the attempted "harmonies" between Genesis and geology. Mark Pattison wrote a learned and cold historical study of the evidential theologians of the eighteenth century (perhaps the only essay of lasting value). The volume was capped by Benjamin Jowett's tremendous though wayward essay "On the

[51] Frederick Temple and others, *Essays and Reviews* (London: John W. Parker and Son,1860).
[52] Josef L. Altholz, 'The Mind of Victorian Orthodoxy: Anglican Responses to "Essays and Reviews", 1860-1864', *Church History*, 2, 51 (1982), 186-97 (p.186).

> Interpretation of Scripture," in which he urged that the Bible be read "like any other book" and made an impassioned plea for freedom of scholarship.[53]

The direction of attack on *Essays and Reviews* whilst relatively consistent varied in terms of which Anglican faction was blamed for its production. Thus 'High Churchmen blamed the heresy of the Essayists on a reaction against the excesses of Evangelical Calvinism; low Churchmen blamed it on a reaction against the Romanizing tendencies of the Oxford Movement.'[54] This was after all largely perceived and received as an attack on the Church from within: Charles Darwin only receives one mention in the whole of *Essays and Reviews* – in Baden Powell's essay *On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity*.[55]

The response to *Essays and Reviews* was swift and vehement. As Altholz points out, the first method of attack was *ad hominem* - to decry the authors' position as clergy and to assert that they had no right to be heard. Having thus opened they would then proceed to argue against them in a *seriatim* fashion. They would begin by declaring that 'the arguments of the Essayists were not new; they were warmed-over repetitions of German criticism, itself derived from the deism of the eighteenth century which had led to revolution and infidelity.'[56] Here, they were referring to the Higher Criticism emerging from Germany, notably the Tübingen School, in the writings of Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792-1860) and David Friedrich Strauss (1808-1874), which remain totemic examples of German historicism.[57]As Michael Ledger-Lomas and David Gange have observed, Strauss contributed to the quest for the 'Historical Jesus', whilst Baur 'recast most of the New Testament as the end product of struggles to shape the doctrine of the early church rather than an authentic portrait of Jesus and the apostles'.[58] In summary, they opposed the historical Jesus to the kerygmatic Christ.

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[53] Ibid., p.186.
[54] Ibid., p,187.
[55] Baden Powell, *Essays and Reviews* (1860), p.139.
[56] Altholz, 'The Mind of Victorian Orthodoxy', p.189.
[57] The German concept of 'Higher' criticism (*Die höhere Kritik*) refers to the analysis of historical origin, dates, and authorship of various books of the Bible as opposed to the 'Lower' criticism concerned with an analysis of the various manuscripts and codices i.e. Textual Criticism.
[58] Michael Ledger-Lomas and David Gange, 'Introduction', in *Cities of God: The Bible and Archaeology in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by David Gange and Michael Ledger-Lomas (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp.1-38 (p.9). German Higher Criticism set out to criticise the Bible much in the same way as other ancient texts were analysed. It had its beginnings with Baur and the Tübingen School. Baur's contribution analysed scripture along the lines of a Hegelian dialectic, dividing it into a Judaistic Petrine Christianity opposed to a Pauline Gentile mode. For an overview of biblical criticism and historicism from the period (from a pro-neologistic stance), see Robert William Mackay, *The Tübingen*

Their opponents argued that, in any case, the English Deist predecessors of the Broad Church Essayists and the vagaries of their neology had been refuted in their own day by the Anglican apologists Joseph Butler and William Paley.[59] They were also keen to point out that the tide of German scholarship had shifted, and earlier critics refuted. Thus, as these 'German critics had been contradicted by other Germans, their arguments might be dismissed.'[60]

Having thus set out their broad disdain and dismissal of the arguments as irrelevant, they would then proceed to engage with them. There was grave concern that infidelity might lead to social instability and even revolution - the consensus being the unfavourable nature of a questioning polis: spiritual doubt might lead to social upheaval. The principle question which formed the dissenting fulcrum of *Essays and Reviews* was one of the divine inspiration of the Bible. An important component of the Essayists' composite arguments was that, following Coleridge's view, there were elements of divine inspiration which were subject to a *verifying faculty* [61]– the innate human ability to recognize the important elements which spoke to the human soul whilst discarding the dross of false and superfluous historical narrative.[62] For the anti-Essayists this caused uproar, the fear being that it would open the floodgates for personal and subjective interpretations of the Bible which would threaten the basis of the Christian faith, and certainly the edifice of Anglican ecclesiastical dogma *in toto*.

As Altholz wryly observes, 'It is a curious fact that the debate over *Essays and Reviews*, which ultimately revolved around the nature of the divine inspiration of the Bible, made no significant contribution toward the resolution of that question.' This was not resolved until two years later the counsel for two of the Essayists at their heresy trial replaced the nebulous term inspiration with 'Word of God' and the question of whether the Bible was the Word of God or contained it. This term 'provided a useful simplification of the theological issue, avoiding the difficulties of a definite

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School and its Antecedents: A Review of the History and Present Condition of Modern Theology (London: Williams and Norgate, 1863).

[59] Joseph Butler (1692-1752), Bishop of Bristol (1738) and Durham (1750), author of *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed* (1736), and William Paley (1743-1805), Archdeacon of Carlisle (1782), author of *Evidences of Christianity* (1794) and *Natural Theology* (1802).

[60] Altholz, 'The Mind of Victorian Orthodoxy', p.189.

[61] See Victor Shea and William Whitla, eds, *Essays and Reviews: The 1860 Text and its Reading* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2000), p.62.

[62] On Coleridge's biblical criticism, see Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Confessions of an Inquiring Mind*, 3rd edn (London: Edward Moxton, 1853): 'I should, perhaps, be a happier—at all events a more useful—man if my mind were otherwise constituted. But so it is: and even with regard to Christianity itself, like certain plants, I creep towards the light, even though it draw me away from the more nourishing warmth.' (p. 40).

concept of inspiration and providing a common ground on which to join in condemning the "verifying faculty".'[63]

The other principal focus of attack on *Essays and Reviews* was its undermining of the 'evidences' for the Christian faith – an evidential theology constructed by the eighteenth century Anglicans Butler and Paley, 'which rested the case for Christianity on the arguments from miracles, the fulfilment of prophecies, and the correspondence of types and antitypes in the Old and New Testaments'.[64] Henry Longueville Mansel summarised the evidences for and against the claims of the Christian faith as follows:

> the genuineness and authenticity of the documents; the judgment and good faith of the writers; the testimony to the actual occurrence of prophecies and miracles and their relation to the religious teaching with which they are connected; the character of the Teacher Himself. . . ; those rites and ceremonies of the elder Law, so significant as typical of Christ, and so strange and meaningless without Him; those predictions of the promised Messiah... ; this history of the rise and progress of Christianity, and its comparison with that of other religions; the ability or inability of human means to bring about the results which it actually accomplished; . . . the character of those by whom it was promulgated and received; the sufferings which attested the sincerity of their convictions.[65]

It was in *Essays and Reviews* that such evidences were roundly attacked: miracles were flatly denied, the value of prophecy annulled, typological hermeneutics undermined, and the evidential theologians had been relegated to history. To the mind of Victorian orthodoxy, this modus of questioning was a far greater transgression than questioning the Bible as the 'Word of God.' The methodology of arguing from evidences had become so entrenched in Anglican theology as to constitute what Altholz has cogently termed an 'Anglican Scholasticism.'[66] Evidential theology, in spite of its non-rational subject matter, often dealing with the preternatural and metaphysical, was as rationalistic as the Enlightenment deism which it arose to combat. Later in this study this will be crucial when we consider the purported 'Romantic reaction' to scientific materialist discourse, literary realism, and the attempted 'syntheses' of nineteenth-century occultist currents.

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[63] Altholz, 'The Mind of Victorian Orthodoxy', p.191.
[64] Ibid., p.191.
[65] Henry Longueville Mansel, *The Limits of Religious Thought Examined in Eight Lectures*, 5th edn (London: John Murray, 1867), p.173. The first edition was published in 1859.
[66] Altholz, 'The Mind of Victorian Orthodoxy', p.192.

In summary, the ideas promulgated within the widely-distributed *Essays and Reviews*, though an attempted modernisation by seven voices of reform in the Anglican Communion, simultaneously marked the breaches in the bulwark of the Christian faith in the 1860s, and it was these controversies which resulted in the coming to prominence of new religious ideas in the second half of the nineteenth century. I have chosen to examine these in the context of Rider Haggard's work and under the rubric of an 'Imperial Occult.' A consideration of these ideas will help us to position Haggard's idiosyncratic brand of Anglicanism in particular and the emergence of occultism in general. The main controversies, then, which were brought into stark relief by *Essays and Reviews* - some of which we have already encountered in Haggard's theological discourse - can be summarised as follows:

1. The role of the miraculous; the witness to the miraculous as evidence of faith.

2. The truth of prophecy and the importance and validity of typological hermeneutics.

3. The historicity of biblical narrative.

4. The challenge to evidential theology and 'evidences' in general.

5. The question of Calvinist eternal damnation in the anathema of the Athanasian Creed.

6. The questions of divine Providence, free will, predestination and the degree of autonomy of human agency.

7. The overarching question of *verbal plenary inspiration* i.e. the literalism of the Bible as *in toto* the Word of God.

These will be encountered repeatedly during the course of this study along with associated problematics as they arise. I argue that *Essays and Reviews* as one of the earliest formulations of doctrinal arguments consumed by the British public was also inadvertently the crib of British occultism. As Ieuan Ellis has argued, 'Perhaps what the essayists lacked most was a sense of the supernatural. They concentrated on treating religion from within.'[67] This attempt at the exclusion of the supernatural provided increased impetus to the nineteenth-century's Anglo-Catholic revival with the High-Church

[67] Ieuan Ellis, *Seven Against Christ: A Study of 'Essays and Reviews'*, Studies in The History of Christian Thought, 23 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980), p.99.

emphasis on dogma and sacramental ritual, apostolic succession and hierarchy. It was the stripping away of supernaturalism and the attempt at repair which would promote the counter-invasion of ideas via the reverse missionaries of the colonies, and the epiphenomenal creation of a British occultism as an Imperial Occult. Thus, in contrast to the commonplace association of occultism with heterodoxy and the countercultural, Anglo-Catholicism and occultism had the restoration of supernaturalism as a common goal. As Anthony Fuller has discussed in his important thesis *Anglo-Catholic Clergy and the Golden Dawn: The Ritual Revival and Occult Magical Orders 1887-1940*, it was not unheard of for Anglo-Catholic clergy to be members of magical orders, notably that of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn. As Fuller argues, 'membership of the Golden Dawn did not entail necessarily the rejection of religious orthodoxy. In the case of some clergy and laity […], membership of the Order apparently served to strengthen their Anglican faith.'[68] As will be seen, Haggard did not see many of his more 'occult' ideas as being in any way incompatible with his faith.

In this theological arena, then, 'Haggard as much as Eliot or Hardy needs to be considered as an ultimately religious writer in the context of late nineteenth-century uncertainties about dogma and the Bible, outside the Church and even inside it.'[69] Unlike the novelists of the first half of the century, Haggard was far from being an orthodox religious author dealing with the quarrels of dissenting voices in home-grown religion, but he could be considered a comparative religious author. In this regard, Haggard needed to be aware of and engage with the theological issues which had been raised during the period of turmoil initiated by *Essays and Reviews* and its aftermath., notably in terms of the Broad Church purging of supernaturalism. The place of the supernatural was paramount in the Anglo-Catholic response to Broad Church reform. As W.J. Sparrow Simpson observed,

> Protestantism in the nineteenth century had largely lost belief in the Church as a supernatural institution transmitted from one century to another. It fixed attention on the first century as described in Scripture, and regarded the following centuries down to the sixteenth more or less as deviations from the

[68] Anthony Charles Fuller, 'Anglo-Catholic Clergy and the Golden Dawn: The Ritual Revival and Occult Magical Orders 1887-1940' (PhD Thesis, University of Exeter, 2009), p.19.
[69] Norman Vance, *Bible and Novel: Narrative Authority and the Death of God* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.164-65.

> Gospel. The History of the Church was constantly represented as departure from the mind of Christ.[70]

As we proceed, this recourse to a focus on the Early Church - Alexandrian Christianity in particular – the legitimization of dogma by antiquity, and the corruption of doctrine by priest-craft and superstition will become repeating themes. During the course of this thesis we shall consider a significant body of evidence for Haggard's engagement with theological ideas which he gleaned from a broad swathe of church history. Before proceeding, we should briefly consider some of his more prominent religious ideas as they are framed in the imperial context.

Religious Dynamics under Imperialism

Many of the arguments that follow articulate the way in which religious ideas interacted at the margins of Empire, the problematics of division in the Anglican communion after 1860, the results of attempts at repair, the efflorescence of British occultism which resulted from these processes, and how Haggard's oeuvre engages with these religious dynamics. In his analysis of Rowland Williams' *Christianity and Hinduism,* Paul Hedges has identified a number of key themes, the following selected elements of which are the most cogent to our account of the religious dynamics of this period, and which will be considered specifically as they relate to colonialism and imperialism.[71]

Firstly, there was a rapid development of the 'Science of Religions' and Comparative Religion in particular. The template for this comparison was frequently the Christian faith, and as will be shown, the purpose of the comparison was often (though not always) to demonstrate Christian superiority. Secondly, Hedges describes the doctrine of *fulfilment theology*. As he has outlined, although long associated with the work of John Nicol Farquhar (1861-1929), notably in *The Crown of Hinduism* (1913), 'fulfilment theology has a much longer pedigree in British theology' extending back to the Cambridge of the 1840s with Williams' *Christianity and Hinduism* and Frederick Denison Maurice's *Religions of the World*,

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[70] W.J. Sparrow Simpson, *The History of The Anglo-Catholic Revival from 1845* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1932), pp.10-11.

[71] The full title is Rowland Williams, *Paraméswara-jnyána-góshthí: A Dialogue of the Knowledge of the Supreme Lord, in which are compared the claims of Christianity and Hinduism* (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co., 1856).

both published in 1847.[72] As is discussed further below, 'similar ideas were also found [in Friedrich] Max Müller' though it likely has roots in Hegelian thought, with a genealogy extending back to Justin Martyr.[73] Hedges has delineated a number of key elements of fulfilment theology which he collates in his 'polythetic' definition:[74]

(i) *Evolution.* This idea follows on from the notion that there are different grades or levels of religion, each being an improvement on the last. This is clearly not a Darwinian model, but a divine plan of 'special creation' with a radical discontinuity between religions, the transition between which occurs by means of a direct revelation. Though evolutionary theory was certainly omnipresent in the nineteenth century, spiritual evolutionism appears much earlier. As Hedges remarks, 'Hegel's theory of "Weltgeist", or "world spirit" posits a development in human thought', and notably for our purposes, this theory 'sees a development from the Orient to the Occident, culminating in Christ'.[75] Friedrich Schleiermacher had developed a hierarchy of religions, with the more primitive developing to the more complex which comported with his Romantic theological stress on organic development or an unfolding in the *Geistesgeschichte.*[76] Mankind was felt to be evolving along with his religion and had a religion fitting to his stage of development. In *Essays and Reviews*, Frederick Temple had analogised this to a development from childhood to youth to maturity.[77] As we shall see in due course, 'childhood' became literalised in the case of Non-European indigenous peoples.

(ii) *Innate Religious Desire.* Fundamental to the doctrine of fulfilment is that *every* religion should in some way respond to inherent religious desire in man as a 'religious animal'. Unless all human beings are the same in feeling this desire in some way, there is no way that 'higher' religions can fulfill lower ones. Strictly speaking, it should not be that Christianity is considered 'superior' (though as will be seen this was often the case), but rather that the apparently less sophisticated religions only satisfied the need

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[72] Paul Hedges, Introduction to 'Rowland Williams: Christianity and Hinduism', in *Religious Dynamics under the Impact of Imperialism and Colonialism*, p. 200.
[73] Ibid., p.200.
[74] Paul Hedges, *Preparation and Fulfilment: A History and Study of Fulfilment Theology in Modern British Thought in the Indian Context,* Studien zur Interkulturellen Geshischte des Christentums, 124 (Bern: Peter Lang, 2001), pp.26-43.
[75] Ibid., p.31.
[76] Ibid., p.31.
[77] Frederick Temple, 'The Education of the World', in Frederick Temple and others, *Essays and Reviews*, pp.1-49.

in part, and the need could only be completely satiated by Christianity – more accurately the person of Christ.[78]

(iii) *Preparationism.* Although one religion might fulfill another without any suggestion that the first was a 'preparation' for the second, *preparatio evangelica* defines fulfilment theology, and preparationism is an alternative name. Fulfilment theology does not state that non-Christian religions were actively prepared by God to lead men until they were ready for the Christian dispensation; rather it indicates a 'new attitude', (notably, for our purposes, within the missionary community) which at least saw 'heathen' religions as not being the work of the Devil, but in some way part of the divine plan.[79] Integral to these ideas is the notion of divine Providence, which has a complex rôle in Haggard's oeuvre.

Thirdly, Hedges considers the importance of logos theology. Fulfilment theology is really formulated within the framework of logos theology, in which all faiths are held to contain an element of truth, though the ultimate *telos* is the Christian dispensation. [80] Harry H. Hoeler notes that:

> Christian thinkers have turned to the doctrine of the logos to express two distinct but connected ideas: (1) God's word made flesh in Jesus Christ (*logos ensarkos*); (2) God's seminal word not wholly limited to its incarnation in Christ (*logos spermaticos*). In other words, while God's logos – God's saving word and power – is made known unsurpassedly in Christ Jesus, those outside of the Christian faith are not left bereft.[81]

This would have particular relevance to the discussion in the missionising community as to whether a failure to convert non-Christians would result in their eternal damnation.

Fourthly, Hedges scrutinises this missionising project and its critiques. The rise of continental biblical historicism, particularly German neology, and the associated Liberal church reform movement posed problems not only for missionary apologetics, but for the identity of Empire as Christendom,

[78] Hedges, *Preparation and Fulfilment*, p.32.
[79] Ibid., p.33.
[80] On the elaboration of the definitions of fulfilment and logos theology, see Hedges, *Preparation and Fulfilment*, pp.26-43.
[81] Quoted in Hedges, *Preparation and Fulfilment*, p.36.

which inevitably required, or at least desired, the presentation of a united front.[82]

An appreciation of these theological questions will facilitate an understanding of Rider Haggard's relationship with what I have called the Imperial Occult, and the turning of his gaze Eastward for answers. The term 'Imperial Occult' itself implies an internal tension in terms of what constitutes 'Orientalism', commonly viewed as a pejorative term. It shifts focus from Saidian Orientalism – specifically the postcolonialist perspective on the East as a place of 'othering' and the subjugated subaltern - to the *Platonic Orientalism* of Hermetic philosophical discourse. As articulated by Wouter J. Hanegraaff, this refers to a 'Platonism understood as ancient "divine wisdom derived from the Orient".'[83] As Hanegraaff points out, this is a Plato as seen through the prism of the Middle and Neoplatonists, religious thinkers of the Late Hellenistic world who transformed Platonism into 'a religious worldview with its own mythologies and ritual practices, focused on the attainment of a salvational gnōsis by which the soul could be liberated from its material entanglement and regain unity with the divine Mind'.[84]

Here then we find instead the topos of a 'Mystical East', seen as a source of archaic, even primordial Wisdom. As will become apparent, 'East' and 'West' are problematised by Haggard - notably in relation to his Egypt, perceived both as a progenitor of Western culture, and as a source of ancient wisdom or secret doctrine. By way of an example, in his Stone Age romance *Allan and the Ice Gods* we find evidence not only of the Neoplatonic idea of ascent to the One in the form of a Jacob's ladder of reincarnation, but also Haggard's description himself of Platonic Orientalism. He says that life may not after all be so brief and transient, if the wise men of the ages are right: 'If sages who have preached it from Plato down – and indeed for countless ages before his time, since without doubt he borrowed it from the East.'[85] These ideas of a Platonizing

[82] Paul Hedges, Introduction to 'Rowland Williams: Christianity and Hinduism', *Religious Dynamics Under the Impact of Imperialism and Colonialism*, pp.201-02.
[83] Wouter J. Hanegraaff, *Esotericism in the Academy: Rejected Knowledge in Western Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p.15. As Hanegraaff points out, the term 'Platonic Orientalism' was first coined by John Walbridge in his discussion of the Persian philosopher and founder of the school of Illuminationism, Shahāb ad-Dīn Yahya ibn Habash ibn Amirak as-Suhrawardī (1154-1191) in *The Wisdom of the Mystic East: Suhrawardī and Platonic Orientalism* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2001).
[84] Hanegraaff, *Esotericism in the Academy*, p.12.
[85] H. Rider Haggard, *Allan and The Ice Gods* (London: Hutchinson & Co. Ltd., 1927), p.35.

religiosity form an important component of what may be termed a 'Hermetic Discourse'.

Hermetic Discourse

Throughout this thesis as we engage with Haggard's theological ideas in their imperial context, both exoteric and esoteric, we shall find ourselves articulating elements of the Hermetic discourse in one form or another. Thus it is important at the outset to have a thorough overview of the history of this tradition in order to locate Haggard's religious speculations in relation to it. The notion of a *sapientia occulta* transmitted down the centuries via a lineage of ancient philosophers beginning with the mythical Egyptian sage Hermes Trismegistus is historically of central importance to the academic study of Western esotericism. Our focus in this study is on the nodes of connection between this tradition and the history of Christianity.[86] Trismegistus first finds mention in the Church fathers, including Clement of Alexandria, Lactantius, and Augustine.[87] In church history, Hermes Trismegistus was revered as an ancient figure, often seen as a near-contemporary of Moses.[88] He was ascribed the authorship of a body of literature entitled the 'Hermetica', comprising the *Corpus Hermeticum,* the Latin *Asclepius,* the *Stobaeus Fragments* and other manuscripts.[89] Though the Latin *Asclepius* was available throughout the Middle ages, the *Corpus Hermeticum* was lost, and did not resurface until it was brought to Florence from Macedonia by the monk Leonardo di Pistoia in 1460 and translated by the Renaissance philosopher Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499).[90]

To Ficino, Hermes Trismegistus was one figure of a list of sages termed in this context the *prisci theologi*, the 'pristine' or first theologians. Sometimes this list begins with Hermes but often also with Zoroaster and

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[86] On the connections between Hermetism and Christianity, see Roelof van den Broek and Cis van Heertum, eds, *From Poimandres to Jacob Böhme: Gnosis, Hermetism and the Christian Tradition* (Amsterdam: In de Pelikaan, 2000).

[87] Clement of Alexandria (third century), *Stromata* VI, 4, 35-38; Lactantius (fourth century), *Divinae Institutiones* I, 6; IV, 6; II.VIII, 18; Augustine (fifth century), *De Civitate Dei* 410-26: VIII, 13-26, XVIII, 29. See Antoine Faivre, *The Eternal Hermes: From Greek God to Alchemical Magus*, trans. by Joscelyn Godwin (Grand Rapids, MI: Phanes Press, 1995), pp.181-82.

[88] For an overview of the history of Hermes Trismegistus and the interaction of Hermetic thought with theology and emerging natural science, see Florian Ebeling, *The Secret History of Hermes Trismegistus: Hermeticism from Ancient to Modern Times* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007).

[89] See 'The Definitions of Hermes Trismegistus to Asclepius', in *The Way of Hermes: New Translations of* The Corpus Hermeticum *and* The Definitions of Hermes Trismegistus to Asclepius, trans. by Clement Salaman and others (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 2004), pp. 99-122.

[90] Faivre, *The Eternal Hermes*, p.38.

usually contains others including Orpheus, Plato, and on down to Christ.[91] Previously, in the discussion of Platonic Orientalism, we quoted Haggard remarking on a line of sages 'from Plato down'. Here, he is also clearly alluding to the succession of the *prisci theologi.* These sages are associated with the term *prisca theologia* (the ancient pristine theology), first appearing in the writing of Ficino.

With a pervasive atmosphere of sacerdotal corruption, moral degeneration, and the well-recognised need for church reform in 15th century Italy, it is hardly surprising that Ficino's 1471 translation would resonate with millenarian overtones, and that Christians felt that they 'had unexpectedly been granted access to the most ancient and therefore most authoritative sources of true religion and philosophy'.[92] Nor is it surprising then, given this understanding, that 'Marsilio Ficino [...], the virtual founder of the Renaissance *prisca theologia* narrative [...] believed that in translating Hermes, Orpheus, Plato and the later platonists he was acting as God's chosen instrument.'[93] As Faivre remarks, the *prisca philosophia* - and it applies equally in this context to the idea of a pristine theology- 'sowed a certain danger from the start, making the authority of a text or doctrine depend on the guarantee of its great age'.[94]

A second and related term concerned with the defining of this 'wisdom tradition' is the *philosophia perennis* (perennial philosophy) first used by the Italian Humanist and Counter Reformation polemicist Agostino Steuco (1497-1548) in his grand synthesis *De perenni philosophia* of 1540.[95] As Hanegraaff has argued, whilst both terms are concerned with a 'golden thread' of metaphysical truth, they have different connotations. The former refers to the theology of a golden age that has been or is to be rediscovered, concordant with a present theology that has become tainted by the accretions of superstition and corruption by priest-craft down the ages. In contrast, the 'second perspective strongly emphasizes the unity and

[91] As Hanegraaff has pointed out, the Italian Renaissance philosopher begins his list of *prisci theologi* with Zoroaster. See 'How Hermetic was Renaissance Hermetism?', *Aries: Journal for the Study of Western Esotericism*, 15 (2015), 179‑209. See also Wouter J. Hanegraaff, 'Hermes Trismegistus and Hermetism', in *Encylopedia of Renaissance Philosophy* <https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007%2F978-3-319-02848-4_180-1> [accessed 25 April 2018].
[92] Hanegraaff, *Esotericism in the Academy*, p. 9.
[93] Ibid., p.8.
[94] Faivre, *The Eternal Hermes*, p.40.
[95] Hanegraaff, *Esotericism in the Academy*, p.9. On the idea of a *philosophia perennis* in Steuco and its historical development, see Charles B. Schmitt, 'Perennial Philosophy: From Agostino Steuco to Leibniz', *Journal of the History of Ideas*,4, 27 (1966), 505-32.

universality of wisdom, rather than decline, and therefore lacks the millenarian implications of Ficino's outlook'.[96] In short, Steuco's work 'did not seek to reform but to *preserve*'.[97] As we shall discover in the analysis of Haggard's literature and in the context of nineteenth-century theology, this difference resonates in terms of tradition and renewal, apostolic succession and Protestant reform.

The Ficinian notion that Hermes Trismegistus transmitted the wisdom of Moses through the classical philosophers persisted until in 1614 the *Corpus Hermeticum* was dated on anachronistic and stylistic grounds to Late classical antiquity by the Genevan scholar and philologist Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614).[98] These texts of Alexandrian Hermetism [99] were actually written in Alexandria and the Nile Delta in the first centuries of the Christian era.[100] Nevertheless, some Hermetic philosophers ignored the dating and carried on regardless.

Whilst the idea of a bona fide 'Hermetic Tradition' as formulated by Frances Yates with regard to its manifestation in the Italian Renaissance, the so-called 'Yates Paradigm', has long since been critiqued [101] and largely abandoned, the ideas of what I am calling as an umbrella term a 'Hermetic discourse' for what are at times the contrary-wise ideas occultism and esotericism, remains a valid arena of enquiry. This discourse has often been associated historically with Egyptian revivalism.

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[96] Hanegraaff, *Esotericism in the Academy*, p.9.
[97] Ibid., p.9.
[98] Faivre, *The Eternal Hermes*, p. 40. On Casaubon's dating, See Anthony Grafton, 'Protestant versus Prophet: Isaac Casaubon on Hermes Trismegistus', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 46 (1983), 78-93.
[99] On this specialist terminology, Faivre writes: 'The use of "Hermetism" prevails now for designating the Alexandrian Hermetic texts (the Hermetica), as well as the works in their wake until the present time, while "Hermeticism" serves to designate much more generally a variety of esoteric "sciences," like alchemy. "Hermeticist" refers to both notions, particular and general/here, above, it connotes the general one); the context alone indicates which one is meant. In the particular narrow sense, "Hermetist" is sometimes used. (See Faivre, *The Eternal Hermes*, p.39.) The title 'Hermetic Philosophy and Related Currents' is the title given to the Professorial Chair at the University of Amsterdam in relation to the academic discipline of Western esotericism. I have used the term 'Hermetic Discourse' in the broadest sense to cover esotericism, nineteenth-century occultism and the idea of hidden or secret doctrine.
[100] Faivre, *The Eternal Hermes*, p. 181. Hermes Trismegistus is now recognised as a mythical figure, often associated with a divine genealogy of a varying number of individuals – usually with more than one Hermes - associated euhemeristically at the point of origin with the god Hermes himself. The Greeks equated the Egyptian god Thoth with Hermes. As Faivre writes: 'The most classic genealogy, contrived in the Hellenistic era between the third or second century BCE, starts the Hermes series with Thoth, who carved his knowledge on stelae and concealed it. His son was Agathodemon, who himself begat the second Hermes called Trismegistus, whose son was Tat.' (Faivre, *The Eternal Hermes*, p.17).
[101] See Frances A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1991). On the criticism of the 'Yates Paradigm', see Wouter J. Hanegraaff, 'Beyond the Yates Paradigm: The Study of Western Esotericism between Counterculture and New Complexity', *Aries* 1, 1 (2001), 5-37.

There are four main historical periods of 'Egyptian revival' in Europe. As we shall see, this revivalism is often associated with a Christianity under threat in one form or another. The first is that of the Florentine *quattrocento* and is principally associated with the Christian Neoplatonic philosopher Marsilio Ficino's[102] translation of the *Corpus Hermeticum.*[103] This had resulted from the efflux of many important Greek texts following the collapse of Byzantium, and with the threat to a Christendom cast beneath the shade of the Ottoman Turks.[104] The second period is that proposed by Jan Assmann: that of the latter half of the seventeenth century.[105] Whereas the Italian Renaissance Egyptophiles were toying with integrating Egyptian ideas into the Christian thought of the period that might later be deemed 'heretical', the more rationalist and historically critical scholars of this later phase were working within strict boundaries 'where an interest in Egypt had to be legitimised. Therefore, this later phase is primarily concerned with Egypt as the historical background of Moses, monotheism and revelation.'[106] These scholars then were looking to Egypt as the origin of Judaeo-Christian monotheism, 'despite its obvious polytheistic and idolatrous appearance, Egyptian religion was described as containing an esoteric and original monotheism or pantheism.'[107] The third is that of that of Napoleon Bonaparte's Egyptian campaign – both martial and intellectual courtesy of his *savants* - in 1798-1801, and the final period is that associated with the British Protectorate in Egypt from 1882. The last period was associated with biblical criticism, Broad Church liberal reform, and an occult efflorescence at the *fin de siècle*: this is the time frame about which we shall have the most to say with regard to Haggard's literature, the development of the discipline of Egyptology, and related theological

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[102] The fascination with Egypt nevertheless extends back through the Middle Ages to the classical period. As Faivre writes: 'The *Asclepius,* one of the texts rich in Egyptian mysteries that belonged to the Hermetic literature of 2nd century Alexandria, circulated in Latin throughout the Middle Ages; and in 1471 Marsilio Ficino published his Latin translation of the recently discovered *Corpus Hermeticum.*' See Antoine Faivre, 'Egyptomany', in *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism* (Leiden: Brill, 2006) 328-30, (p.329).

[103] The *Corpus Hermeticum* is a series of 17 Greco-Egyptian mystico-philosophical tractates or *logoi* of which only 14 were known to Ficino. See Brian P. Copenhaver, *Hermetica: The Greek Corpus Hermeticum and the Latin Asclepius in a New English Translation, with Notes and Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[104] See Richard Mackenney, *Renaissances: The Cultures of Italy c.1300-1600* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

[105] Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), p.19.

[106] Ibid., p.19.

[107] Ibid., p.20.

speculations. The next context to consider for Haggard's religiosity is a biographical one.

Of Orchids and Ostriches: Biographical Notes[108] *and Preliminary Critique*

On 22 June 1856, Henry Rider Haggard was born to William and Ella Haggard into a large Norfolk family, based in the modest Bradenham Hall, and thus into the landed gentry. He was the eighth of ten children and the sixth of seven sons.[109] His mother and several of his siblings were literary: Ella published *Myra; or the Rose of the East* (a tale of the Afghan War in nine cantos) [110] in the year after his birth, and Rider was essentially the most successful of their coterie. Famously, and unlike his brothers, he was not considered worthy of the financial investment of a private school and Oxbridge education, and as a result he attended Ipswich Grammar School where, in spite of his father's doubts, he excelled in Classics.[111] His father's comment that he was 'only fit to be a green grocer', [112] whilst hurtful, is likely to have launched Haggard on a lifetime of autodidacticism.

In the early 1870s, perhaps at a loss as to see the direction his life would take, Haggard became involved in occult and spiritualist circles. Much of this time is related in the semiautobiographical *Love Eternal.* This novel, although written many years later, has much to say about his questioning of spiritualism and the conflicts within Anglicanism. It features the character Godfrey who attended the same 'crammer' as Haggard and likewise travelled abroad early in his youth. In 1875 Haggard departed to the Cape Colony in Southern Africa where his father's connection with a friend and

[108] Aside from his own autobiography, *The Days of My Life*, there are a number of biographies of H. Rider Haggard used in this account, of which, in terms of an exhaustive coverage of all available documentary materials, Morton Cohen's remains the definitive account: Morton Cohen, *Rider Haggard: His Life and Works* (London: Hutchinson of London, 1960). In terms of the man himself, his personality and his mystical proclivities, it is perhaps understandable that his daughter Lilias' is the most telling: Lilias Haggard, *The Cloak That I Left*. Peter Berresford Ellis presents a more sympathetic view of Haggard's religious and esoteric side in Peter Berresford Ellis, *H. Rider Haggard: A Voice from The Infinite* (London: Routledge, 1978). Norman Etherington's volume, as it proclaims, is the first full length treatment of Haggard's fiction; it contains some useful biographical detail, though he is rather disparaging of Haggard's visionary assertions; he provides a degree of focus on the psychoanalytic interpretations of Haggard's literature: Norman Etherington, *Rider Haggard* (Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers, 1984). Others include D.S. Higgins, *Rider Haggard: The Great Storyteller* (London: Cassell Ltd., 1981), and Tom Pocock, *Rider Haggard and The Lost Empire: A Biography* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1993).

[109] On the lives of other family members, see Victoria Manthorpe, *Children of Empire: The Victorian Haggards* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1996).

[110] Cohen, *Rider Haggard*, p.23.

[111] Ibid., p.24. Five went to Oxford or Cambridge and the sixth went into the Navy.

[112] Ibid., p.22.

Norfolk neighbour Sir Henry Bulwer, recently appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, had resulted in a staff appointment.[113] Subsequently, he would assume the role of amanuensis to Sir Theophilus 'Sompseu' Shepstone (1817-1893) on an expedition to the Transvaal, and Shepstone would become an important mentor to the young Haggard.[114] This early experience of Africa would instigate his writing, eventually providing the locally-acquired knowledge for his work on the Zulu nation and its demise under Imperial machinations, in what has been termed his 'salvage ethnography'.[115]

It does not take a psychiatrist to make the apodictic statement that it is impossible to carry out a Mental State Examination on an individual that is dead. Thus, all psychobiography is by its very nature condemned to be the author's subjective speculation and skewed inference. However, there are some life events in any biography which make certain reflections at least tenable. In 1875, prior to his departure for Africa, Haggard had met and fallen in love with Lily ('Lilith') Jackson, but the affair was ill-fated, partly due to the intervention of his father who had fulminated in a letter to Haggard against the abandonment of his African posting and potential financial independence. Years later when she was terminally ill, Haggard would look after Lily in her last days. He subsequently met Louisa Margitson and she 'became his companionable "Louie" but never succeeded in making him forget the promise and disappointment of his first great love'.[116] Many of Haggard's novels feature an emotional rather than sexual troilism, engaged in by a man and two women: for one woman he holds a dispassionate fealty and articulates a deontological necessity, and for the other he bears a literal 'eternal', transcendent spiritual love. The classic example of this is his novel *The Way of The Spirit* of which we shall have more to say anon. Of the eighty-six letters between Rider Haggard and Louisa that this author has reviewed, it is clear that she was not his 'soul mate'.[117] Whilst there is a clear love and affection for his spouse, on only one occasion of these twenty-one years of letters does he ever mention

[113] Sir Henry Earnest Gascoyne Bulwer (1836-1914), nephew of the novelist Edward Bulwer-Lytton. We shall have much to say on the latter's influence on Haggard in due course.
[114] *Sompseu*, more accurately 'Somsewu' or 'Somtsewu', was Shepstone's Zulu name, meaning 'Father of Whiteness'. See Endnote 38 to Chapter 4 in H. Rider Haggard, *Diary of an African Journey* (1914), ed. and Introduction by Stephen Coan (London: Hurst & Company, 2001), p.122.
[115] Spalding Lewis, 'Romancing the Zulu: H. Rider Haggard, "Nada the Lily", and Salvage Ethnography', *English in Africa,* 2, 39 (2012), 69-84.
[116] Etherington, *Rider Haggard*, p. 7.
[117] Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MC32/39/1-86: 5 Nov 1903 – 22 Oct 1924: 86 Personal Letters from Rider Haggard to his wife Louisa.

anything remotely philosophical or talk about the 'big questions' which dominated his literature.[118] One gets the impression that Louisa did not wish to or could not engage with her husband on such matters. She was mundane and urbane, whereas from early on Haggard's sense and taste for the exotic were evident. As an agrarian in Africa he raised ostriches;[119] as an arable farmer in England he was also an orchidologist.[120] However, from 1875 to 1881 - which included his African sojourn - Haggard had the less than exotic experiences of the tripartite antagonisms and territorial wrangling of the Imperial British, Boer and Zulu peoples, resulting in the Zulu War and the First Boer War, the details of which need not concern us here.[121] Suffice it to say that Haggard had a personal involvement in the initial annexation of the Transvaal - notably assisting in the raising of the Union Jack at Pretoria in 1877; he was appointed English clerk to the Transvaal colonial secretary in the same year. His experience of the violence of the massacre which the British suffered on the point of the Zulu *assegai* at Isandlwana in 1879 left a lasting impression. He resigned his government post that year and took up ostrich farming with his friend Arthur Cochrane in northern Natal; he also took a trip back to England that year and met and married Louisa, and in November 1880 the couple set off back to the ostrich farm. However, the outbreak of the Transvaal rebellion brought war to his immediate vicinity as the 'hapless British general Colley suffered decisive defeat only a few miles away at Majuba'.[122] Haggard, fearful of the consequences of falling into the hands of the Boers (given that he had raised the Union flag over the Transvaal) wound up the partnership with Cochrane, and in 1881 took his family back to England. He was notably embittered with Gladstone's subsequent retrocession of the Transvaal and in the final chapter of his *Cetywayo and His White Neighbours* [123] he berated him and accused him of acting out of 'ignorance, dishonesty, and party motives'.[124] Haggard's personal experience at the colonial periphery is thus the principal reason why his life-long attitude to

[118] Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MC32/39/36: 19/3/16: 'It has been a depressing day. I daresay, however, that such dreary hours are good for us for in them at times we enter our own individual gardens of Gethsemane. Then, in the agonies of humility we plumb the dark depths of our own nothingness and by that (really) learn to name the merciful majesty of God. I cannot express what my soul has to say.' (p.4).
[119] Etherington, *Rider Haggard*, pp.4-7.
[120] The latter interest features in *The Holy Flower* - Haggard's take on the German Romantic theme of the *Blaue Blume*. See H. Rider Haggard, *The Holy Flower* (London: Ward, Locke & Co., Limited, 1915).
[121] See the useful 'Chronology' in Etherington, *Rider Haggard*.
[122] Ibid., p.7.
[123] H. Rider Haggard, *Cetywayo and His White Neighbours* (London: Trübner, 1882). An edition with new material was published in 1888).
[124] Cohen, *Rider Haggard*, p.71.

Empire, as we shall discover, was one of enduring inconsistency and inconstancy, ambivalence and vacillation.

He was called to the Bar in 1885 and it was in the years after this that his career as a novelist began, launching stellar success with *King Solomon's Mines*, *She* and *Allan Quatermain*; the effulgence of these early years would, however, never be repeated. After the death of his son Jock in 1891 (see below) the deeply disconsolate Haggard turned from his more other-worldly concerns to the realms of politics and agriculture. His own political aspirations - such as they were given his assertion of his cross-bench politics - were stymied early on: he stood as a parliamentary candidate for a Norfolk constituency but lost by 198 votes.[125] Subsequently he was happy to hide his disappointment 'under the convenient cover of the country gentleman's traditional contempt for money-grubbers and politicians'.[126] His thoughts on farming and its socio-political aspects were expressed quite extensively and pragmatically in *A Farmer's Year* (1898) and *Rural England* (1902) and Haggard became thought of as something of an expert in this area. Whilst a life-long Tory, the then Liberal government appointed him to a Royal Commission on coastal erosion and afforestation in 1906 and another knighted him and made him a member of the Dominions Royal Commission in 1912.[127] We shall have cause to examine his more philosophical and theological thoughts on the relationship between the human, nature and divinity in due course. His own work in this area alongside the more philosophical aspect puts him in the spotlight as something of a proto-ecologist and perhaps proponent of the 'deep ecology' that we have come to associate with the New Age movement.[128]

Haggard wrote throughout his life. His last romance *Belshazzar* was published five years after his death.[129] He died on the 14 May 1925 following post-operative complications.

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In his essay entitled *The Mythopoeic Gift of Rider Haggard*, C. S. Lewis presents his mordant criticism of Haggard.[130] As an example of this, he

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[125] He says in his autobiography that he was a person who 'actually dared to think for himself and [possessed] that hateful thing, "a cross-bench mind"'. See Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, II, p.106.
[126] Etherington, *Rider Haggard*, p. 15.
[127] Ibid., p. 16.
[128] On the discursive complexities of the 'Deep Ecologies', see Joseph Christian Greer, 'Deep Ecology and the Study of Western Esotericism', in *Contemporary Esotericism*, ed. by Egil Asprem and Kennet Granholm (London: Routledge, 2013), pp.287-308.
[129] H. Rider Haggard, *Belshazzar* (London: Stanley Paul & Co., 1930).

writes: ‘The real defects of Haggard are two. First, he can’t write. Or rather (I learn from Mr Cohen) won’t.[131] Won’t be bothered. Hence the *clichés,* jocosities, frothy eloquence.’[132] Nevertheless, Lewis describes Haggard’s ‘overall sturdiness’. By this he means that his work does not merely consist in ungrounded flights of fantasy: ‘Even as an author he can sometimes be shrewd – as when in *She* [sic] Allan Quatermain neither succumbs to the charms of Ayesha nor believes her ‘tall’ autobiographical stories. By making Quatermain keep his head Haggard shows he can keep his own.’[133]

In answer to Lewis’ critique we should consider the importance of the influence of Haggard’s close friend Andrew Lang and his anthropologised Greek epic. Rather than the usual dismissive accusations of ‘purple prose’ and Lewis’ ‘frothy eloquence’, Simon Dentith sees the language of the Homeric epic. When in *King Solomon’s Mines*, Ignosi, prince of the Kukuanas sings his victory song, ‘we get the full panoply of epic diction – elevated language, inversion, periphrasis and epic simile.’[134] In fact, he has been described as ‘obsessed’ with epic: *The World’s Desire* following on from Homer’s Odyssey and his own saga inspired by a trip to Iceland, *Eric Brighteyes.* Dentith nevertheless apportions Haggard a ‘sophisticated novelistic mentality’.[135] Critics frequently complain about what is perceived as sententious philosophising, and for Lewis this encapsulates the second problem, the ‘intellectual defects’. Although Haggard had sense, he was unaware of his limitations:

> He attempts to philosophise. Again and again in his stories we see a commonplace intelligence, armed (or hampered) with an eclectic outfit of vaguely Christian, theosophical and spiritualistic notions, trying to say something profound about that fatal subject, ‘Life.’ This is seen at its embarrassing worst whenever Ayesha speaks. If she was really Wisdom’s daughter, she did not take after her parent.[136]

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[130] C. S. Lewis, *On Stories and Other Essays on Literature*, ed. by Walter Hooper (Orlando, FL: Harcourt, Inc., 1982). ‘The Mythopoeic Gift of Rider Haggard’ was Hooper’s title for Lewis’ review of Morton Cohen’s biography of Haggard, which appeared under the title ‘Haggard Rides Again’ in *Time and Tide,* 3 September 1960.
[131] Cohen, *Rider Haggard*, pp.77-79.
[132] Lewis, *On Stories*, p.98.
[133] Ibid., p.98. Lewis is, of course, confusing *She* with *She and Allan* - Allan Quatermain does not feature in *She.*
[134] Simon Dentith, *Epic and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 184.
[135] Ibid., p.188.
[136] Lewis, *On Stories and Other Essays on Literature*, pp.98-99.

This account attempts a more rigorous analysis of Lewis' 'eclectic outfit' – more accurately occult syncretism - in an assessment of Haggard's religious thought and esoteric proclivities. Whilst Lewis clearly had little time for the latter, he acknowledges that Haggard had a gift for story-telling: 'What keeps us reading in spite of all these defects is of course the story itself, the myth. Haggard is a text-book case of the mythopoeic gift pure and simple.'[137] However, he dismisses Haggard's belief that there was 'something more' to his stories. Although he acknowledges that it might be the work of what Kipling also called 'the daemon' and says: 'It is quite unaffected by any foolish notions which the author himself, after the daemon has left him, may entertain about his own myths.'[138] Lewis acknowledges the 'numinous' or esoteric aspect, but does not feel that Haggard articulates it. He subscribes to Kipling's view that something worked 'through' Haggard, but sees him merely as a passive conduit, almost in a mediumistic sense, who didn't understand what he was writing. Pocock says something very similar, arguing that Haggard's books were considered merely as thrilling yarns until psychoanalysis made the source of the thrills apparent, 'and, with it, the realisation that their author was innocently unaware of the depths he was dredging'.[139] The speculation that Haggard was unaware of psychodynamic psychology is incorrect. Although he may not have cited Freud or Jung[140] (though, as will be shown, they were clearly influenced by *him*), in his fiction Haggard referred directly to the Hegelian philosophical roots for the conceptualization of the Unconscious, through the voice of the mesmerist Jacob Meyer in *Benita: An African Romance* (1906):[141]

> There is no such thing as a spirit, an identity that survives death. But there is such a thing as the sub-conscious self, which is part of the animating principle of the universe, and, if only its knowledge can be unsealed, knows all that has passed and all that is passing in that universe. One day perhaps you will read the works of my compatriot, Hegel, and there you will find it spoken of.[142]

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[137] Ibid., p.99.
[138] Ibid., p.99.
[139] Pocock, *Rider Haggard and The Lost Empire*, p. xi.
[140] Freud's *Die Traumdeutung* (1899) was published in English as 'The Interpretation of Dreams' in 1913 and Jung's *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido* (1912) was published in English as 'Psychology of the Unconscious: a study of the transformations and symbolisms of the libido, a contribution to the history of the evolution of thought' in 1916. Haggard was writing up until 1925.
[141] On this subject see especially Jon Mills, *The Unconscious Abyss: Hegel's Anticipation of Psychoanalysis* (Albany NY: SUNY Press, 2002). In the context of German Romanticism and the Unconscious see also S. J. McGrath *The Dark Ground of Spirit: Schelling and The Unconscious* (Hove: Routledge, 2012).
[142] H. Rider Haggard, *Benita: An African Romance* (London: Cassell & Company, Limited, 1906), p.267.

We have already seen that Haggard saw the imagination as the 'still small voice calling from the Infinite', representing an organ for the apperception of hidden truths, and it is easy to see how this could be couched in the metaphor of a 'daemon'. In any case, Lewis concludes, 'A great myth is relevant as long as the predicament of humanity lasts. It will always work, on those who can receive it, the same catharsis.'[143]

Lewis was not alone amongst prominent British authors to write on their experience of Haggard's literature. Graham Greene also wrote on Haggard in his essay *Rider Haggard's Secret*, and takes a psychological approach in his interpretation, seeing grief and a preoccupation with *thanatos* as the driving factors. In his more psycho-biographical approach to the literature, he purports to uncover the 'hidden man', that is, Haggard and his recalcitrant melancholia. He begins by saying that seldom do authors pay a debt of gratitude to those other than the great or fashionable, and he lists forgotten figures, amongst them 'Rider Haggard, perhaps the greatest of all who enchanted us when we were young. Enchantment is just what this writer exercised; he fixed pictures in our minds that thirty years have been unable to wear away.'[144] Greene acknowledges that if Haggard's writing could at times be 'a little awkward and stilted' it was at least 'free from ambiguities and doubts, and with the worn rhetoric of honesty'.[145] However one criticises Haggard, he at least can never have been said to have written pabulum.

There is little doubt that the internal catastrophe of the death of his son in middle life was one from which Haggard never recovered. Greene comments on this as a source of Haggard's melancholy, and the tragic end of many of his stories. He says:

> The loss of his only son in childhood nearly broke Haggard in middle life, but yet his grief had the common direct quality: he was not compelled to watch himself turn it into words.
>
> 'Jock was dead, so he mustn't be mentioned,' Sir Godfrey Haggard writes. 'To come on a book or a toy that once belonged to my young cousin (whom I never knew) was to strike a hush over the room such as might almost have been observed towards a relative who had been hanged for murder. [...]. A few words from Allan Quatermain on how the joy of life had left him with his son's death – 'I have just buried my boy, my poor handsome boy of whom I was so proud, and

[143] Lewis, *On Stories and Other Essays on Literature*, p.100.
[144] Graham Greene, 'Rider Haggard's Secret', *Collected Essays* (London: Vintage Books, 1999), pp.157-61(p.157).
[145] Ibid., p.157.

> my heart is broken. It is very hard having only one son to lose him thus; but God's will be done. Who am I that I should complain?' This is all Haggard allowed himself. He was a public author and the private life remained the private life in so far as he could control it.[146]

Greene is clearly stating that Haggard is expressing grief for the death of his son through Quatermain. This could not have been the case, as the story of the death of Allan Quatermain's son was written *before* the death of Haggard's son Jock, a 'presentiment' which he felt he had ignored, and which haunted him for the rest of his life. Greene is not the first commentator to propose Haggard's preoccupation with death. Richard Pearson moves beyond the solely sexual aspect of psychoanalytic theory to examine the other aspect of Freud's *eros-thanatos* coupling - the death instinct. He sees the pursuit of death as a fundamental driving force in Haggard's narratives manifesting itself as a species of gothic desire. He presents Haggard as an exemplar of Victorian gothic in that

> At a purely mechanistic level, Haggard's best known works deploy typical tropes of gothic fiction to create dramatic situations of terror: the sealed tomb and labyrinth of *King Solomon's Mines* (1885), the death pit of *She* (1886), the eerie bat-infested pyramid tomb of *Cleopatra* (1889), the torture dungeon of *The World's Desire* (1890).[147]

During the course of the thesis I shall contend that, rather than a gothic preoccupation or obsession with death, Haggard uses these tropes to foreground his philosophy of *amor aeternus* which transcends death: his 'Love Eternal.' As this will involve a rigorous analysis of Haggard's sources, it is apposite at this juncture to review the evidence for his linguistic capabilities.

Haggard's Language Skills

In terms of Haggard's sources, it is important to have a grasp of his knowledge of languages. Although he is often vague in terms of source material, it is nevertheless apparent what he could and couldn't read. Thus, we can adduce the following with reasonable confidence. Haggard was relatively fluent in French. As a boy he went to stay with a family in

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[146] Ibid., pp.157-58.

[147] Richard Pearson, 'Archaeology and Gothic Desire: Vitality Beyond the Grave in H. Rider Haggard's Ancient Egypt', in *Victorian Gothic: Literary and Cultural Manifestations in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Ruth Robbins and Julian Wolfreys (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2000), pp.218-44 (p.218).

Switzerland to improve his French in the summer of 1872.[148] In the work that I have covered, he cites his friend and colleague the Egyptologist Gaston Maspero twice, and it is the French editions that he cites;[149] in addition, for *Montezuma's Daughter* (1893), he cites a French translation of a Spanish history.[150] Andrew Lang's personal correspondence with his friend frequently opens with a line or two in French - and there is no reason to suspect that this was a purely academic affectation.[151]

Aside from the use of the occasional word, Haggard spoke no German. As noted above, he cites French Egyptologists in their own language, but Alfred Wiedemann in the English translation.[152] His German literary sources – notably Friedrich von Schiller - are likely derived in translation from one of his avowedly favourite authors - the scholar, novelist, and Germanist, Edward Bulwer-Lytton.[153] He also quotes an English translation of Friedrich Rückert's German translation of Rumi.[154]

Although he was something of an amateur Egyptologist, it is unlikely that he had more than a passing familiarity with Ancient Egyptian scripts and languages: Hieroglyphic; Hieratic; Demotic or Coptic. There is one note-book extant where he appears to be attempting to translate hieroglyphs - but that is it.[155] However, in *Cleopatra*, the city of Abydos, centre for the worship of Osiris, is given in a transliteration of its Coptic form as *Abouthis.*[156]

Haggard was proficient in Latin though seemingly less so in Greek. Lilias Haggard reports that her father had a 'good grounding in the classics',[157] and Morton Cohen reports that 'He once wrote a set of Latin verses of so

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[148] Higgins, *Rider Haggard*, p. 9.
[149] Gaston Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient* (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie.,1875), and Gaston Maspero, *Les Contes Populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne* (Paris: J. Maisonneuve, 1882).
[150] See the prefatory 'Note' in H. Rider Haggard, *Montezuma's Daughter* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1893): '*The prayer in chapter xxvi. is freely rendered from Jourdanet's French translation of Fray Bernardino de Sahagun's History of New Spain, written shortly after the conquest of Mexico (Book VI., chap. v.), to which monumental work and to Prescott's admirable history the author of this romance is much indebted.*' (p. iv.).
[151] Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MS4694/23/1-15. Letters from Andrew Lang to Rider Haggard.
[152] Alfred Wiedemann, *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul* (London: H. Grevel & Co., 1895). The translator is acknowledged but remains unnamed.
[153] Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *The Poems and Ballads of Schiller: With a Brief Sketch of the Author's Life* (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1844).
[154] Anonymous, eds, *Essays in Translation and Other Contributions: Reprinted from the "Journal of Education" with Editorial Notes and Comments* (London: William Rice, 1885), pp. 188-89.
[155] MC 32/52: Rough Diary and Notebook.
[156] H. Rider Haggard, *Cleopatra: Being an Account of the Fall and Vengeance of Harmachis, The Royal Egyptian, as Set Forth by his Own Hand* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1889), p.13.
[157] Haggard, *The Cloak that I Left*, p.31.

high a quality that a master grew suspicious and accused him of cribbing.'[158] However, he sought the assistance of his old headmaster Dr Holden to write the Greek for the 'Sherd of Amenartas' featured in *She.*[159] In the same romance he also uses a term in Greek in a footnote concerning Kallikrates' (Ayesha's lover's) grandfather – also called Kallikrates, and mentioned by Herodotus: 'This Kallikrates, who appears to have been as brave as he was beautiful, is subsequently mentioned by Herodotus as having been buried among the *'ιρένες* (young commanders).'[160]

Finally, although he had more than a passing interest in things Scandinavian, there is no evidence that he was familiar with Old Norse or its dialects, though it is more than likely that he lifted *Kör* (for Ancient Kôr) from the *Prose Edda* (see below).

This has provided a useful overview of the potential sources for his ideas as divided by language. In the next section we consider the means by which these ideas were promoted

New Imperialism, New Journalism and New Romance

Alongside a preliminary consideration of Haggard's ideas - what he wrote and why he wrote it - we should also consider briefly how he engaged with and promoted his literary enterprise, particularly at the start of his career.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century was marked by a new aggressive surge of European colonial expansionism, and this so-called 'New Imperialism' was particularly exemplified by what has become known as the 'Scramble for Africa.' It is significant that the Berlin Conference at which the European powers divided Africa amongst themselves took place in 1885, the year of the publication of *King Solomon's Mines*, and this resulted in a permanent association in the public consciousness between Haggard and Africa. Haggard's early work was produced in a journalistic context, and his novels frequently featured detail that was garnered by himself as the 'man on the spot'. By employing this type of *explorer ethnography*,[161] Haggard contributed, as we shall see, to the debates concerning the contrasting opinions of the 'armchair anthropologists' and

[158] Cohen, *Rider Haggard*, p. 26.
[159] Haggard, *The Cloak that I Left*, p.129.
[160] Haggard, *She: A History of Adventure* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1887), p.10.
[161] Snyder, Carey J. *British Fiction and Cross-Cultural Encounters: Ethnographic Modernism from Wells to Woolf* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p.23.

the first-hand reporter. His contributions to what Andrew Griffiths has called the 'New Journalism' are important as we shall see in the rise of comparative religious studies and anthropology – even when they were transformed into what might be termed 'fictional reportage'.[162] As Griffiths says:

> Henry Rider Haggard's 1887 novel *She* – one of the wildest of all late-Victorian romances – was compared by a *Pall Mall Gazette* reviewer to an unlikely literary combination. 'Had Dante been accompanied on his tour through the "città dolente" by a correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*', suggested the reviewer, 'the result would have been just such a book as "She".' Evidently, the fiction describing the imagined experience of empire was closely linked to reportage in the public imagination. The boundaries between novels and news, and between news and the events it reported, were increasingly blurred from the mid-1880s. British readers experienced their empire as a polyglossic discourse formed from the contact between novels, news and imperial activity.[163]

Of particular importance in this regard is the association between Romance and anthropology, notably with regard to Haggard's close friend Andrew Lang and the latter's association with *Longman's Magazine*, in his monthly section entitled 'At The Sign of the Ship' which ran for just short of twenty years.[164] As Julia Reid observes,

> For Anna Vaninskaya, [Andrew Lang's] dual role as romancer and anthropologist is "symptomatic of the intense interdisciplinarity of *fin-de-siècle* intellectual life." Historians and literary critics have become increasingly alert to his role in the cross-fertilization of anthropological and literary disciplines.[165]

For Lang, it could be said that Romance acted as a 'kind of sublimated anthropology'[166] - a view he sustained throughout his long association with *Longman's*. Whilst he was not the editor - and made this disavowal on occasion – 'the reading public persisted in regarding *Longman's* as Andrew Lang's magazine. In a sense the public was right.'[167] Lang essentially used the magazine as a vehicle for his promotion of romantic fiction (as opposed to realism), including that of Haggard. In this regard it is significant, as

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[162] Andrew Griffiths, *The New Journalism, the New Imperialism and the Fiction of Empire, 1870-1900* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
[163] Ibid., pp.1-2.
[164] Oscar Maurer, 'Andrew Lang and Longman's Magazine, 1882-1905', *The University of Texas Studies in English*, 34 (1955), 152-78 (p.152).
[165] Julia Reid, '"King Romance" in *Longman's Magazine*: Andrew Lang and Literary Populism', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 4, 44, (2011), 354-76 (p.354).
[166] George Stocking, Jr., *After Tylor: British Social Anthropology 1888-1951* (London: Athlone Press, 1995), p.52.
[167] Maurer, 'Andrew Lang and Longman's Magazine, 1882-1905', p.152.

Oscar Maurer points out, that the magazine reached ‘its widest circulation during the serial publication of Rider Haggard's *Allan Quatermain* (January-August, 1887).’[168] Lang’s sponsorship of Romance in general and Rider Haggard in particular is, however, likely to have damaged his reputation as a critic, as the reading public were aware of their friendship (Lang dedicated his *In the Wrong Paradise and Other Stories* to Haggard, and Haggard’s *She* was dedicated to Lang). As Maurer remarks, ‘the literary gossip of the time, with a degree of justification, assumed that Lang and Haggard had formed a mutual-admiration society, with Lang as the active partner.’[169] Lang was aware of this and remarked ironically in a review of Haggard’s *Eric Brighteyes* in 1891:

> There exists, I am informed, a popular superstition that I generally review each of Mr. Haggard's novels in from nine to twenty-nine several places. This is not precisely accurate - much the contrary; but I see no reason why I should not review his *Eric Brighteyes* once, if I please.[170]

Nevertheless, we can say that Andrew Lang as friend and critic was Haggard’s literary empire-builder: whilst *Allan Quatermain* was being serialised, Lang published the following verses in ‘The Sign of the Ship’, dedicated to Haggard and Robert Louis Stevenson:

“The Restoration of Romance. To H.R.H and R.L.S.”

King Romance was wounded deep,
All his knights were dead and gone,
All his Court was fallen on sleep,
In a vale of Avalon!

Then you came from South and North,
From Tugela, from the Tweed,
Blazoned his achievements forth,
King Romance is come indeed![171]

[168] Ibid., p.155.
[169] Ibid., p.161.
[170] Andrew Lang, ‘The Sign of the Ship’, *Longman's Magazine*, July 1891, p.329.
[171] Andrew Lang, ‘The Sign of the Ship’, *Longman’s Magazine*, March 1887, p.554.

The intertextuality of this resurgent romance and Haggard's explorer ethnography provide a number of likely explanations of why, in spite of his fealty with exoticism, he never wrote an Indian romance. Firstly, he never went there, and as we shall see the preparatory journey was an important aspect of his writerly modus operandi. Secondly, apart from anything else, his friend Kipling had talked about them neither being 'literary' writers, and the 'hack' mentality would dictate that India was most assuredly Rudyard Kipling's 'patch'.

Notable amongst the many of Haggard's journeys are of course his sojourn in Southern Africa in his youth and his trips to Egypt. The local details he garnered provided for the *vraisemblance* of what George Saintsbury called 'New Romance'.[172] Saintsbury used the term to refer to Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island*, the book that famously - courtesy of a challenge from his brother to write a book as good – would inspire *King Solomon's Mines.* Interestingly, Saintsbury employs the 'boy's book' moniker:

> Stevenson relied on two things, —the adoption of a very elaborate style, and that of a very simple—a quite fairy-tale or "boy's book "—variety of adventure. How much of the singular charm with which he treated the latter depends on the former is no question for this book to do more than pose. But the spell shows no sign of being worked out: which thing, like others, is an allegory.[173]

Note that Saintsbury touches on the allegorical nature of the New Romance; we shall have a good deal more to say in due course about the allegorical nature of Haggardian romance. This resurgent writing genre was, then, not characterised simply by flights of fantasy, but 'a marvellously realistic tale of fantastic adventure'.[174] However, at the same time the New Romance in the 'generic propaganda of Saintsbury, Haggard, Stevenson, and Lang, […] countered introspective, unmanly, and morbid realism with a healthy, action-oriented romance in the tradition of Scott and Dumas'.[175] Haggard's view of Romance as will become apparent had more to do with the sacrality of the imagination than the exotic adventure on paper, and his engagement with what would now be called the 'occulture' of empire.

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[172] George Saintsbury, *The Later Nineteenth Century* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), p.129.

[173] Ibid., p.129

[174] From a review of *She* cited in Michael Saler, 'Modernity, Disenchantment, and the Ironic Imagination', *Philosophy and Literature*, 1, 28 (2004), 137-49 (p.143).

[175] Anna Vaninskaya, 'The Late-Victorian Romance Revival: A Generic Excursus', *English Literature in Transition*, 51, 1(2008), 57-79 (p.64).

The Fin-de-Siècle Occult Milieu

Rider Haggard was deeply immersed in the spiritualist and occult 'scene' as a young man, and pursued the ideas he gleaned there for much of his adult life. This in turn was part of a broader religio-philosophical engagement with the Hermetic discourse comprising references to and dialogues on a hidden Nature, mystical gnosis and secret doctrine. I can state quite categorically at the outset that although he was familiar with the whole gamut of what are now termed Western esoteric or Hermetic Philosophical ideas, he was never a member of the Theosophical Society,[176] and he was never a member of the famed paramasonic magical order, the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn.[177] As a Church-going Anglican, albeit an unorthodox one, he would not have *formally* signed up to Theosophy; likewise as a member of the 'squirearchy' and some-time party political candidate it would not have been deemed appropriate for Haggard to be known as, or rumoured to be, a ceremonial magician. Nevertheless, the network of prominent figures with whom he associated is quite striking. As will be discussed during this account, he was friends with Wallis Budge who also taught Egyptology to Florence Farr, actress and one-time *Praemonstratrix* of the Golden Dawn.[178] W.B. Yeats, himself famous as a Golden Dawn initiate,[179] corresponded with him on the subject of the Egyptian Ka;[180] in his youth he attended séances with Lady Caithness, the prominent spiritualist; his romance *The Mahatma and the Hare* was partly illustrated by the spiritualist and Theosophist W.T. Horton, with whom he corresponded;[181] he also corresponded with Sir Oliver Lodge, one-time

[176] Rider Haggard's name does not appear on the Adyar Membership Register or in the Membership Ledgers of the Theosophical Society present at Gloucester Place, London. See 'The Theosophical Society General Register 1875-1942' <http://tsmembers.org/ > [accessed 16 December 2016].
[177] This has been confirmed both by the historian of the Golden Dawn R.A. Gilbert, and by Prof. Henrik Bogdan, University of Gothenburg (personal communications).
[178] That is, chief instructor in magical ritual. See Ellic Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn: A Documentary History of a Magical Order 1887-1923* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), pp.66-67.
[179] Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn*, pp.69-70. On Yeats and the Golden Dawn, see George Mills Harper, *Yeats's Golden Dawn: The Influence of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn on the life and art of W.B. Yeats* (Wellingborough: The Aquarian Press, 1974).
[180] Cohen, *Rider Haggard*, p.199.
[181] According to David Gange, this correspondence was concerned with the possibilities of Haggard in some way 'regressing' to a past life in Ancient Egypt: 'Haggard became so obsessed with the landscape of Memphis in ancient times that in questioning a medium known to embark on "spiritual wanderings" [i.e. Horton] he wrote, "I suppose there isn't any method for getting oneself back to old Egypt. How do you do it? I should like to go."' See David Gange, 'Pithom', in *Cities of God*, ed. by Gange and Ledger-Lomas, pp.136-63 (p.145). The letter cited is H. Rider Haggard to W.T. Horton, 14 December 1910, Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MC 31/12.

president of the Society for Psychical Research, and of course Andrew Lang who was also a president of the Society.

II. Methodology and Research Questions

Methodological Reflections and Considerations

Western esotericism is by its nature an interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary arena of study. The thesis topic thus calls for a polymodal yet integrated methodological approach combining a number of techniques and perspectives which are outlined below. We have already touched on the idea that Haggard was involved in the debates over the historical veracity of the Bible and the emergence of comparativism. We shall deploy Haggard's thought and literature as a springboard to explore the broader processual mechanisms by which British occultism emerged particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Hermeneutics and Historicism: Appropriation

Much of what follows is concerned with the exchange of religious ideas between the colonial periphery and the metropolitan centre, and how such ideas were transmitted by Haggard's fiction. In this regard, it is not long before we encounter the problem of *appropriation.* As Stephen Prickett has pointed out, the term is ambiguous. Its Latin etymology from the addition of *ad* ('to') to *proprius* ('own') *appropriare* or *adpropriare* means to 'make one's own'. However, from its first appearances in a pre-Reformation ecclesiastical legal context, used to describe the transfer of tithes or endowed benefices from a parish to a monastic house, it has always carried the taint of implied theft, 'perhaps because of the inevitable suggestion that such transfers, whatever the pretext, were often morally dubious'.[182] In the context of Orientalism, it has become a commonplace to be presented with Edward Said's view for whom, when contemplating 'the European creation, construction and subsequent control of 'the Orient,' such a process is reprehensible and inevitably destructive to both sides'.[183] Nevertheless, as Prickett remarks and Said 'tacitly concedes, it is only one example from many of the normal process by which one culture comes to

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[182] Stephen Prickett, *Origins of Narrative: The Romantic Appropriation of the Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp.26-27.
[183] Ibid., p.28.

understand another by modelling it in its own terms'.[184] As we shall see, appropriation in all its complexity involves elements of *both* theft *and* normal remodelling, but the focus on the latter will allow us to shed light on the complex processual mechanisms of syncretic theology. For Paul Ricoeur, 'the link between appropriation and revelation is, in my view the cornerstone of a hermeneutics which seeks to overcome the failures of historicism', by which he meant to avoid the distancing, alienation, and scepticism of the historicist, and to seek to *understand* the writings of the past and the meanings they held for, in this case, Haggard and his audience.[185] Certainly, Ricoeur intended that, in terms of appropriation as performed by the historical reader, 'the process of making an initially alien idea one's own does not involve so much seizure and control, as a kind of surrender to what *it* has to say'.[186] However, my aim here is not to substitute Ricoeur's hermeneutic method for the historicist. In any case, the claims made for hermeneutical methodology in terms of 'revelation' may be deemed excessive. Rather, in discussing hermeneutics, my intention is to turn the gaze on the hermeneutic process itself, in order to assess its interplay with historicism, and thus elucidate how the varying biblical and historical hermeneutic methods had an impact on the emergence of Haggard's fictional themes, and the intimate relation of the latter with scriptural allusion and theological discourse.

An important aspect of the treatment is the changing ways in which the Bible was read and interpreted, and how this was appropriated in the rise of the Romantic and subsequently New Romantic novel. This is intimately connected with the historicity of the Bible as a chronology of events, and the hermeneutic interpretations which assign an unfolding providential meaning to biblical history, when considered as more than merely a chronology. We have already briefly mentioned the importance of the Tübingen School of German historicism and the discourse generated by its findings. However, as we shall see the various hermeneutic models of biblical interpretation – from the typological theory of the Early Church to the quadripartite interpretational senses of the Middle Ages (literal, allegorical, tropological [moral], anagogical [mystical]) - these modes of

[184] Ibid., p.28.
[185] Paul Ricoeur, *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences: Essays on Language, Action and Interpretation*, ed., trans. and introduced by John B. Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p.154.
[186] Prickett, *Origins of Narrative*, p.30.

biblical critique become important in literary theory. In due course they were themselves appropriated to become enshrined in the Romantic view of history as a whole, in the context of the Romantic unification of religion, philosophy, literature and history.[187] As an important example of these changes, we shall see how the shift of interpretation from one of typology in the Bible, to one of evidence of reincarnation following the collapse of typology in the wake of biblical critique, resulted in the shift in emphasis from the Victorian typological novel to the reincarnation novel of Haggardian Romance.

The methodological approaches thus come from the fields of critical theory, religious studies and anthropology as they are applied within the emergent discipline of Western esotericism, involving as it does the history of science, history of philosophy, and history of religious ideas. It is important to emphasise at this juncture that I am not concerned with producing a 'reading' of Haggard – psychoanalytic, postcolonialist or otherwise – in the literary critical sense. Nor is it to exculpate Haggard from his association with the Imperial project. Rather, it is to reframe the view of Haggard's literature in the context of occult milieu and theological debate. To do this will involve the combination of a number of methodological approaches.

Narratology and Intertextuality

Firstly, using a broad narratological approach I shall deploy a close analysis of the interaction of a series of *strategic narratives of religious legitimization* as these make a manifold appearance in Haggard's literature and correspondence. An important aspect of this which will become apparent is the way in which Haggard problematises the ontological status of his writing by a series of literary devices which blur the boundaries between fact and fiction. In her 1967 presentation and development of Mikhail Bakhtin's central ideas *Bakhtine, le mot, le dialogue et le roman*, Julia Kristeva coined the term *intertextualité*, originally to describe the

[187] Though popular amongst the Schoolmen, the four levels of interpretation were propounded by St. John Cassian as early as the 4th century A.D. See Prickett, *Origins of Narrative*, p.60. On the four levels of interpretation, see Harry Caplan, 'The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Mediaeval Theory of Preaching', *Speculum*, 3, 4 (1929), pp. 282-90.

interaction of the 'text' produced by the speaking or writing-subject and that of the addressee/reader.[188] For Kristeva, this term replaced that of 'intersubjectivity': meaning is not transferred directly from writer to reader, but instead is mediated through codification imparted to the reader and writer by other texts. I shall deploy intertextuality as it has come to be used to refer to a blending of narratives and the crossing of domains of knowledge, notably in this context between fact and fiction. As Kristeva remarked, history and society are 'seen as texts read by the writer, and into which he inserts himself by rewriting them'.[189] It is the way in which Haggard performs this act in the realm of the history of religious and esoteric ideas which is my main focus. For Kristeva, 'any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another', and in what follows I shall endeavour to demonstrate how this is reflected in the processual mechanisms of Haggard's syncretic theology.[190]

Whilst acknowledging that all history is inevitably constructed, and that pure scholarly objectivity is in and of itself a Romantic quest, one can at least attempt to restrict oneself to a dispassionate tone. Haggard critics have often been fiercely polemic, and this polemicism detracts from Haggard scholarship. Nevertheless, this work is not designed to be a paean to 'King Romance'. Recognising the above-mentioned limitations, I shall analyse the cultural influences of the nineteenth-century occult milieu on Haggard's fiction as a product of the so-called New Romantic revival in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and explore how these influences remained in place throughout Haggard's working life. In this regard, the thesis will take on a form which is evocative of the structure of a palimpsest. A palimpsest originally described 'a manuscript or piece of writing material on which later writing has been superimposed on earlier writing', but where the earlier traces are still visible'.[191] The palimpsest

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[188] See Julia Kristeva, 'Word, Dialogue and Novel', in *A Kristeva Reader* ed. by Toril Moi (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1986), pp.34-61. As Moi writes in an introduction to the essay: 'Kristeva's insistence on the importance of the speaking subject as the principal object for linguistic analysis would seem to have its roots in her own reading of Bakhtinian 'dialogism' as an open-ended play between the text of the subject and the text of the addressee, an analysis which also gives rise to the Kristevan concept of 'intertextuality'.' (p.34). On the conceptual evolution of 'Intertextuality', see María Jesús Martínez Alfaro, 'Intertextuality: The Origins and Development of the Concept, *Atlantis*, 1-2, 18 (1996), 268-85.

[189] Kristeva, 'Word, Dialogue and Novel', p. 36.

[190] Ibid., p.37.

[191] Catherine Soanes and Angus Stevenson, eds, *Oxford Dictionary of English,* 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p.1267.

involves a process of historical layering in its fabrication and its explication: older layers and ideas may lie partially obscured but may with care be brought to light. The thesis similarly involves a process of layering during the disquisition. This will of necessity involve a degree of repetition as we return on occasion to a number of key texts, to review them in different contexts and with new insights.

Methodological Agnosticism and Empirico-Criticism

Secondly, from Religious Studies, I take the perspective of *methodological agnosticism,* whereby the beliefs and ideas of the studied author are documented and subjected to critique without expressing any agreement or disagreement in terms of the personal belief system of the critic.[192] Since its inception as an academic subject, the study of Western esotericism has changed significantly.[193] The principal authors have construed a number of different narratives. Kocku von Stuckrad describes Western esotericism as 'secret knowledge', emphasising the preservation of esoteric knowledge as initiatic, and veiled from the eyes of the profane, concerning the relationship between the human, the divine and nature.[194] Wouter J. Hanegraaff has construed esotericism as 'rejected' knowledge where such ideas are rejected as new scientific and theological paradigms are developed.[195] (This also involves the articulation of the category 'magic' by which canonical religion defends itself against the heterodox, and the scientific worldview defines itself in opposition to both of the latter groups by a process of othering against 'superstition' and 'delusion'.) Or it may be seen, as in the work of Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, as representing a core species of knowledge dealing with a spiritual interiority and mystical gnosis, which in terms of the arena of study is common to all three of the

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[192] See Douglas V. Porpora, 'Methodological Atheism, Methodological Agnosticism and Religious Experience', *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 1, 36 (2006), 57-75.

[193] Conferences have been held and books written on the problematics of defining the terms 'Esotericism', 'Occultism' and 'Magic', and there is insufficient space available in this account to engage with these discussions. On the question of what constitutes 'Esotericism', see Antoine Faivre and Wouter J. Hanegraaff, eds, *Western Esotericism and the Science of Religion*, Gnostica 2 (Leuven: Peeters, 1998); on defining 'Occultism', see Hanegraaff's suggestion in *New Age Religion and Western Culture: Esotericism in the Mirror of Secular Thought* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), p.422 (I address this definition later); on the creation of 'Magic' as a reified category, see Randall Styers, *Making Magic: Religion, Magic, and Science in the Modern World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[194] Kocku von Stuckrad, *Western Esotericism: A Brief History of Secret Knowledge* (London: Equinox Publishing Ltd., 2005).

[195] Wouter J. Hanegraaff, *Esotericism in the Academy*, passim.

Abrahamic monotheisms. The implication of the latter is one of immutable metaphysical verities, and this approach has been criticised historiographically as an essentialist, ahistorical perspective.[196]

Surveying the history of the subject, and using the analogy of computer software development, Hanegraaff has 'playfully' suggested that there has been an 'upgrade' from the religionist 'Esotericism 1.0' of its first beginnings as articulated by Mircea Eliade, Henri Corbin and Carl Jung, and as exemplified by the Eranos Conferences, to the 'Esotericism 2.0' as developed by Antoine Faivre. As Hanegraaff acknowledges, Faivre's criteria for what constitutes *ésoterisme* and the emphasis in his later work on empirical study 'enabled Western esotericism 2.0 to get established as a new field of academic research: the former made such research acceptable in a context of mainstream secular scholarship, while the latter provided scholars with a practical tool for defining and demarcating the domain in question', and which remains in place today, accompanied by a rather disparate collection of epigonal perspectives.[197] Hanegraaff's aim, as is the aim of this work, is to contribute to the field of academic Western esotericism, and to consolidate the study of esotericism with a coherent critical methodology: 'Esotericism 3.0'.[198] My own contribution will be in the still relatively underexplored field of esotericism and literature.

The examination of this context of Haggard studies will inevitably encounter theological discourse, which is articulated from the perspective of religious studies rather than any assumptive theological premises or religionist stance. As a result, this will of necessity involve the use of technical language. However, I have striven to keep such terminology to a modicum, in order that we might avoid what Arthur Lovejoy has called 'the pathos of sheer obscurity, the loveliness of the incomprehensible.'[199]

Thirdly, from Anthropology - and related to the above in terms of the ideas expressed within the nineteenth-century occult milieu and its continuing trajectory - the study attempts what is termed an *etic* ('outsider') i.e. objective rather than an *emic* ('insider') i.e. subjective view of the

[196] Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *The Western Esoteric Traditions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). This may be taking a different turn in current academic discourse with the turn to Western esotericism as a 'mode of thought' (in part returning to Anthoine Faivre's original formulation) and the possible implications of the application of the developing field of the Cognitive Science of Religion.
[197] Wouter J. Hanegraaff, 'Textbooks and Introductions to Western Esotericism', *Religion*, 2, 43, (2013), 178-200 (p.179).
[198] Ibid., p.179.
[199] Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936), p.11.

material.[200] We have already noted the limitations in such notions of discrete objectivity: in the consideration of knowledge-gathering by the nineteenth-century historical actors in the field of anthropology it will become apparent that the emic-etic dichotomy was even less clear cut. Our main concern with anthropology will lie with the question of the *intertextuality* involved, and how in this domain in particular there was a focus on purported fact as attributed to fictional representation.

Finally, in terms of the discipline of Western esotericism itself, I employ the technique of textual analysis termed by Wouter J. Hanegraaff the *empirico-critical technique*,[201] largely confining myself to written 'texts'. This will consist of Haggard's published fictional material, letters of correspondence, and autobiographical material where relevant. Comparison of texts in terms of demonstrating esoteric influences will provide evidence where possible of source materials, focussing on direct genetic dependence and commenting to a lesser extent on textual similarity. The latter will nevertheless place Haggard's esoteric speculations within the History of Ideas. Possibly because of accusations of plagiarism early in his career and certainly due to his emphasis on the imagination as a font of creativity and source of divine inspiration, Haggard rarely references his source materials (though on occasion he does provide, as we shall see, 'scholarly footnotes', which are present both in their own right and as literary conceits). This means that his sources have to be pursued along a more allusive trail, which thus requires a close examination of the language that he uses. Frequently, he uses his characters as interlocutors for his own thoughts, and mentions their reading materials which can be interpreted as Haggard's own (notably in the case of Allan Quatermain). Often, as will be demonstrated, mention is made of what Haggard had read, both in his correspondence and the biographies. Admittedly, this might only be the name of the author, so we are not informed of *what* precisely Haggard had read by that author, but may infer this from the context.

In summary, I propose a novel approach in Haggard studies which respects the previous trajectories of Empire studies, postcolonialist perspectives and the feminist analyses of gendered histories. It is inevitably new arising as it does from the perspective of Western esotericism which has only emerged as an academic discipline in the last thirty-five years. In the analysis I shall

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[200] See Russell T. McCutcheon, ed., *The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of religion: A Reader* (London: Continuum, 1999).

[201] See Wouter J. Hanegraaff, 'Empirical method in the study of esotericism', *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion*, 2, 7 (1995), 99-129.

avoid any rigid constructed notions of 'esoteric traditions' in an attempt to situate Haggard in relation to the Hermetic discourse in its Romantic, literary, Theosophical and occult configurations through the long nineteenth century and beyond.

Research Questions

The 'Veil of Isis' has been synecdochised for millennia as representative of the epistemic disconnect between the quotidian and the supernal, the revealed and the occult, the human and the divine. It is therefore apposite to use it to consider the broad thematic concerns and central questions of the three main intellectual currents which I have posited as comprising Haggard's Imperial Occult.

I. THE VEIL OF ISIS: Christian Egyptosophy and Victorian Egyptology

Rider Haggard was fascinated by Egypt. The first section of the thesis seeks to delineate his Christian Egyptosophical speculations in particular, and interrogate more broadly the academic biases and religio-political agendas of Victorian Egyptology. It will also seek to contextualise this particularly in terms of the rifts in the Anglican Communion in response to Higher biblical criticism, and Broad Church liberal reform. It examines the response of an emergent Egyptology to the attacks on Anglican orthodoxy, including the factionalism between Anglican Trinitarians and the Unitarian Church. We begin with a discussion of how such doctrinal questions were approached by an Anglican gaze directed towards Ancient Egypt in a search for archaeological evidence of biblical narratives, and theological precedence in the primordial truth of Egyptian religion. It considers in some detail how such debates found their way into Haggard's Egyptian romances, and the influence of his friend Wallis Budge. Budge promulgated the notion of an 'original monotheism' in Ancient Egypt: behind the panoply of theriomorphic deities there was a 'hidden monotheism' concealed by the hierocracy from the polis, 'the One for the wise, the many for the mass.' This idea was directly adopted by Haggard. In a number of his romances, Haggard also focuses specifically on the history of the pharaoh Akhenaten during the Eighteenth Dynasty − the so-

called ‘Amarna heresy.’ The pharaoh famously abandoned the pantheon of Egyptian gods in favour of the worship of the solar disc – the Aten. In drawing on this ‘Atenism’, Haggard conflates a historically veridical monotheism with Budge’s speculative ‘original monotheism’. The discussion of Akhenaten will also elaborate upon what Jan Assmann has termed the *mnemohistorical* figure of Moses, and deploy Assmann’s consideration of the ‘Hebrew Moses’ versus the ‘Egyptian Moses’, in a discussion of the reasons for Haggard’s specific use of the latter. Finally, as further evidence of Budge’s Christian Egyptosophical thought, I have documented what I have termed an *Osiride Christology*, where Osiris is presented as a type of Christ the Redeemer. This idea is again directly adopted by Haggard to emphasise the miraculous aspects of Christ, as described in Pauline epistolary literature; specifically, his divine nature, his death and resurrection, and substitutionary/vicarious atonement, all of which had been recently queried by Broad Church divines.

The discussion broadens to consider the concept of time in Ancient Egypt, and the importance of the contrasting ‘pagan’ cyclical time and the linear time associated with Christian eschatology. It also considers the notion of the cyclical rise and fall of civilisations as manifest in Haggard’s oeuvre and his reflections on the fragility of empire and its decay. It considers the *temenos* of Ancient Egypt as the progenitor of Western culture, and the sacred locale of the Exodus.

II. ISIS VEILED: Romanticism and the New Romance

As a second intellectual current, Haggard’s engagement with some of the key themes of the Romantic literary movement, rejuvenated in the New Romance of the 1880s and 1890s are discussed, and their relationship to Western esotericism as a whole explored. I shall use the examination of Haggard’s literature to explore the importance of the Romantic imagination to the New Romance of the *fin de siècle*: the imagination considered as a spiritual noetic organ of transcendental apperception. This notion explains why Blavatsky could use Bulwer-Lytton’s fiction in support of her purported Theosophical wisdom, and why Haggard termed the imaginative faculty the ‘still small voice’ calling from the Infinite. Using the Ayesha Series of novels and the mythos of *She*, I shall elucidate Haggard’s esoteric thought as it is couched in the Romantic obsessions with the *Liebestod*, the unending striving for the Infinite, and the process of spiritual

transformation as alchemical transmutation, where Ayesha herself is seen as an avatar of the veiled Isis. I shall explore the alchemical motifs in the Ayesha mythos and compare them with those in Haggard's *Stella Fregelius*.

The eternal war of flesh and Spirit is a central theme of the Ayesha series of romances. A febrile sensuality and physicality − and its failing − are Haggard's obsessions. As a result, I shall examine how Haggard's work foregrounds a soteriological theme, with the backdrop of the antinomy of flesh and Spirit. Love − spiritual love or *agápē* − is seen as an agent of redemption, as opposed to the corrupting influence of *érōs* and concupiscence. In pursuit of *agápē*, therefore, Haggard's lovers regularly die without physical consummation. This dualism is explored in the context of Haggard's referencing of Plato, Pauline epistolary scripture and Swedenborgian esoteric thought. Haggard broadens his philosophical view to portray the seduction of the West by materialism, which he associates with the invasion of 'pagan' rationalist philosophy: Western civilisation and empire lost to spiritual bankruptcy − as opposed to the 'Wisdom of the East', and the veiled Isis of his mystical religiosity.

In the context of Isis as a 'Living Nature', I shall consider some of the contiguities between Haggard's New Romance and the ideas of the German Romantic movement, notably in terms of German Romantic *Naturphilosophie*, and the concepts of *Seelenwanderung* ('transmigration') and *Sympathie.* We shall consider how notions of reincarnationism in Haggard were combined with metempsychosis, and incorporated Romantic ideas of an *ethos of perfectibility* and 'spiritual evolutionism'.

III. ISIS UNVEILED: Theosophy: From *Theosophia Antiqua* to Religious Pluralism

Theosophy is initially discussed in terms of Haggard's early spiritualistic experiments and exposure to the séance culture of the 1870s and 80s, as this is represented both autobiographically and in his semi-autobiographical fiction. As aforementioned, in his early years Haggard moved in the spiritualist circle of Lady Caithness − the great friend of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831−1891), the famed founder of the Theosophical Society. I shall document the evidence for the influence of Theosophical ideas in Haggard's romances. Firstly, by the appropriation of leading Theosophists themselves as characters, and secondly, by the use of specific Theosophical

ideas, including Blavatsky's 'Masters' or 'Mahatmas', cataclysmic civilizational collapse and temporal cyclicity.

In particular I shall adumbrate the influence of Haggard's avowedly favourite author Edward Bulwer-Lytton on his own writing and on the Theosophy of Helena Blavatsky, documenting the triangle of influence and interest formed by the three authors. The influence of both Bulwer-Lytton and Blavatsky is reflected in Haggard's preoccupation with the theme of reincarnation, demonstrating the British reception and construction of Buddhism: a uniquely Victorian transmigration of the soul accompanied by a spiritual evolutionism, which mirrored the social progressivism of the period. Haggard's romances present the equation and conflation of the ideas of karma and reincarnation with those of sin and redemption.

These discussions will be framed in the broader dialogue between Theosophy and the emergent comparative religion of the period. In addition, I shall locate the esoteric aspects of Rider Haggard's 'lost civilisation' and 'lost world' themes within the compass of Victorian anthropology and the racial theories of Theosophical esoteric ethnology. Haggard's engagement with the developing anthropology and comparative religious studies of the period forms an important facet of the study, and reflects in turn the influence of his close friend the *soi-disant* 'psycho-folklorist' and anthropologist Andrew Lang. In addition, therefore, we shall consider how Haggard, along with Andrew Lang, combined anthropological and psychical discourse in a discussion of the late-nineteenth century propensity for intertextuality between journalistic, anthropological and fictional narratives. The scope of Haggard's North-South literary axis of Africa is crucial in this regard. The white, pre-Islamic, proto-Christian religiosity of the initiates of his 'Old Egypt' contrasted with the 'primitive' intuitive power and spirituality of the contemporaneous Zulu in the South African locale.

There is evidence in Haggard's romances of an over-arching esoteric thematic coherence, with parallel streams of what we may call the 'cyclical continuity' of man, the 'world' (Empire) and the cosmos. These are cycles of decay and renewal, separation and reunion, death and rebirth. In addition, this continuity has evolutionary, genealogical and racial facets, and the threat of degeneration – regression as well as progression - is ever present.

In summary, the research questions arising from these considerations are as follows:

1. In what ways did Haggardian literature connect with the efflorescence of occult thought in the last quarter of the nineteenth century?

2. How did Wallis Budge's Egyptological studies influence Haggard's Romantic fiction?

3. How did Haggard's correspondence and literature attempt to present the religious arguments pertaining to Anglican dissonance in the wake of the mid-century *Essays and Reviews*?

4. In what ways did English and German Romanticism influence Haggard?

5. In what way did Haggard's ethnographic journalism and fiction contribute to Victorian anthropology? How did Andrew Lang's anthropological discourse influence him?

6. How does Haggard's parabolic Romance relate to contested Old Testament stories, and New Testament parenesis, notably Pauline epistolary scripture? How does the metaphysical novel described by Bulwer-Lytton relate to Haggard's romance, the Bible and German higher criticism?

7. How are the religious dynamics under imperialism manifest in Haggard's work? How are all of the above questions inflected by the Imperial context?

III. Critical and Theoretical Framework

The thesis is structured by the analysis of a series of *strategic narratives of religious legitimization* and the historiographical discourses which they engender. Within these discursive encounters we consider a series of principal ideas as they are constellated within the three main intellectual currents which comprise the 'Imperial Occult' as it appears in the work of H. Rider Haggard.

I. The narratives of religious legitimization are as follows:

Archaeological. This involves the search for material evidence of biblical historicity and chronology. It also considers evidence for anterior representations (preparationism) in older religious complexes of the Christian dispensation. This narrative also elaborates an evolutionary development of religious thought which results in Christianity, and runs counter to the classical and the *prisca theologia.* It also involves an *epistemology of the artefact*, signalling a focus on material culture rather than philology in comparative religion.

Classical. From Platonizing Christianity to Romantic philhellenism this narrative emphasises the 'prior as essential' (*in stricto sensu* of 'essence'), and the superior value of the ancient religious form over the modern.

Biblical. The Bible considered as revelation and *in toto* the Word of God.

Imaginal-Fictive. The Romantic theological notion of the imagination as a mystical noetic organ which intuits the universe, apprehending the ungrasped truth of the Christian faith. It embraces the intertextuality of fiction as truth.

Hermetic. The narrative of a secret wisdom tradition, or esoteric religion, preserved by initiates as a *philosophia perennis.*

II. Intellectual Currents

These narratives are considered within the context of The Imperial Occult. This is described in the three sections of the thesis as three principal historically and culturally embedded intellectual currents:

1. Christian Egyptosophy
2. Romanticism
3. Theosophy

III. Principal Ideas.

The following six conceptual domains are explored in a religious context as six chapters in each of the above sections:

(i) *The One God*
(ii) *Initiation*
(iii) *The Natural, the Supernatural and the Preternatural*
(iv) *Cyclical and Linear Time*
(v) *Metageography, Geopiety and the Sublime*
(vi) *Imagination*

I. THE VEIL OF ISIS: Christian Egyptosophy and Victorian Egyptology

Overview

Although Egypt was never part of the British Empire, the longstanding presence of the British in Egypt and the socio-political backdrop of intercultural exchange between Westminster Hall, the Khedival Palace and the Sublime Porte forms the historical context for the dialectics and dialogism of religious ideas discussed in the following account. By the time of the British occupation in 1882, as Ailise Bulfin observes,

> German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck viscerally summed up the relationship between Egypt and the British Empire: "Egypt is of the utmost importance to England on account of the Suez Canal, the shortest line of communication between the eastern and western halves of the Empire. That is like the spinal cord which connects the backbone with the brain."[202]

Bismarck had based this assessment at least in part on the shipping access to British India: the canal reduced the journey time by sea to four weeks.[203] History would certainly prove Bismarck correct. As Bulfin has it: 'Sever the cord and the empire would be effectively paralysed,' and indeed the eventual loss of the canal and British withdrawal during the Suez Crisis of 1956, marked the end of British control in Egypt and sounded the death knell of the British Empire itself. [204]

The attitude towards Egypt and its culture changed considerably throughout Victoria's reign. At its commencement, Egypt was very much seen as the biblical Oppressor and the locus of the Israelites' sojourn in bondage. Mid-century Unitarian Egyptologists were more receptive to the Higher Criticism coming from Germany, and remained questioning of the Bible and critical of Egypt. For example, Samuel Sharpe wrote in his *Egyptian Mythology and Egyptian Christianity* in 1863 that 'Christians shall at length acknowledge that many of those doctrines which together now make up orthodoxy, or the religion of the majority, as distinguished from the

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[202] Ailise Bulfin, 'The Fiction of Gothic Egypt and British Imperial Paranoia: The Curse of the Suez Canal', *English Literature in Transition* 54, 4 (2011), 411-43 (p.413.).
[203] Ibid., p.413.
[204] Ibid., p.416.

simple religion which Jesus taught and practised' reached Europe from Egypt via Alexandria.[205] Sharpe goes on to specify from a Unitarian stance:

> The following are the principal doctrines which are most certainly known to be common to Egyptian Mythology and modern orthodoxy, as distinguished from the religion of Jesus. They include the Trinity, the two natures of Christ, and the atonement by vicarious sufferings.[206]

However, during the 1840s to the 1870s Nonconformists lost ground to the next generation of biblical archaeologists who rejected Higher Criticism. As Michael-Ledger Lomas and David Gange have argued: 'Until the later nineteenth century, 'Germanism' occasioned splenetic reactions in both Britain and America. Yet [...] the dread of 'rationalism' and 'neology' strengthened commitment to finding concrete proofs of the veracity of biblical narratives.'[207] After 1880 there was a distinct emphasis on Christian apologetics and a more positive view of Egypt as a precursor of and preparation for the Christian dispensation. In addition, the establishment of the British Protectorate in 1882 and the dominance of the 'Egyptian Question' in public political discourse is likely to have influenced the more positive appraisal of Egyptian religion – albeit Ancient Egypt - and its comparison and compatibility with Empire as Christendom. It is of note that the archaeological society known as the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF) was founded in the same year as the protectorate. As Gange has observed:

> Although almost all major denominations – from Catholicism and the Church of England, to Methodism and the Plymouth Brethren – are represented in the Early EEF, founded in 1882, there are no known Unitarians among its initial membership. Favourable estimation of Egyptian achievements had quickly become, it seems, orthodox.'[208]

The following section considers how the developing ideas of Egyptology and biblical archaeology were absorbed by Rider Haggard and made their way into a number of his Egyptian Romances. The emphasis on religious comparativism in relation to points of Christian doctrine and the search for evidence of biblical narratives in Egypt are particular points of focus.

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[205] Samuel Sharpe, *Egyptian Mythology and Egyptian Christianity: With their Influence on the Opinions of Modern Christendom* (London: John Russell Smith, 1863), p. vii.
[206] Ibid., p. viii.
[207] Michael Ledger-Lomas and David Gange, 'Introduction', in *Cities of God*, p.9
[208] Ibid., pp. 141-42.

Chapter 1. ATENISM

The worship of the solar disc in Egypt by the 18th Dynasty pharaoh Akhenaten furnished Victorian Egyptologists with more than an apparently anomalous experience of monotheism along the polytheistic Nile.[209] The possibility of equating Yahwistic monotheism with this 'Atenism' at last suggested evidence for the contested biblical narrative of Israel in Egypt. As Margaret Murray has remarked, 'Akhenaten is a strong rival to Cleopatra for the historical novelist. The appeal of Cleopatra is the romantic combination of love and death; Akhenaten appeals by a combination of religion and sentiment.'[210] Haggard would write about both, but in this chapter I shall explore how Akhenaten and his apparently new religion of the Aten were portrayed in Haggard's fiction, and the sequelae of the pharaoh's engagement by Victorian culture.

Moses and Akhenaten

In his *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism*, Jan Assmann relates the importance of the seismic shift from polytheism to monotheism in the ancient world, and its profound significance for Western culture. In his argument, he contrasts the historical figures of Moses and Akhenaten. As Assmann points out, Moses is a figure entirely of memory and tradition - and thus *mnemohistory*; there is no physical trace or archaeological evidence that he ever lived. Mnemohistory is concerned not with the past as such, but with the past as it is remembered: 'It surveys the story-lines of tradition, the webs of intertextuality, the diachronic continuities and discontinuities of reading the past.'[211] This contrasts with Akhenaten who is a figure with a significant archaeological presence, who was completely lost to cultural memory after this was deliberately erased, and only rediscovered following excavations in the nineteenth century. Moses is relevant because of what Assmann terms the 'Mosaic distinction' in the history of Israel, and the ancient world. Moses effectively instituted

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[209] 18th Dynasty, 1390-1352 BC. See Kathryn A. Bard, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), pp.221-29.

[210] Margaret Murray, *The Splendour that was Egypt: A General Survey of Egyptian Culture and Civilisation* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1951), p.54.

[211] Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, p.9.

the shift from transcultural *cosmotheism* - whereby different cultures recognised their respective gods because they carried out similar cosmic functions and were hence easily equated - to one where the gods of other cultures other than that of Yahweh were henceforth considered as false gods. Akhenaten instituted the monotheism of 'Atenism', the worship of the solar disc, by means of a religious revolution in the Eighteenth Dynasty, resulting in a wholesale suppression of polytheism. After Akhenaten's death, his religion collapsed, his name was effaced from the monuments, his memory erased. Sometime following his coronation, his son Tutankhaten would seek to distance himself from his father's apostasy by assuming the name 'Tutankhamun', abandoning Amarna for Thebes, and inculcating a restitution of the worship of Amun-Ra and the rest of the pantheon.[212]

There is a historical tradition of equating Akhenaten with Moses (see below). Rider Haggard is not part of this tradition – they are distinct actors in his romances. However, in both his non-fictional and fictional writing, the comparison of Mosaic monotheism with Atenism is explicit. We shall consider in turn Haggard's literary Moses and then his Akhenaten in the light of Assmann's historical observations. Assmann has described two historical versions of Moses: 'Moses the Hebrew' and 'Moses the Egyptian'. Moses the Hebrew belongs to biblical history and scripture; this is the Moses of the Exodus and the plagues visited on Egypt, where Egypt is seen as an antagonist and oppressor. This is compared to 'Moses the Egyptian'. Assmann says that as 'a figure of memory, Moses the Egyptian is radically different from Moses the Hebrew or the Biblical Moses. Whereas Moses the Hebrew is the personification of confrontation and antagonism – between Israel = truth and Egypt = falsehood – Moses the Egyptian bridges this opposition.'[213] Egypt is then seen as a font of ancient wisdom rather than a decadent oppressive power, and Moses is seen either as an Egyptian priest or one who has been initiated into the Mysteries of Egypt. The Biblical Moses is the deliverer from oppression, the antagonist of Egypt who has kept alive the image of Egypt in the Western tradition as

[212] On the dynastic upheaval and changes in pharaonic power during the period, see David P. Silverman, Josef W. Wegner, and Jennifer Houser Wegner, *Akhenaten and Tutankhamun: Revolution and Restoration* (Philadelphia, PA: The University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2006).
[213] Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, p.11.

'thoroughly antithetic to Western ideals, the image of Egypt as the land of despotism, hubris, sorcery, brute-worship, and idolatry'.[214] Moses in Egypt is mentioned by the Egyptologist Wallis Budge, with the scriptural assertion that, in the 'duel' between Moses and Aaron and the Egyptian magicians, 'one great distinction must be made between the magic of Moses and that of the Egyptians among whom he lived; the former was wrought by the command of the God of the Hebrews, but the latter by the gods of Egypt at the command of man.'[215] In his Exodus story, *Moon of Israel* (1918), Haggard echoes these ideas, but instead he has Merapi, the titular 'Moon of Israel', destroy an idol of Amon-Ra by divine agency.[216] Thus, in the destruction of Amon-Ra as an avatar of polytheism, Haggard presents the contrast between the exoteric polytheistic Egyptian religion of 'the masses' and the monotheism of Merapi and her one true God, 'Javeh.'[217] By the specific destruction of the head of the pantheon, Haggard also alludes to the iconoclastic revolution of Akhenaten, and thus reinforces the Yahweh-Aten equivalence – what Arnold Toynbee has called an 'Atonian Yahweh'[218] - and a concordant Egypto-Hebraic monotheism. It is to Akhenaten's religious 'revolution' that we now turn.

Given Haggard's focus on and interest in contemporaneous archaeological knowledge, it is hardly surprising that there is considerably more to discuss on Haggard's relationship with the archaeological Akhenaten rather than the mnemohistorical Moses: the pharaoh Akhenaten who instituted the monotheistic revolution of the 18th Dynasty - the so-called 'Amarna heresy.' It is evident that in doing so, he conflates this historically veridical monotheism with Budge's speculative 'original monotheism' which we discuss in the next chapter. In his autobiography, Haggard writes that Akhenaten was known for 'the heresy of the worship of the Sun's disc, by which, I take it he symbolised the one Almighty God who made the

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[214] Ibid., p.11.

[215] E.A. Wallis Budge, *Tutānkhȧmen: Amenism, Atenism and Egyptian Monotheism* (London: Martin Hopkinson and Company Ltd., 1923), p.6. It is of note that it was following the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb in 1922, that Wallis Budge published this monograph. Haggard had known Howard Carter for many years, and inspected the tomb of Tutankhamun with him in 1924, the year before Haggard's death. See Shirley M. Addy, *Rider Haggard and Egypt* (Lancashire and Suffolk: AL Publications, 1998), pp.27-28.

[216] I use Haggard's spelling here as per the novel - 'Amun' is used elsewhere.

[217] H. Rider Haggard, *Moon of Israel* (London: John Murray, 1918), p. 157.

[218] Arnold Toynbee, *An Historian's Approach to Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), p.85.

world'.[219] He features Akhenaten in both *Smith and the Pharaohs* and *The Way of the Spirit.* In the former it is his ghost that appears, Haggard employing an older heteronymic form 'Khu-en-aten':

> There, for instance, was the long-necked Khu-en-aten, talking somewhat angrily to the imperial Rameses II. […] He was complaining in a high, weak voice that on this, the one night of the year when they might meet […] the magic images of the gods who were put up for them to worship, should not include *his* god, symbolized by the "Aten," or the sun's disc.[220]

According to Rameses, so many of the pharaohs were heretics including his grandson Seti: 'I am told that he really worshipped the god of those Hebrew slaves whom I used to press to build my cities.' Khu-en-aten says in reply: 'I will talk with him […]. It is more than possible that we may agree on certain points.'[221] Again, the parallels between Egyptian and Hebrew monotheism are stressed. In addition, revealing the tendency to project Christian theological discourse onto Akhenaten, this purported proto-Christian monotheism could on occasion be promulgated with the voice of Protestant dissent. The leading American Egyptologist James Henry Breasted (1865-1935) cast Akhenaten as a type of Egyptian Luther, reforming the idolatrous religion of the god Amun.[222] His anti-Catholic sentiment is evident when he announces: 'This Amonite papacy constituted a powerful obstruction in the way of realizing the supremacy of the ancient Sun god.'[223]

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[219] Cohen, *Rider Haggard*, p. 22.

[220] H. Rider Haggard, *Smith and the Pharaohs: And Other Tales* (New York, NY: Longmans, Green and Co., 1921), p. 45. The form of the name 'Akhenaten' is that adopted by Flinders Petrie in his *Tell el Amarna* (London: Methuen & Co., 1894). See also the review of this volume by Cecil Torr: 'Akhenaten (Akh-en-Aten) is Mr Petrie's name for Khu-en-Aten or Chu-en-Aten. I follow his spelling throughout to avoid confusion.' (Cecil Torr, 'Tell el Amarna by W. M. Flinders Petrie', *The Classical Review*, 8, 7 (1894), 320-23(p.320).) The transliteration 'Khu-en-aten' is also found in the work of the prominent theologian and scholar George Rawlinson: 'In the change of his own name which the new monarch made soon after his accession from Amenhotep to Khu-en-Aten, […] he cleared himself from any connection with the old discarded head of the Pantheon, and associated himself with the new supreme god, Aten.' See George Rawlinson, *Ancient Egypt*, (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1886; repr. 1887), p.227.

[221] Haggard, *Smith and the Pharaohs*, pp.45-46.

[222] Haggard read Breasted's work. As Cohen relates: 'In 1907 the *Bookman* asked a group of authors which book each had enjoyed most during the past year. By and large, they chose either a work of fiction, a book on current events, a memoir or biography. Haggard significantly chose Breasted's *Ancient Egyptian Records.*' See Cohen, *Rider Haggard*, p.103. See also H. Rider Haggard, 'The Book of 1906 Which Has Interested Me Most', *Bookman,* January 1907, p.162. The work referred to is James Henry Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest*, 5 vols (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1906).

[223] Dominic Monserrat, *Akhenaten: History, Fantasy and Ancient Egypt* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp.101-02.

As above mentioned, Haggard was thoroughly engaged with contemporary developments in Egyptology, and Flinders Petrie's archaeological excavations at Amarna were no exception. In *The Way of the Spirit*,[224] Rupert Ullershaw, the protagonist, brings back two stelae from Egypt.[225] He informs his mother that one of the stelae 'comes from Tel-el-Amarna, which, as of course you know, was the city built by the heretic king Khu-en-Aten'.[226] Later in the novel, the Egyptian girl Mea, who befriends Rupert and later has a platonic love affair with him, is said to have ancient Egyptian royal lineage. She is one of 'the last descendants of an ancient and high-bred race'.[227] In terms of religious belief, the reader is informed that 'Although they talked of Allah they were not Mohammedans, and if they worshipped anything, it was God as symbolised by the sun. Indeed this was all that remained of their ancient faith.'[228] This is suggestive that these last survivors of the ancient Egyptian 'race' are Atenists, and Haggard is proposing the survival of ancient Egyptian religion into contemporaneous Islamic Egypt.

Victorian Egyptology had, as we have seen, long thought of Akhenaten's monotheism as evidence of an exchange of ideas between the Israelites and the 'heretic' pharaoh – suggesting at the very least their presence in Egypt - though in which direction monotheism flowed depended on the commentator. In his *Ancient Egypt* (1886), in a chapter entitled 'Khuenaten and the Disk-Worshippers', Canon George Rawlinson says the following:

> It is not unlikely that the "Disk-worshippers" were drawn on towards their monotheistic creed by the presence in Egypt at the time of a large monotheistic population, the descendants of Joseph and his brethren […]. A historian of

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[224] H. Rider Haggard, *The Way of the Spirit* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1906). Originally entitled 'Renunciation', the new title was lifted from Ecclesiastes - one of Haggard's favourite books in the Bible (Ecclesiastes 11.5). The novel also contains an epigraph from Ecclesiastes 11.9. See H. Rider Haggard, 'Books Which Have Influenced Me', *British Weekly Extra*, 1, 1887, pp.66-67.

[225] Rupert Ullershaw is a soldier. The character is likely to have been inspired at least partly by Haggard's brothers Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Haggard and Major E. Arthur Haggard who both did military service in Egypt. See Roger Luckhurst, *The Mummy's Curse: The True History of a Dark Fantasy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.199.

[226] Haggard, *The Way of the Spirit*, p. 63.

[227] Ibid., p.203.

[228] Ibid., pp.203-04.

> Egypt remarks that "curious parallels might be drawn between the external forms of worship of the Israelites in the desert and those set up by the Disk-worshippers at Tel-el-Amarna; portions of the sacred furniture, as the 'table of showbread,' described in the book of Exodus as placed within the Tabernacle, are repeated among the objects belonging to the worship of Aten, and do not occur among the representations of any other epoch".[229]

It is certainly exemplary of Rawlinson's perspective. George Rawlinson (1812-1902), theologian and sometime Camden Professor of Ancient History at the University of Oxford, had contributed his essay 'On the Genuineness and Authenticity of the Pentateuch' to the volume *Aids to Faith* (1861). This collection of essays was published in the year following *Essays and Reviews* as a responsum from the Anglican orthodox clergy, whose essays collated virtually a point-for-point refutation.[230] It is unsurprising therefore that Rawlinson should find evidence for the Israelite sojourn in Egypt in the religious impedimenta of the 18th Dynasty.

As aforementioned, there had also been a long tradition of associating Moses with Akhenaten – in extreme cases identifying him *as* Moses.[231] To some Egyptologists who were contemporaries of Haggard, Akhenaten was not merely a prototype of an Old Testament patriarch, but the progenitor of the Hebrew Psalmists. Typical of this is the popular and best-selling biography written by Arthur Weigall, *The Life and Times of Akhnaton, Pharaoh of Egypt* (1910) who states that: '[Akhenaten] himself wrote religious hymns, amongst which is the undoubted original of our 104th psalm.'[232] Weigall went so far as to make the etymological assertion that 'Aton' was equivalent to the Hebrew אדוני ('Adonai').[233] There are several other literary Atenistic elements to be considered in Haggard's fiction.

[229] Rawlinson, *Ancient Egypt*, p.226.
[230] George Rawlinson, 'On the Genuineness and Authenticity of the Pentateuch', in *Aids to Faith: A Series of Theological Essays by Several Writers*, ed. by William Thomson (London: John Murray, 1861), pp.237-366.
[231] For an overview of the history of the equation of Moses with Akhenaten see Chapter 2 'Suppressed Memory, Repressed Memory', in Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, pp.23-54.

[232] Arthur Weigall, *The Life and Times of Akhnaton, Pharaoh of Egypt* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1910), p.9. Akhenaten's 'hymns' to the Aten and Psalm 104 both address the Deity with a marked solar phraseology. As Montserrat observes: 'Describing these compositions as 'hymns was popularised by the American Egyptologist James Henry Breasted who believed them to be 'a gospel of the beauty and beneficence of the natural order, a recognition of the message of nature to the soul of man.' I prefer to think of the 'hymns' to the Aten as eulogies, formal and rhetorical statements of praise, rather than outpourings of emotion […]. Much has been made of the supposed similarities between the 'hymns' and Psalm 104:16-23. Both describe the natural world waking and sleeping under god's beneficent eye.' See Montserrat, *Akhenaten*, p.38.
[233] Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, pp.23-24.

Again, in *The Way of the Spirit*, Haggard mentions Ra the sun god with an Atenistic inflection: 'The great temple [...] had evidently been devoted to the worship of Ra – that is, the Sun as the robe and symbol of Divinity.'[234] Haggard called the priest of Isis in *Cleopatra* Harmachis, and 'Amenhotep [IV] took for one of his titles the epithet, "Mi-Harmakhu," or "beloved by Harmachis," probably because he could look on Harmachis, a purely sun-god as a form of Aten.'[235] In addition, the ring bearing the inscription *Suten-sa-Rā*, 'The Royal Son of the Sun', appeared in both *She* and *Wisdom's Daughter*. This pharaonic titular emphasises the relationship of the pharaoh to the solar deity, but is not specifically related to Atenism.[236]

Amarnamania

There are a number of reasons for Haggard's focus on Akhenaten, and once again these are predicated upon the quest for evidence of the biblical narrative of 'Israel in Egypt'. In the season of 1891-92, the Egyptologist Sir William Mathew Flinders Petrie (1853-1942) began excavating the site of what was then called Tell-el-Amarna in Middle Egypt, the site of Akhenaten's city of Akhetaten ('Horizon of the Aten'), accompanied by the fifteen-year-old artist Howard Carter. This resulted in an emergent 'Amarna vogue' in Victorian England, accompanied by the appearance of a cult of personality of Akhenaten.[237] It is of particular note that Akhenaten's much vaunted religious revolution provided the only example of non-Jewish monotheism in the ancient world and as a result

> In the eyes of Petrie and other Akhenaten aficionados [this confirmed] the belief that Egyptian civilisation maintained some memory of an antediluvian civilisation that was initially harmonious, godly, and glorious. Akhenaten's reign – in reality pretty brutal – was therefore glorified as a brief period of Christian virtue in its most Victorian, bourgeois, form.[238]

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[234] Haggard, *The Way of the Spirit*, p.201.
[235] Rawlinson, *Ancient Egypt*, p.227.
[236] As Bradley Hodge observes: 'The title 'Son of Re' added to the Royal titulary during the 4th Dynasty (c.2613-2494 BC). Djedefre, the first king to use 'Suten Se Ra', representing the popularity of the solar god Ra.' See Bradley Hodge, 'Sir Rider Haggard, Author' *Biblios Explorare* Issue 1, Dec. 2011. Addy documents that Haggard had two rings bearing the insignia of Akhenaten, and subsequently gave one of them to Rudyard Kipling. See Addy, *Rider Haggard and Egypt*, p.93.
[237] *The Way of the Spirit* was published in 1906. On the cult of personality for Akhenaten, see Gange, *Dialogues with the Dead: Egyptology in British Culture and Religion 1822-1922* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 233-35.
[238] David Gange, 'Religion and Science in Late Nineteenth-Century British Egyptology', *The Historical Journal*, 49, 4 (2006), 1083-103 (p.1094).

The family portraits of Akhenaten and Nefertiti with their children were hailed for their 'naturalism', in the somewhat anachronistic terminology of contemporaneous art history, and readily transposed into the setting of a middle-class Victorian homestead. Haggard himself emphasises that Akhenaten, perhaps unusually, enjoyed a blissful monogamy with Nefertiti.[239] Here he is again following Petrie, who wrote in *The Times* in 1892 that Akhenaten 'openly proclaims the domestic pleasures of a monogamist'.[240] This is now known to be historically inaccurate: as Jason Thompson points out, in 1959 it was discovered that Akhenaten had a second wife;[241] the pharaoh had Nefertiti as the Great Royal Wife and Kiya as his *Nebenfrau.*[242] As Thompson has remarked, 'Many of the high ideals thought to infuse the Amarna experience turned out to be anachronistic and mistaken projections of modern values onto an utterly alien past.'[243] This propensity was not, and is not, confined to the general public. As Toynbee astutely observed of his own professional contemporaries:

> The historian is also the prisoner of his own time and place in a subjective sense. […] Modern Western historians have been so successful in bringing the Egyptian emperor Ikhnaton back to life that they too, like his Egyptian contemporaries, are moved to feel strongly about him. […] In other words, they have imported into their feelings about Ikhnaton something of their feelings about controversial contemporaries of their own; and, in so far as they have done this, they have drawn Ikhnaton out of his own social milieu into theirs. [244]

Whilst Toynbee was showing how Akhenaten could easily be compared to modern politicians – Lenin and Churchill amongst others – the pharaoh was seen by the nineteenth-century reading public as one of their own, as a type of Victorian paterfamilias on the Nile. In part, these projections of Victorian sensibility confirmed for Haggard that Akhenaten's court and family life were demonstrative of a proto-Christian monotheism, forming part of a strategic narrative of religious legitimisation. Dominic

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239 Haggard, *Smith and the Pharaohs*, p.46.
240 Montserrat, *Akhenaten*, p.3.
241 Jason Thompson, *Wonderful Things: A History of Egyptology,* 3vols (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2015-17), II, p.45.
242 On Queen Kiya, the 'lesser wife' of Akhenaten, see Nicholas Reeves, 'New Light on Kiya from Texts in the British Museum', *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 74 (1988), 91-101.
243 Thompson, *Wonderful Things,* II, p.46.
244 Toynbee, *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, p.7.

Montserrat has termed the accompanying artistic and aesthetic expression of this process 'Amarnamania',[245] which he employs to describe its particular prominence in the 1920s and 30s. I would argue that the evidence provided here suggests the route to this cultural phenomenon was laid much earlier by Haggard's Egyptian romances. Indeed, there is evidence as early as 1887 from the original manuscript of *Cleopatra* – published in 1889 – that Haggard had considered referring to Khou-en-Aten, but later changed his mind. The 'Introduction' to the romance which describes the finding of the mummy of the priest Harmachis, is worked differently in the original hand-written text. Haggard has his archaeologist-protagonist find a ring on the mummy of the body. This is a device which he had used previously:

> The ring bears the inscription Harmachis of the two horizons resting upon the living Ma which I take it means Horus of the Spirit of Good supported by Everlasting Law. One equally learned gentleman however was found to declare that the inscription was simply a very rare form of the cartouche of Khou-en-Aten, more commonly known as Amenhotep the fourth of the eighteenth dynasty [illegible] the son of that lovely heretic Taia who as all the leaders of this history [tell] some […] four thousand years since introduced the heresy of the worship of the sun's disk into the religion of Egypt. All this is beside the point.[246]

In fact, Haggard had obviously considered these ideas so beside the point that the passage is struck out. The manuscript was completed on 2 August 1887, and Haggard would have been aware of the discovery of the 'Amarna Letters' in the same year.

In summary, the religious signifiers discussed above were vital to the Victorians' appropriation of the 'heretic' pharaoh, and his provision of a historical precedent for, and affirmation of, their own cultural mores - not to mention a legitimisation of their presence in Egypt. It is significant in terms of his Egyptological knowledge that Haggard was going to introduce Akhenaten in the years immediately prior to Flinders Petrie's excavations at Amarna. In the next chapter I consider the influence of another prominent Egyptologist on Haggard: that of E.A Wallis Budge.

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[245] Montserrat, *Akhenaten*, p.83.
[246] Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MS 4692/13.

Chapter 2. ORIGINAL MONOTHEISM: EXOTERIC AND ESOTERIC RELIGION

Wallis Budge, Christian Egyptosophist and Psychic Gramophone Needle

One of Rider Haggard's great friends and colleagues was Sir Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge (1857-1934), Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum between 1894 and 1924. Budge's ideas had a profound influence on Haggard's Egyptological outlook, and it is useful to consider what else these two men had in common that drew them together. Socially, they were both members of the literary Savile Club, as were Rudyard Kipling, W.B. Yeats and H.G. Wells.[247] The association with such men was important for Budge who 'saw himself not just as an academic producer of specialist articles who wrote for other academic specialists, but as a man of letters who addressed himself sometimes to specialists and sometimes to the interested public'[248] – the latter being very much the trajectory of the Egyptology that he imparted to Haggard. In addition, Budge, like Haggard, was prone to precognitive dreams and felt similarly about the possibility of psychic abilities. For example, in his autobiography, Haggard relates one of Budge's precognitive dreams in which he was shown the precise texts in Akkadian and Assyrian which would appear on his Cambridge examination paper the following day.[249]

He believed that such experiences were part of his own particular nature: '"Some things that happen," he said, "stamp themselves on their surroundings like an invisible gramophone record. A few people for some reason act like needles and set the record going. I am a needle."'[250] In addition, he associated with members of the famous psychic investigation (and dining) society The Ghost Club, though he never joined.[251] There are even a few legends surrounding Budge himself as a rumoured occultist, and

[247] It was Haggard who proposed Budge's membership. See Mathew Ismail, *Wallis Budge: Magic and Mummies in London and Cairo* (Kilkerran: Harding Simpole, 2011), p.183.
[248] Ibid., p.184.
[249] Haggard, *The Days of My Life,* II, pp.34-36.
[250] Ismail, *Wallis Budge*, p.407.
[251] Ibid., pp.396-402.

Budge seems to have done little to deter such ideas. In a letter to Lady Stanhope, he said with regard to a 'Cross of the Rosicrucians' – a powerful symbol amongst occultists of the period that he had sat on his desk: 'I have to keep it locked away, I am sorry to say, or they would call me an idolater!'[252] He had a loose connection with the famed Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn via Florence Farr as we have mentioned. In fact, it was rumoured that Budge was himself a member of the Order, though there is no evidence for this;[253] similarly there was an idea abroad that he had established a Golden Dawn Lodge, 'antiquarian in character', somewhere hidden in the rooms of the British Museum, but there is no extant evidence for this either.[254]

More important for our present discussion, however, is the wider context of Budge's Egyptological writings, especially in terms of the critique of Scriptural narratives following in the wake of *Essays and Reviews*. The Churchman's Union for the Advancement of Liberal Religious Thought was founded in London in 1899, and the Organizing Secretary, the Rev. B.F. Cobb, wrote to Budge at the British Museum on 27 November 1899 to express his pleasure at Budge's recent membership.[255] Somewhat in contrast with Haggard, this association serves to locate Budge's Anglican sensibility firmly in the Broad Church camp; Cobb added what must be considered a crucial postscript to his letter: 'Thanks: I have your Egyptian Magic[256] and am enjoying its *facts* immensely. BFC.'[257] The emphasis on 'facts' concerning the magic and religion of Ancient Egypt 'suggests the desire of the Churchman's Union to address religion in a reasonable, open, tolerant, and comparative manner that did not forbid discussion of Christianity as a religion with a historical development that still influenced its present form'.[258] It is more than likely that more conservative English churchgoers would have objected when in *Egyptian Magic* (1899) Budge averred:

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[252] Ismail, *Wallis Budge*, p.393.
[253] Ibid., p.406. Ismail also cites a personal communication in this regard from R.A. Gilbert, obtained via Geraldine Beskin, proprietor of the Atlantis Bookshop, Museum Street, London.
[254] Regarding the story of the 'British Museum Lodge', see Ithell Colquhoun, *Sword of Wisdom: MacGregor Mathers and the Golden Dawn* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1975), p.140.
[255] Ishmael, *Wallis Budge*, pp.391-92.
[256] See E.A. Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, 2nd Impression, (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1901).
[257] Ishmael, *Wallis Budge*, p.392.
[258] Ibid., p.392.

> Many writers on the Egyptian religion have blinked the fact that it had two sides; on the one it closely resembles in many respects the Christian religion of to-day, and on the other the religion of many of the sects which flourished in the first three or four centuries of our era, and which may be said to have held beliefs which were part Christian and part non-Christian.[259]

Which elements of the Christian faith Budge considered to resemble Egyptian ideas - and why - are considered in some detail below. Haggard would eventually dedicate *Morning Star* (1910) to his friend, calling him 'one of the world's masters of the language and lore of the great people who in these latter days arise from their holy tombs to instruct us in the secrets of history and faith'.[260] Just what were considered by Wallis Budge, and *ergo* Haggard, to be these 'secrets of history and faith', becomes readily apparent with even the most cursory glance at some of Wallis Budge's more well-known works including *Egyptian Magic* (1899), *Egyptian Religion* (1900), *The Book of the Dead* (1895), and *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* (1911). This is of particular relevance today as reprints of Wallis Budge's works remain a common source of Egyptological knowledge in populist occulture.[261]

As aforementioned, Wallis Budge's ideas were extremely influential in Haggard's absorption of Egyptology. Particularly important in this regard is Budge's espousal of an 'original monotheism' in Ancient Egypt: that behind the panoply of theriomorphic deities there was, pre-eminently, a 'monotheism for initiates'. As David Gange has argued, by the 1890s, primeval Egyptian monotheism was a standard trope for what had become the huge genre of Christian apologetics: 'The earliest Egyptians, argued George Rawlinson, were monotheists who thought in abstractions until, in their decadence, the metaphors they attached to divinity were mistaken for blunt truths.'[262] In his *Ancient Egypt* - the page tellingly entitled 'Esoteric Religion' - Rawlinson had asserted that no educated Egyptian thought of

[259] Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, pp.1-2.
[260] H. Rider Haggard, *Morning Star* (London: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1910).

[261] It is of note that Wallis Budge's material is still an important source for esotericists, rather than more modern works on Egyptology. See for example, E.A Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Religion: Egyptian Ideas of the Future Life* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1987) (I cite the 2nd edn from 1900). As Hornung has remarked: 'In esoteric circles, people are too dependent on the old, outdated works of Budge and ought to take into account more recent literature, which has much to offer of esoteric interest.' See Hornung, *The Secret Lore of Ancient Egypt,* p.2.

[262] David Gange, *Dialogues with the Dead*, p.226.

the gods of the polity as really separate and distinct entities. All knew that there was one God alone, and 'when worship was offered to Khem, or Mut, or Thoth, or Ammon, the One God was worshipped under some one of his forms or in some one of his aspects.'[263]

Wallis Budge held to the view that foolish priests had corrupted and hidden the pure monotheistic religion that had existed in Egypt since earliest times, and which he maintained he could find evidence for in the wisdom texts: 'Like Mariette, Budge assumed that Egyptian beliefs ran down two paths, a solution that still seems easy – to many of his successors: the One for the wise, the many for the mass.'[264] In other words, Budge posited an esoteric monotheism and an exoteric polytheism. In *Egyptian Religion*, the language is quite explicit: Budge claims the many gods as personifications of the attributes of one God. As he says, the gods are only different manifestations of the solar deity Ra, and the epithets that they used 'were only applied to the "gods" because they represented some quality or attribute which they would have applied to God had it been their custom to address Him'.[265]

In addition, in the ancient Middle and Near East, Budge contested, the older the ideas and beliefs were, the more sacred they became. However, 'This has not prevented men there from developing high moral and spiritual conceptions and continuing to believe in them, and among such must be counted the One, self-begotten, and self-existent God whom the Egyptians worshipped.'[266] Significantly, in Wallis Budge's view, these older ideas, the more 'primitive' polytheistic religion of the Egyptian polis as promulgated by the hierocracy, was different to that of an initiated, 'educated' few. The comparison with Christianity is explicit: he has shown 'how much the monotheistic side of the Egyptian religion resembles that of modern Christian nations'. For Budge, their priesthood substitutes for a Victorian

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[263] Rawlinson, *Ancient Egypt*, p.39.
[264] Erik Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many*, trans. by John Baines (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982) pp.24-25.
[265] E.A. Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Religion: Egyptian Ideas of the Future Life*, 2nd edn (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. Ltd., 1900), p.17. It is of note that whilst Budge incorporated Christian apologetics into Egyptology, he could write about the non-European materials that had undergone the process of Christianization. See E.A. Wallis Budge, *Baralâm and Yĕwâsĕf: Being the Ethiopic version of a Christianised Recension of The Buddhist Legend of the Buddha and the Bodhisattva* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1923).
[266] Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Religion*, p.40.

educated ruling class: 'The educated classes in Egypt at all times never placed the "gods" on the same high level as God, and they never imagined that their views on this point could be mistaken.'[267] In the 'Author's Note' to *Morning Star*, Haggard echoes Budge, stating that - with reference to the magical and marvellous in Egypt - 'the Divinity, which they worshipped under so many names and symbols, made use of such mysterious means to influence or direct the affairs of men.'[268] Here then are some of the intimations of Haggard's concordance of Judaeo-Christian monotheism and the speculative ancient Egyptian 'original monotheism' derived directly from Budge. In his autobiography, Haggard records having conversations with Budge, where the latter expounds upon his theories as to how this 'pure' unadulterated religion became corrupt:

> Budge seems to be of the opinion that the ancient thinkers among this people discovered all that we can learn of the mysteries which relate to the life of the soul, the resurrection, etc. In times that passed away before history began – when, as he says, men had leisure for reflection – they found out much that we think now. Afterwards, he remarked to me, the medicine-man and the paid priest arose and overlaid the truth with all the fantasies and formulas and ridiculous details of symbolical worship which it was to their advantage to imagine and maintain.[269]

As we shall see, the attribution of concordance is pervasive in Haggard's romances and he was not alone in its fictional representation. Earlier in the century, Théophile Gautier (1810-1872) promulgated the idea in his *Roman de la Momie* (1857). Gautier did not travel to Egypt until 1869, and his work relies on Old Testament narratives – more especially Moses and the Exodus. In the novel, Gautier tells of a Lord Evandale, based on Belzoni, who uncovers a tomb in the Valley of the Kings. In the sarcophagus lies the mummy of Tahoser, along with a papyrus that turns out to be the 'Roman de la Momie', - her own biography [compare with Harmachis in Haggard's *Cleopatra* below]. She was loved by Pharaoh, but she herself loved another woman, the Jewish Rachel. Gautier informs the reader that 'her Jewish lover's demand that she reject the deities of Egypt gives Tahoser an opportunity to expound on original monotheism, a belief held by most

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[267] Ibid., p.84.
[268] Haggard, *Morning Star*, p. x.
[269] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, II, pp.30-31.

learned people in the nineteenth century.'[270] Haggard, then, gives evidence in his memoirs of the absorption of Budge's ideas. In Haggard's romances, the theorised original esoteric monotheism of his friend becomes conflated with the veridical and historical exoteric monotheism imposed by the Pharaoh Akhenaten in the 18th Dynasty.

To conclude, by positing an 'Original' monotheism Haggard is echoing Budge in stating that there was a subsequent degeneration, decadence and corruption of the original idea by 'foolish priests.' In terms of the notions and constructions of 'wisdom traditions', this can be read as a nineteenth-century manifestation of a *prisca theologia* for Egypt itself. In the next chapter I shall expand upon the explicit comparison of Egyptian religion with Christian doctrine, more specifically Christ with Osiris.

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[270] Hornung, *The Secret Lore of Ancient Egypt*, p.167 The belief in 'original monotheism' has its own genealogy. The first explicit proponent of original and fundamental monotheism was probably Emmanuel de Rougé (1811-1872). Hornung cites de Rougé's lecture from 1869: 'I said *God*, not *the gods.* The first characteristic of [Egyptian] religion is the Unity [of God] most energetically expressed: God, One, Sole and Only; no others with Him - He is the One Being – living in truth - Thou art One, and millions of beings proceed from thee. - He has made everything, and he alone has not been made. . . . . . One idea predominates, that of a single and primeval God; everywhere and always it is One Substance, self-existent and an unapproachable God.' (See Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient* Egypt, p.18.) Hornung argues, there was a brief return to these - and thus subsequently Wallis Budge's - ideas in the 'Neomonotheist school'. See Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt,* p. 27. The evidence for and against monotheism in Egypt rests on a long and involved philological investigation including debate of the Egyptian word *ntr – neter,* 'god', and how this is interpreted in the context of various ancient Wisdom texts (Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts and so on). See Hornung *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt,* passim. Assmann has previously argued for a form of monotheism in the sense of *summodeism*, but not in the sense of Abrahamic monotheism: see Chapter 6, 'Conceiving the One in Ancient Egyptian Traditions', in Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, pp.168-207. Hoffmeier indicates that in this regard the centrality of solar worship in what is often popularly termed Akhenaten's 'revolutionary' monotheism had actually been present in various forms since the Old Kingdom. See James K. Hoffmeier, *Akhenaten and The Origins of Monotheism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), passim.

Chapter 3. OSIRIDE CHRISTOLOGY AND ANCIENT EGYPTIAN PSYCHOLOGY

The Passion of Osiris

The propensity for Egyptologists to see in ancient Egyptian religion precursors or pre-figurations of Christianity was present from early in the nineteenth century. In fact, 'the pedigree of Christology in pre-Christian Egypt had been a well-worn theme of 1830s deists,' but with the backdrop of biblical criticism the legitimization by antiquity persisted throughout the century.[271] Wallis Budge's comparison of Christ with Osiris becomes a pervasive theme, and it engenders an over-emphasis of the Osirian cultus in his work relative to those of the other deities of the Egyptian pantheon. In *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* (1911), Budge asserts that the classical historians Plutarch [272] and Diodorus [273] agreed on the divine origin of Osiris, and that he ruled on earth in human form. Thus, he states that Osiris was a god who made himself incarnate, and was 'an immediate ancestor of the first Pharaoh of Egypt as a being who possessed two natures, the one human and the other divine. As a man he performed the good works which his divine nature indicated to him.'[274] The assertion that Osiris had two natures is thus also an indirect disavowal of Unitarian Christology, referencing an aspect of contemporaneous theological debate. In the preface to *Egyptian Magic*, the pre-figuration is even more apparent:

> The fact remains that they did believe in One God Who was almighty, and eternal, and invisible, Who created the heavens, and the earth, and all beings and

[271] Gange, *Dialogues with the Dead*, p.220.

[272] See 'Isis and Osiris' in Plutarch, *Moralia*, trans. by Frank Cole Babbitt, Loeb Classical Library, 16vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936), V, pp.3-191. Modern scholarship reveals that *de Iside et Osiride* is itself a presentation of Middle Platonic metaphysics cast in an Egyptian idiom. As Daniel Richter says: 'The *de Iside et Osiride* (*de Iside, Is.*), written late in Plutarch's life, offers some of the most sophisticated formulations of middle-Platonic metaphysics that have come down to us. As scholars have long been aware, this is a deeply and explicitly philosophical text. Classicists have generally maintained that in the *de Iside* Plutarch merely uses the Egyptian material as a vehicle through which to express middle-Platonic conceptions about the structure and genesis of the cosmos; it is thus seen as incidental to the primary, philosophical aim of the text, an exegesis of Plato's *Timaeus.*' See Daniel D. Richter, 'Plutarch on Isis and Osiris: Text, Cult, and Cultural Appropriation', *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, 131 (2001), 191-216 (p.191).

[273] See Book 1 in Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History: Books 1-2.34*, trans. by C.H. Oldfather, Loeb Classical Library, 12 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1933), I, pp.1-341.

[274] E.A. Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1922), p.16.

> things therein; and in the resurrection of the body in a changed and glorified form, which would live to all eternity in the company of the spirits and souls of the righteous in a kingdom ruled by a being who was of divine origin, but who had lived upon the earth, and had suffered a cruel death at the hands of his enemies, and had risen from the dead, and had become the God and king of the world which is beyond the grave.[275]

As David Gange has written: 'Few writers managed to avoid self-consciously Christological language when they wrote of the Egyptian pantheon: a staple biblical referent was found in "the altruistic – we had almost written vicarious – sufferings of Osiris".'[276] In addition, Budge wrote on the hieratic *Papyrus of Nesi-Amu*, a later Ptolemaic-Theban text containing festival songs of Isis and Nephthys which he refers to as 'the service book of the Passion of Osiris'.[277] Again in his *Book of the Dead*, Budge refers to the 'wonderful doctrine of the resurrection of the spiritual body and its everlasting existence'.[278] In addition, there are elements in Budge which suggest a leaning towards fulfilment theology and a *preparatio evangelica*: that the worship of Osiris in some way prepared the Egyptians for the coming of Christ. Budge quite strongly voices this narrative in the following excerpt:

> In Osiris the Christian Egyptians found the prototype of Christ, and in the pictures and statues of Isis suckling her son Horus, they perceived the prototypes of the Virgin Mary and her Child. Never did Christianity find elsewhere in the world a people whose minds were so thoroughly well prepared to receive its doctrines as the Egyptians.[279]

Similarly, Haggard gives evidence of his own belief in fulfilment theology. In *Beatrice*, as we saw previously, Haggard suggests through the character of Geoffrey that there is a progression of faiths culminating in Christianity: 'Every great new religion is better than the last. You cannot compare Osirianism with Buddhism, or Buddhism with Christianity, or

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[275] E.A. Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Magic* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1901), p. xiii.

[276] Gange, *Dialogues with The Dead*, p.211. Gange cites J. Hunt Cooke, 'The Book of the Dead and a Passage in the Psalms', *Contemporary Review*, August 1896, p.285.

[277] E.A, Wallis Budge, 'Book Reviews', *Athenaeum*, 1911, p.246.

[278] E.A. Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London: Kegan Paul, 1898), p. v. This is included in the dedication to Sir Edward Maunde Thompson.

[279] Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Religion*, p.81.

Mahomedanism with the Arabian idol worship.'[280] Even more explicitly, as we have seen, whilst in Luxor with Lilias, Haggard recorded in his diary:

> I look upon religion (from that of the lowest savage up to that of the most advanced Christian) as a ladder stretching from earth to heaven – a Jacob's ladder if you will, whereby painfully, with many slips and backward fallings, mankind climbs towards the skies. In that ladder the faith of the old Egyptians was a single rung, that which we follow is another rung.[281]

Indeed, he does not rule out further advancement and many more rungs 'for God's skies are far away'.[282] Wallis Budge's comparison of Christ with Osiris represents an *Osiride Christology*, where Osiris is portrayed in the guise of Christ the Redeemer – Christ in an Atef crown – and this Osiride Christology is directly adopted by Haggard. For example, in *Smith and the Pharaohs*, Smith muses that 'When one came to think of it, beneath a mass of unintelligible symbolism there was much in Egyptian faith which it was hard for a Christian to disbelieve. Salvation through a Redeemer, for instance, and the resurrection of the body.'[283] Again, Lilias Haggard records her father's comments on two statuettes in his collection of Egyptian antiquities: the priest Roy and Osiris. For Haggard, Roy was posed as a celebrant at whatever feast 'corresponded to Christmas in his faith, probably that of the rising of Osiris. Osiris, who also rests in marble on my desk, who died that men might live, like another Saviour whom in those days men did not know.'[284] Haggard seems to have decided to emphasise the Christianised aspect. In addition, he writes: 'Oh Amen, Osiris the sacrificed by whom we are justified.'[285] i.e. the projection of Protestant justification theology, where the Christian sinner is justified in Christ, into the Osirian cult. Here there is a clear statement of the doctrine of vicarious atonement, cast in the Egyptian idioms of the Isis-Osiris cycle. Again, in *Cleopatra*, Christ is not only identified with Osiris as the

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[280] Haggard, *Beatrice* p.121. Haggard appears to have missed the chronology of the later appearance of Islam with regard to greater religions coming later (and Christianity being the ultimate goal). However, during the Victorian era, it was not uncommon to hear of Islam thought of as a heretical Christian sect, and as we shall see later, the Romantic return to Christian metempsychosis meant that, in any case, an individual might eventually be reborn a Christian. Later religions could also represent degeneration, corruption and return to superstition.

[281] Haggard, *The Cloak That I Left*, p.276.

[282] Ibid., p.276.

[283] Haggard, *Smith and the Pharaohs*, p.15.

[284] Haggard, *The Cloak That I Left*, p.254.

[285] Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MS 4692/13 (p.21).

resurrected Redeemer, but also the infant Horus. Haggard transforms Isis and Horus into Madonna and Child: 'In silence we passed into the shrine of Isis. It was dark and bare – only the feeble light from the lamp gleamed faintly upon the sculptured walls, where, in a hundred effigies, the Holy Mother suckled the Holy Child.'[286] Although his focus is on Osiris as Redeemer, Haggard can substitute Horus when looking for the Egyptian progenitor of Jesus and Mary.[287]

Aside from his reliance on Budge, there are other theological precedents to the emphasis on Osiris in Haggard. The elements of concordance with Egyptian religion that Haggard seeks out are explicitly those most closely approximating to the 'miraculous Christ' of Pauline Christology: the emphasis in Paul's epistles on Christ as the Son of God and his divine nature, the death and Resurrection, and substitutionary or vicarious atonement. There is ample evidence for Haggard's recourse to Pauline epistolary scripture, as will be demonstrated throughout this thesis. Of particular note is the apologia for his own faith extolled in 'A Note on

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[286] Haggard, *Cleopatra*, p.57. The image of *Isis lactans* does prefigure that of the iconic Madonna and Child of European art. As Hornung observes: 'There was a smooth transition from the image of the nursing Isis, *Isis lactans*, to that of *Maria lactans.* The miraculous birth of Jesus could be viewed as analogous to that of Horus, whom Isis conceived posthumously from Osiris, and Mary was closely connected with Isis by many other shared characteristics.' See Hornung, *The Secret Lore of Ancient Egypt*, p.75.

[287] Budge and Haggard certainly weren't the only proponents of this comparison. The English poet, spiritualist and writer on Ancient Egypt Gerald Massey (1828-1907) famously compared Jesus Christ with Horus rather more prominently than with Osiris: 'The mythical Messiah was Horus in the Osirian Mythos; Har-Khuti in the Sut-Typhonian; Khunsu in that of Amen-Ra; Iu in the cult of Atum-Ra; and the Christ of the Gospels is an amalgam of all these characters.
The Christ is the Good Shepherd!
So was Horus.
Christ is the Lamb of God!
So was Horus.
Christ is the Bread of Life!
So was Horus.
Christ is the Truth and the Life!
So was Horus.
Christ is the Fan-bearer!
So was Horus.
Christ is the Lord!
So was Horus.
Christ is the Way and the Door of Life!
Horus was the path by which they travelled out of the Sepulchre. He is the God whose name is written with the hieroglyphic sign of the Road or Way.' Gerald Massey, *The Historical Jesus and the Mythical Christ: A Lecture* (Glasgow: Hay Nisbet, 1880), p.10. See also Gerald Massey, *The Natural Genesis*, 2vols (London: Williams & Northgate, 1883), reprinted by Celephaïs Press. For his floridly complex 'Pre-Christian Christology' and 'Equinoctial Christolatry', see Gerald Massey, *The Natural Genesis*, 2 vols (Leeds: Celephaïs Press, 2004-5), II, pp.378-503.

Religion' in *The Days of My Life*.[288] Vital to the survival of the Christian faith for Haggard is the necessity of the miraculous aspect of Christ's divine nature or, in his words – that 'a God-endowed Being of supernatural strength did show signs and wonders before the eyes of His generation' the most important of such miracles being the Resurrection itself. Without this, 'as St Paul says, we are of all men the most miserable, then let us eat and drink for to-morrow we die […]. If He never rose from the grave, then, so far as I can see, there is no hope for Christian man.'[289] For Haggard, we are 'miserable sinners' bound to 'seek for the help we cannot give to ourselves, to crave that we too may be sprinkled with the atoning blood. Why this should be necessary I cannot say – for who can comprehend those wonders?' [290] Not for him is Baden Powell's refutation of miracles in *Essays and Reviews.* For Haggard, miracles continue beyond biblical times, and he exposes an occultist perspective in this regard: 'To state that miracles, which after all may be but the partial manifestation of some secret law veiled from us as yet, have ceased is, in my opinion, a profound mistake.'[291] The 'veil' appears yet again: Haggard is in search of hidden Nature. Here, the miraculous aspect of Christology is drawn upon to compare with that of Osiris, and emphasise the hidden forces of nature and divine agency concealed from the eye of scientific investigation.

The Ka of Rider Haggard: Ancient Egyptian Psychology

The consideration of Egyptian concepts of death and the 'resurrection' of Osiris brings us inevitably to a discussion of Ancient Egyptian psychology – here 'psyche' is used in its original Greek sense as *soul*, and this is an account of soul theory. Haggard was fascinated by the Egyptian concept of the soul-moiety called the 'Ka' and he used it in a number of his Egyptian Romances, including those which didn't have a dominant Egyptian theme.[292] Indeed, so fascinated was he by the concept that it seems from

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[288] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, II, pp.234-60.
[289] Ibid., pp.240-41. 1 Corinthians 15.19: 'If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable.' Throughout this thesis the importance of Pauline scripture to Haggard is strikingly evident. On the cultural significance of Pauline Christianity, see Patrick Gray, *Paul as a Problem in History and Culture: The Apostle and His Critics through the Centuries* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2016).
[290] Haggard, *The Days of My* Life, II, p.245.
[291] Ibid., p.240.
[292] For the Stesichorus fragments referring to his *Helen* and the *Palinode,* see *Lyra Graeca: Being the Remains of All The Greek Lyric Poets from Eumelus to Timotheus excepting Pindar*, ed. and trans. by J. M. Edmonds, Loeb Classical Library, 3 vols (London: William Heinemann, 1924), II, pp.39-45. An

his unpublished papers that he was planning a full story on the Ka: sadly, he only got as far as writing one line as an idea in a notebook: 'Story of a man who falls in love with a Ka statue which comes to life.' [293] Haggard's descriptions of the Ka are instructive in terms of his syncretic habitus of mind.[294]

As early as 1890, he had collaborated on *The World's Desire* with Andrew Lang. This is a fictional retelling of an alternative story of Helen of Troy, first recorded by the Greek lyrical poet referred to by Lang as 'blind Stesichorus' in the ode which he wrote for the Introduction to the romance. Lang had recommended to Haggard that he follow the version of the story of Helen in Euripides' play of the same name.[295] According to the alternative version of the story, Helen sojourned in Egypt whilst her *εἴδωλον* (*eidolon*) – image, ghost or double - was taken to Troy, and Chapter VIII of the novel is given over to elements of Ancient Egyptian psychology and is entitled 'The Ka, the Bai, and the Khou'. In fact, Haggard returned to the subject of Ancient Egyptian psychology many years later with *She and Allan* (1921), so it was clearly of enduring importance to him. The book opens with the subject, comparing the Egyptian with the biblical view. Allan Quatermain says that it was the Ancient Egyptians in their wisdom 'who declared that each individual personality was made up of six or seven different elements, although the Bible only allows us three, namely, body, soul and spirit'.[296]

This comparison is significant. Hence an examination of how Haggard formulated his concept of the Ka provides us with some insight into his occult syncretism, but will also facilitate an understanding of his attempts to approximate the ancient Egyptian soul moieties to Theosophical and Christian soul theories. Before exploring this further, it is essential to at least have an overview of ancient Egyptian beliefs in this regard. The soul of man is considered as a composite of 'subtle bodies'. It should be acknowledged that it is virtually impossible to address the nuances of what exactly the ancients were describing, let alone trying to explain them in terms of modern theological, psychological or 'spiritual' terms, as they

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alternative story is also found in Herodotus. Stesichorus was struck blind having insulted Helen in the first work, but his sight was restored after he produced the *Palinode.*

[293] Norwich, Norfolk Records Office: 'Rough Diary and Notebook', MC 32/52.

[294] On the Double in Christian and Neoplatonic (Plotinian) tradition, see Charles M. Stang, *Our Divine Double* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016).

[295] The letter from Lang is given in Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, I, p.280.

[296] H. Rider Haggard, *She and Allan* (London: Hutchinson & Co.,1921), p.13.

impinge on all three categories - without duplicating the contents of any of them. In addition, the concepts would have evolved considerably over the millennia. With these provisos, the following is an overview based on the soul theory as it was understood by contemporary Victorian Egyptology, and that Haggard would have been familiar with in Wiedemann and Wallis Budge:[297]

I. The Body, *Khat*: As Wallis Budge writes: 'The physical or material body, called *khat*, was liable to decay, and could only be preserved by mummifying; both gods and man possessed bodies of this nature.'[298]

II. The Spiritual Body, *Sāḥu*: Once the body was mummified and prepared with appropriate prayers, it 'germinated' within itself and 'acquired the power of sending forth from itself a body, called *sāḥu*, which was able to ascend to heaven and dwell with the gods there'.[299] As Wiedemann writes, this is the spiritual envelope of man: 'Originally it was related to the Ka, but whereas the latter was a complete Personality, the Sahu was nothing but a hull,—a form without contents.'[300]

III. The Heart, *Ȧb*: The metaphysical heart responsible for ethico-moral sensibility. The heart 'was believed to be the source of life and good and evil in man'.[301] The heart left the body at death 'and journeyed on alone through the regions of the other world till it reached the " Abode of Hearts." Its first meeting with the deceased to whom it had belonged was in the Hall of Judgment, where it stood forth as his accuser; for in it all his

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[297] As we shall see, Haggard used Wiedemann as a source for the Ka, but the transliterations of the other soul moieties used by Haggard vary ('Bai' or 'Bi' instead of 'Ba', and 'Khou' or 'Khu') and are not completely concordant with those found in either Wiedemann or Budge (See Wallis Budge, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, p.90), and Haggard's source for these remains obscure.

[298] Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, p.85.
[299] Ibid., p.85.
[300] Wiedemann, *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul*, p.41.
[301] Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, p.88.

good and evil thoughts had found expression during his lifetime'.[302]

IV. The Name, *Ren*: The ontological foundation of a man - no name, no being. As Budge writes: 'In Egypt a man took the most extraordinary precautions to prevent his name from being blotted out, for it was a common belief that unless the name of a person were preserved he ceased to exist.'[303] Hence the removal of the names from monuments of earlier pharaohs who fell out of favour with the incumbents.

V. The Ka. In many ways the most important of the soul moieties, portrayed as a Double or small version of the individual in pharaonic iconography. As Wallis Budge writes:

> The offerings taken to the tomb were intended for the *ka* of the deceased. […] This abstract individuality or personality possessed all the attributes of the man himself, and, although its normal dwelling place was in the tomb along with the body, it could wander about at will; it was independent of the man to whom it belonged and could even go and dwell in the statue of a man. The *ka* could both eat and drink.[304]

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[302] Wiedemann, *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul*, p.29.
[303] Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, p.90.
[304] Ibid., pp.86-87. As André Dollinger Reshafim observes, 'Unfortunately, the ancient Egyptians never defined fully what was meant by the Ka or its female, complementary, the *hemset* (*Hms.t*). The concepts may well have undergone changes over millennia or had different meanings according to social settings. *kA* has been variously translated as soul, life-force, will etc. but no single western concept is anything like it. Being written *kA* like the word for 'bull' [i.e. phonetically rather than the hieroglyph], a symbol of potency, the closest to it in English may be a 'life-creating force.' See André Dollinger Reshafim, 'Ancient Egypt: Body and Soul.' (2006) <http://www.reshafim.org.il/ad/egypt/religion/body_and_soul.htm> [accessed 12 May 2018].

In addition, the term can refer to both a collective, 'life-creating force' and a more person-specific element. The hieroglyph for Ka is a pair of upstretched hands, and 'The "act of Ka" was represented as two arms extended upwards from a base, supposed to be the breast muscles. Although the hands are extended as in adoration, in fact, an embrace is meant. To put one's arms around another, was to impart one's vital essence to that person. The transmission of life power or vital energy is therefore linked with the "Ka."' See Wim van den Dungen, 'the Ka' in *Studies in Ancient Egyptian Religion and Philosophy* (2009) <http://www.maat.sofiatopia.org/ka.htm> [accessed 12 May 2018].

VI. The Shadow, *Khaibit*.[305] In the light of the sun, body and shadow are inseparable, but the *Khaibit* was not an ordinary shadow. As Budge says,

> It seems to have been nourished by the offerings which were made in the tomb of the man to whom it belonged. It had an existence apart from the body, and like the *ka*, or double, it could wander wherever it pleased.[306]

VII. The Ba. This is generally translated as the immortal soul, and typically visualised as a human-headed hawk: 'The *ba* could leave its place in heaven and visit the body whenever it pleased, and it had power to assume any form that it pleased.'[307]

VIII. The Khou: The *khu*, as Budge transliterates it, was the

> '"shining", translucent covering of the spiritual body, which dwelt in heaven with the gods. It is difficult to explain its exact relationship to the double, the soul, and the heart, and the shadow, but in certain passages in which the word occurs it seems it had some close connection with the soul , for it is mentioned along with it.[308]

As a general overview, the Ka and the Name were believed to remain in the tomb in close proximity to the body, whilst the Shadow, the Ba, the Sahu and the Khou were considered more mobile and independent. The Khou could also be equated with a modern 'ghost'. This then is a simple version of the ancient Egyptian ogdoadic structure of man with a body and seven souls. Haggard's notions of the subtle bodies differ considerably from this structure and varies in his oeuvre. He gives this description of the Ka in his autobiography:

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[305] Wiedemann transliterates the term as '*Khaïb'*. See Wiedemann, *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul*, p.42.
[306] Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, p.88.
[307] Ibid., p.88.
[308] Ibid., p.89. A modern view is that the Khou (or 'Khu' or 'Akh') is the union of the Ba and Ka, which leaves the body behind as the transfigured soul in immortality. See James P. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, ed. by Peter Der Manuelian, Writings from the Ancient World, 23 (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), p.7.

> In the tomb slept the body, but according to [the old Egyptian's] immemorial faith it did not sleep alone, for with it, watching it eternally, was the Ka or Double, and to it from time to time came the Spirit [see below]. This Ka or Double had, so he believed, great powers, and could even wreak vengeance on the disturber of the grave or thief of the corpse.[309]

In *Cleopatra* - where as is often the case, Haggard employs the literary conceit of acting as the 'Editor' - there is the following footnote which is intended to be instructional: 'According to the Egyptian religion the being Man is composed of four parts: the body, the double or astral shape ('ka'), the soul ('bi'), and the spark of life sprung from the Godhead ('khou').'[310] In a similar footnote in *The Way of the Spirit*, Haggard - again as Editor - says: 'The Double and the Spirit here mentioned were doubtless those constituent parts of the human entity which were known respectively to the old Egyptians as the Ka (the Double), and the Khu (the Soul) itself.'[311] On the second occasion, he calls the Khou the soul, but as seen above it can represent the 'transfigured' soul. This is exemplary of the difficulties of attribution already outlined. In any case, it is clear from the inflections of the former note that Haggard is employing the Theosophical terms of Helena Blavatsky (see further below). The term 'astral body' although originally deriving from the work of the French occultist Alphonse Louis Constant (otherwise known as Éliphas Lévi) was adopted by Blavatsky,[312] and the notion of the 'spark of life sprung from the Godhead', was gleaned by her from various Gnostic and Neoplatonic sources: the 'divine spark' imprisoned in matter is a Gnostic idiom.[313] However, Haggard's model of

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[309] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, I, p.259.

[310] Haggard, *Cleopatra*, p.235.

[311] Haggard, *The Way of the Spirit*, p.209.

[312] 'Corps astral.' See Éliphas Lévi, *Dogme et Rituel de la Haute Magie*, 12th edn, 2 vols (Paris: Germer Baillière, 1861), II, p.109. See also Éliphas Lévi, *Transcendental Magic: its Doctrine and Ritual,* trans. by A.E. Waite (London: Rider & Company, 1984), p.120. The astral body has a forerunner in the Paracelsian concept of the *Evestrum*, to which is assigned this quality of divination. For a Theosophical exposition of the philosophy of Paracelsus, see Franz Hartmann, *The Life of Philippus Theophrastus Bombast of Hohenheim known by the name of Paracelsus and the Substance of His Teachings*, 2nd edn (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., Ltd., 1896). The Evestrum and its divinatory function is discussed on pp.87-90.

[313] In *Isis Unveiled*, Blavatsky says that 'The Hermetic Philosopher […] traces the disembodied spirit, "the vital spark of heavenly flame," into the Æthereum, beyond the grave.' See Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled*, I, p.423. As Søren Giversen et al. remark: 'The gnosis of Gnosticism involves "the idea of a divine spark in man, deriving from the divine realm, fallen into this world of fate, birth, and death, and needing to be awakened by the divine counterpart of the self."' See Søren Giversen, Tage Petersen, Jørgen Podemann Sørensen, *The Nag Hammadi Texts in the History of Religions: Proceedings of the International*

the subtle bodies is not Blavatskian, any more than it is 'authentically' Egyptian. He has simply adopted a term in common parlance in the period. Whilst the Egyptians considered the Ka immortal, Helena Blavatsky's astral body disintegrated after physical death: 'No astral soul, even that of a pure, good, and virtuous man, is immortal in the strict sense; "from the elements it was formed – to the elements it must return."'[314] Allowing for the inconsistencies noted, then, this psychology/pneumatology would appear to be Haggard's own original formulation, combining a Christian soul, a quasi-Theosophical 'astral body', and a Gnostic 'spark' of the divine. It is clear from this discussion that Haggard's syncretism operates between both historical and cultural contexts.

These investigations of soul theory led him to a particular focus on the nature of the Ka, both in spiritual and psychological terms, and this is evident from the following correspondence between Haggard and W.B. Yeats, and Haggard and Wallis Budge. The first letter by Yeats is in response to Haggard sending him manuscripts with an (unsuccessful) view to the poet considering them for dramatization:

> Dear Mr Haggard: I send your two plays in the same post with this letter. Have you thought of offering 'The Star of Egypt' [Morning Star (1910)] [Cohen's inclusion] to Tree [?] It is full of wild phantasy. It may interest you to know that a certain [name illegible], a Polish man of science was investigating what looks like a modern case of the Double – the Ka I think you call it. A medium who is one of his patients is haunted by a Doppelgänger [?] image of herself 3 feet high. . .[315]

Haggard was querying the possibility of the ante-mortem appearance of an individual's Ka - an un-Egyptian idea, but it confirms his equation of the Ka with the astral body, which, according to the Theosophical canon, can

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Conference at the Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters, September 19-24, 1995 (Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 2002), p.157. The authors are citing Ugo Bianchi, ed., *Le Origini dello Gnosticismo: Colloquio di Messina, 13-18 Aprile 1966* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), pp. xxvi-ix. On the polymorphous nature of ancient Gnosticism and the problematics of defining 'gnosis' and 'Gnosticism', see Roelof van den Broek, *Gnostic Religion in Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). On Neoplatonic emanationism in the work of Plotinus, see Dominic J. O'Meara, *Plotinus: An Introduction to The Enneads* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp.60-61.

[314] Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled*, I, p.432.

[315] Cohen, *Rider Haggard*, p.199.

leave the body at the adept's will.[316] This concordance is made even more explicit in the proto-science fiction novel *When the World Shook*, in which he explains via one of his pseudo-Atlantean characters that

> They could project what the old Egyptians called the Ka or Double, and modern Theosophists name the Astral Shape, to any distance. Moreover, this Double, or Astral Shape, while itself invisible, still, so to speak, had the use of its senses. It could see, it could hear, and it could remember, and, on returning to the body, it could avail itself of the experience thus acquired.[317]

This attribution of the astral body as a *vehicle* of consciousness projected at a distance, along with the possession of sensate faculties is redolent of the work of the second generation or 'Neo-Theosophists', notably Annie Besant (1847-1933) who became the president of the Theosophical Society in 1907 and remained so until her death, and Charles Webster Leadbeater (1854–1934).[318] By the time Haggard wrote this novel in 1919, these would have been his 'modern Theosophists'. Leadbeater's emphasis on clairvoyance necessitated a direct relation between the astral body and astral *plane* of existence whereas Blavatsky's astral component of the Self had been more in the nature of an abstract principle. As Julie Hall notes: 'The principles came to be seen as vehicles of travel within these higher worlds, and bodies were considered more appropriate for travel than abstract principles.'[319]

Haggard had also written to Wallis Budge in a letter dated 21 March 1910, 'I am amusing myself dramatising "Morning Star" ... Do you know of any

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[316] For Blavatsky on the astral body and the possibilities of projection, see 'Astral Bodies, Or Doppelgängers', in H.P. Blavatsky, *Studies in Occultism*, vol. 6 (Point Loma, CA: The Aryan Theosophical Press, 1910), pp.1-18.

[317] H. Rider Haggard, *When the World Shook: Being an Account of the Great Adventure of Bastin, Bickley, and Arbuthnot* (New York, NY: Longmans, Green and Co, 1919), p.249. It is of note from this quote that by 1919, Haggard knew to distinguish the 'Theosophy' of the Theosophical society with a capitalised 'T'.

[318] The term 'Neo-Theosophist' was originally denigratory, and as used by their opponents. As James Santucci remarks: 'The two were largely responsible for the introduction of new teachings that were often in total opposition to the Theosophy of Blavatsky and her Masters. These teachings were designated by their opponents as Neo-Theosophy or less often Pseudo-Theosophy.' See James A. Santucci, 'The Aquarian Society', *Communal Societies*, 9 (1989), 39-61 (p.43). As Santucci reports, 'The label was most likely coined in 1914 by F.T. Brooks, author of *Neo-Theosophy Exposed* and *The Theosophical Society and its Esoteric Bogeydom.*' (p.44).

[319] See Julie Hall, 'The *Saptaparṇa*: The Meaning and Origins of the Theosophical Septenary Constitution of Man', *Theosophical History*, 4, 13 (2007), p.10.

instance of a Ka demonstrate itself and assuming physical form during the life-time of its companion body, or are its manifestations purely-post mortem?'[320] Haggard had provided an introductory, historical 'Author's Note' to *Morning Star*, in which there are some further comments on the Ka. He acknowledges that it may be thought that in his tale of old Egypt, with the Ka or Double of the Queen remaining in occupation of the throne 'while the owner of the said "Double" goes upon a long journey and achieves sundry adventures, is, in fact, to take a liberty with Doubles'.[321] However, he says that he does not believe this to be the case:

> The *Ka* or Double which Wiederman [sic.] [322] aptly calls the "Personality within the person" appears, according to Egyptian theory, to have an existence of its own. It did not die when the body died, for it was immortal and awaited the resurrection of that body, with which, henceforth, it would be reunited and dwell eternally. To quote Wiederman again, "The *Ka* could live without the body, but the body could not live without the *Ka* . . . it was material in just the same way as the body itself." [323]

The Ka is neither incorporeal nor discarnate: the ancient Egyptians clearly did not have a dyadic notion of a materially different body and soul, and in this regard Haggard's notion of the Ka appears at first sight to remain faithfully Egyptian. However, it is more likely, given his early exploration of Spiritualism, that Haggard's Ka has more in common with the spirit manifestation/materialisation of the séance room. However, his terminology also suggests his equation of the Ka with the Theosophical astral body (see above). In its ante-mortem form it is a projected astral body: post-mortem, it becomes a Christian wraith. The Ka returns again and again. He describes it as the 'Double', and frequently uses the epithet

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[320] Cohen, *Rider Haggard*, p.199.

[321] Haggard, *Morning Star*, p. vii.

[322] Alfred Wiedemann (1856-1936), German Egyptologist and Professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Bonn. Haggard not only derived his Egyptological information on the Ka from Wiedemann, but his work was also the inspiration for Queen Neter-Tua being held in her mother's arms as a baby with the Ka as a twin (the image appears in Alfred Wiedemann, *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul* (London: H. Grevel & Co., 1895). In the 'Author's Note' to *Morning Star* Haggard cites Gaston Maspero's translation of 'Setna and the Magic Book', a Ptolemaic magical tale, as another source work. See Gaston Maspero, *Les Contes Populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne* (Paris: J. Maisonneuve, 1882). On the influence of this tale, now known as the 'First Setne' on Haggard's female characters see Steve Vinson, 'They-Who-Must-Be-Obeyed: Arsake, Rhadopis, and Tabubue; Ihweret and Charikleia', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 3, 45 (2008), 289-315.

[323] Haggard, *Morning Star*, p. vii. Wiedemann actually writes 'the Personality accompanies the Person' (p.13), though the second reference is a direct quote: see Wiedemann, *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul*, p.19.

'Ka or Double' in both his fictional and factual writings on Egypt.[324] This epithet derives from the early Egyptological interpretation of pharaonic iconography, where the Ka is represented as a duplicate image of the king. It was subsequently reasoned that 'Ka' should be translated as 'Double'. From a literary perspective, it is easy to see how the Ka was readily adapted given the Victorian penchant for twins, divided selves and Doppelgängers.[325]

Haggard's interest in what is now called 'precognition' is pervasive throughout his literature, and is evident in his belief in the precognitive function of dreams and visions. In *Moon of Israel*, Haggard yokes together these beliefs in predestination and precognition by means of the Ka. Prince Seti asks a magician how he foresees the future:

> "Who shows you all these things, and how?"
>
> "Our *Kas*, which are our secret selves, show them to us, Prince, and in many ways. Sometimes it is by dreams or visions, sometimes by pictures on water, sometimes by writings in the desert sand. In all these fashions, and by others, our *Kas*, drawing from the hidden well of wisdom that is hidden in the being of every man, give us glimpses of the truth, as they give us who are instructed power to work marvels." [326]

As has been noted, this seems to form part of the ancient Egyptian canon:

> On an individual level, every human being had a "double," which co-determined the fortunate aspects of a person's fate. This double contained the dispositions which influenced one's emotional life as well. Hence, the Egyptian Ka encompasses both the yogi's "sheet of breath" ("etheric double") as well as the "sheet of passions" or "astral" body," influenced by the planets ("astra").[327]

In Theosophical terms, it is perhaps not surprising that the astral body should have access to the 'Astral Light' – another term borrowed by

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[324] For example, in *Morning Star*, p. 172, and *Smith and the Pharaohs*, p.63. As Wiedemann reports, the assignment of 'Double' to the Ka derives from Gaston Maspero (see above).

[325] Patrick Brantlinger and William B. Thesing, eds, *A Companion to the Victorian Novel* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), p.82.

[326] Haggard, *Moon of Israel*, p.84.

[327] Wim van den Dungen, 'the Ka' [accessed 14 October 2010].

Blavatsky from Éliphas Lévi [328] - and Haggard's equation of the astral body with the Ka has already been noted above. Haggard's novel *Stella Fregelius* mentions the 'astral body' specifically. Mary, the wife of the male protagonist Morris, says he has an unhealthy interest in the hereafter, fostered by 'that old mummy' Mr Fregelius, Stella's father. When Morris asks her why she thinks this, Mary responds: 'Because the old man with his pale face and big eyes looked more like an astral body than a healthy human being.'[329]

Rider Haggard's great friend and fellow author, Rudyard Kipling, always acknowledged his friend's influence on *The Jungle Books.*[330] The feral child Mowgli was inspired by an incident with wolves in Haggard's *Nada the Lily*.[331] The name of the snake who Mowgli encountered was, of course, Kaa.

To summarise, Haggard's Ka is Egyptian by virtue of the name of the soul-moiety, its resemblance to the deceased, and its non-dualistic corporeity. It has a pre-classical Greek heritage, being inspired by the *eidolon* of Helen. In the context of his romances, it is imbued with the qualities of the séance room and spirit manifestation and is equated by Haggard with the Theosophical Astral body. As Lilias Haggard once tellingly remarked, 'Rider could not keep off astral bodies in one form or another.'[332] In religious terms, it is his legitimisation of spiritual being and immortality by means of an appeal to the archaic: an exploration of the continuity of existence in the relationship between the spirit and the flesh, liminality and perichoresis. In the next chapter we consider the ideas of continuity of existence in relation to the conceptualisation of time.

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[328] 'Lumière astrale.' See Éliphas Lévi, *Dogme et Rituel de la Haute Magie*, 12th edn, vol.1 (Paris: Germer Baillière, 1861), p.208. See also Éliphas Lévi, *Transcendental Magic: its Doctrine and Ritual, Transcendental Magic: its Doctrine and Ritual,* trans. by A.E. Waite (London: Rider & Company, 1984), passim.

[329] H. Rider Haggard, *Stella Fregelius: A Tale of Three Destines* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1903), p.350.

[330] Cohen, *Rider Haggard*, pp.207-08.

[331] Ibid., p. 207.

[332] Haggard, *The Cloak That I Left*, p.120.

Chapter 4. UROBORUS AND URAEUS: CYCLICAL AND LINEAR TIME

The title of this chapter is deliberately based on two Egyptian snake symbols. The *uraeus*, the striking cobra as a symbol of Egyptian Pharaonic Dynastic and later Ptolemaic dominion, and the *uroborus* which translates as 'tail-eater' - the snake biting its tail as a symbol of cyclical time. They are brought together here to consider Victorian notions of time, the religious implications of the development of ideas of 'Deep Time' in the Victorian period, and the prevalent idea of the cyclical rise and fall of empire as compared with Dynastic time in Egypt. The Egyptian symbolism appears as early in Haggard's writing as *King Solomon's Mines*, where Ignosi, the rightful King of the Kukuanas bears the uroborus as a tattoo - the symbol of kingship,[333] which in turn 'suggests repetition as circularity, a self-reliant royal power that transcends its own death'.[334]

In the following discussion, I shall consider the interaction of elements of Christian and Egyptian religiosity and concepts of time, and to assist in the analysis of these imbricated concepts, I shall employ the notion of the Egyptian *chronotope*. As Assmann argues,

> The idea of a "chronotope"- Mikhail Bakhtin's term for the literary treatment of areas with a time scale of their own - can legitimately be applied in the domain of cultural studies.[335] Of all the constructions of meaning that […] history must trace, the cultural construction of time is the most fundamental and all encompassing.[336]

As he notes, cultural time is organised around certain fundamental guiding distinctions, which include notions of memory and renewal, and between linear and cyclical time. In the history of Christendom, and since the time of Augustine, Christ's death on the cross was a unique and irreversible

[333] H. Rider Haggard, *King Solomon's Mines* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), p.115.
[334] Gustavo Generani, 'Rider Haggard: A Triptych of Ambiguities on British Imperialism', *Victoriographies*, 1, 5 (2015), 54-71 (p.66).
[335] See Mikhail Bakhtin, 'Forms of Time and of the Chronotope in the Novel', in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. by Michael Holquist, trans. by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin, TX: University of Texas, 1981), pp.84-258.
[336] Jan Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt: History and Meaning in the Time of the Pharaohs,* trans. by Andrew Jenkins (New York, NY: Metropolitan Books, 2002), p.12.

event that, for the Christian, creates a newly linear time: 'While the heathens wander around in circles, Christians move toward the consummation represented by redemption. With this distinction between cyclical (profane) and linear (sacred) time and history, Augustine laid the foundations of the medieval understanding of time and history.'[337] The concept of a specifically Egyptian chronotope is deployed here to explore this contrast, and to investigate ancient Egyptian ideas of an afterlife, both historically and as represented in Haggard's Egyptian romances. This will also pave the way for us to consider in later chapters how the dogmatic eschatology of a linear time in Christianity was approximated to cyclical time in an attempted theological revitalization strategy. As the discussion involves some Victorian conceptualisations of reincarnation, this will be followed by a brief excursus into Theosophical concepts of time, and contemporaneous notions of time in Victorian England.

Set in the Second Intermediate Period where the Egyptians resist the oppressive Hyksos, *Queen of the Dawn* finds Haggard portraying three condemned prisoners who debate the afterlife. They all take different positions. One believes in the underworld and 'redemption' through Osiris; one believes in nothing save eternal sleep, whilst 'the third held that he would be re-born upon the earth and rewarded for all he had endured by a new and happier life.'[338] In the voice of the last man, Haggard implies at least the possibility of a belief in reincarnation in ancient Egypt, accompanied it would seem by the payment of a karmic debt. This erroneous belief in Egyptian metempsychosis follows in the wake of a long tradition, beginning in the classical period with Herodotus who wrote

> Moreover, the Egyptians were the first to teach that the human soul is immortal, and at the death of the body enters into some other living thing then coming to birth; and after passing through all creatures of land, sea and air (which cycle it completes in three thousand years) it enters once more into a human body at birth.[339]

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[337] Ibid., p.13.

[338] H. Rider Haggard, *Queen of the Dawn: A Love Tale of Old Egypt* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1925), p.170.

[339] Herodotus, *The Persian Wars*, *Books 1-2*, trans. by A.D. Godley, Loeb Classical Library,4 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), I, pp.424-25. (Gk: *πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσὶ οἱ εἰπόντες, ὡς ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος ἐστί, τοῦ σώματος δὲ καταφθίνοντος ἐς ἄλλο ζῷον αἰεὶ γινόμενον ἐσδύεται, ἐπεὰν δὲ πάντα περιέλθῃ τὰ χερσαῖα καὶ τὰ θαλάσσια καὶ τὰ πετεινά, αὖτις ἐς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα γινόμενον ἐσδύνει: τὴν περιήλυσιν δὲ αὐτῇ γίνεσθαι ἐν τρισχιλίοισι ἔτεσι.*)

The theme of reincarnation is dominant in many of Haggard's novels, albeit an idea on which he himself vacillated. In *The Days of My Life* Haggard describes how one of his friends whom he calls a 'mystic' describes three of his previous incarnations, notably two of them in Egypt – and the third a Viking who 'was one of the first to sail to the Nile, whence he returned but to die in sight of his old home'. Haggard speculates that it would make our lives more interesting, but that it will never be proved 'even if it be true that we return again to these glimpses of the moon, which, like everything else, is possible.'[340]

Although it is not necessary to consider the archaeological arguments for and against an Egyptian belief in reincarnation, one can state that current opinion is that the Egyptians believed in an afterlife continuing much the same as the present life. The notion that they may have believed in reincarnation is generally refuted, and may have stemmed from confusion surrounding the birth, death, and rebirth of the *sun*, and the equation of the pharaoh with the sun.[341] In the Victorian context, however, Haggard quite freely puts this belief in the mouth of a queen of Egypt. In *Smith and the Pharaohs*, Queen Ma-Mee says:

> Did your god Amen teach you that vengeance went before mercy? Answer me! Did he teach you that men should be judged unheard? That they should be hurried to Osiris ere their time, and thereby separated from the dead ones whom they loved and forced to return to live again upon this evil Earth? [342]

Here Haggard demonstrates another of his occult hybrids. In the Egyptian view, the soul of the dead is judged before Osiris in the Hall of Ma'at ('Justice'/ 'Truth') where his heart is weighed by Anubis against the feather of Ma'at. If it sinks, his heart is heavy with wrong-doing and is devoured by the crocodile-headed demon Ammit, the Destroyer, thus undergoing a 'second death', and not proceeding to the after-life.[343] In the above passage, Haggard suggests that untimely death leads to reincarnation. Clearly, reincarnation is not a feature of ancient Egyptian soul theory and Haggard has fallen under the influence of Theosophy.

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[340] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, I, pp.254-55.

[341] See Louis V. Zabkar, 'Herodotus and the Egyptian Idea of Immortality', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 22, 1 (1963), 57-63.

[342] Haggard, *Smith and the Pharaohs*, p.60.

[343] Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Religion*, pp.135-40.

In Section III, I discuss the influence of Helena Blavatsky's Theosophy on Haggard's romances in some detail. Here we have recourse to mention it briefly in the Egyptian context. Theosophy propounds an evolutionary metaphysics comprising a cosmic evolution which – in keeping with the ancient Macrocosm-Microcosm axis - is reflected in an ascendant cyclical metempsychosis of the human soul.[344] This spiritual evolutionism manifest as reincarnationism is a recurring theme in Haggard's romances. Thus, although it is not a feature of ancient Egyptian soul theory, it becomes a feature of Haggard's Egyptosophical schema. To illustrate this, consider the following passage in *Cleopatra.* Here the goddess Isis appears to the priest Harmachis having not granted him a vision for many years, and rebukes him for deserting her (for Cleopatra). As Isis unveils again to the priest Harmachis, Haggard makes her a mouthpiece for Theosophical doctrine:

> And now for thyself one word, for thou hast put Me from thee Harmachis, and no more shall I come face to face with thee till, cycles hence, the last fruit of thy sin hath ceased to be upon this earth! Yet, through the vastness of the unnumbered years, remember thou this: the Love Divine is Love Eternal, which cannot be extinguished, though it be everlastingly estranged. Repent my son; repent and do well while there is yet time, that at the dim end of ages thou mayest once more be gathered unto Me. Still Harmachis, though thou seest Me not; still, when the very name by which thou knowest me has become a meaningless mystery to those who shall be after thee; still I, whose hours are eternal - I, who have watched Universes wither, wane, and, beneath the breath of Time, melt into nothingness; again to gather, and, re-born, thread the maze of space – still, I say I shall companion thee. Wherever thou goest, in whatever form of life thou livest, there I shall be! Art thou buried in Amenti's lowest deep – in lives, in deaths, in sleeps, in wakings, in remembrances, in oblivions, in all the fevers of the outer Life, in all the changes of the Spirit – still, if thou wilt but atone and forget Me no more, I shall be with thee, waiting thine hour of redemption.[345]

In the following discussion, this passage is analysed in terms of Egyptian concepts of time, compared with Theosophical notions of cyclical time, and

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[344] It is not necessary in this account to detail Blavatsky's complex schemata for the parallel cyclical evolution of man, the planet and the cosmos as a whole. Whilst it superficially appears to draw some ideas from Advaita Vedanta, and includes the idea of the 'Day of Brahma' as a cycle of creation and destruction of the Universe, it has more in common with evolutionary theory than Vedic cosmology. On the complex interrelationship between human principles and the planets see Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, *The Secret Doctrine*, (London: Theosophical Publishing House, 1888), I, p.153.

[345] Haggard, *Cleopatra*, pp.260-61.

this is set against the backdrop of the emergence of the concept of 'Deep Time' in the Victorian period.

Briefly, the ancient Egyptians considered time broadly to be divided between that of the human and that of the divine: between the phenomenal 'earthly' time of men, and the time of the gods. Though they had no word for 'time' as such, they related the following concepts: in Human time, 'at' (*At*) refers to a moment or instant whereas 'ahau' (*Ahau*) denotes a period e.g. a human life.[346] In Eternal time, '*Nehe'* (*nHH*) refers to a dynamic eternity of cyclical, unending repetition, whereas '*Djet'* (*Ddt*) denotes 'no-time.' The Egyptian concept of time represented by *Djet* is not Time's arrow. It rather represents the stillness of eternity; not a diachronic linearity but an 'immutable permanence'.[347] In ancient Egyptian iconography, the cyclical nature of time represented by a snake biting its tail, 'called in Egyptian *sd-m-r* ("tail-in-the-mouth") and later in Greek the ouroborus ("tail-eater").' [348] As Assmann has observed, Egyptian time is intimately related to the State: it is intrinsically dynastic and pharaonic. In the system of *neheh* and *djet*, 'Each in its way denies the very idea of history: *neheh* by emphasizing reversibility, *djet* by emphasizing immutability. Hence history takes place in a dimension that is negated by these two concepts: the dimension of irreversibility and change.'[349]

As Assmann points out the closest thing resembling a historical narrative is the dynastic record. Here, 'Egyptology adopts the chronology advanced by an Egyptian priest by the name of Manetho, who under Ptolemy II in the first half of the third century B.C.E. wrote a history of Egypt in Greek. Manetho counts thirty-one dynasties.'[350] As we have seen one of the closest words to time is that for an individual lifetime - *ahau*, and the duration of Egypt is measured out by the chain of lifetimes of the pharaohs. As Assmann writes, 'The king-lists (lists of pharaohs' names inscribed on a temple wall or on papyrus) confirm this connection between state and

[346] Wim van den Dungen, 'Liber Nun' in *Studies in Ancient Egyptian Religion and Philosophy* (2009) <http://www.maat.sofiatopia.org/nun.htm> [accessed 25 October 2017].

[347] Jan Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt: History and Meaning in the Time of the Pharaohs,* trans by Andrew Jenkins (New York, NY: Metropolitan Books, 2002), pp.18-19.
[348] Patricia A. Bochi, 'Images of Time in Ancient Egyptian Art', *Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt*, 31(1994), 55-62 (p.58).
[349] Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt*, p.19.
[350] Ibid., p.21.

time.'[351] For Thompson, echoing Assmann, the impulse for compiling such lists was not historical in nature, rather, 'They were designed to establish connectivity, therefore legitimacy, with a continuum that extended far into the past, but with the necessary adjustments to that past to bring it into accord with *maat*, the proper order of things.'[352] The dynastic and pharaonic are eternally present epigraphically on the monuments of Egypt: a durability which was no doubt seen by the British Protectorate as a model for their own royal dynasties and enduring Imperium – a durability which Haggard doubted.

Returning to the excerpt from *Cleopatra* above, Isis may appear, albeit superficially, to be talking about the Egyptian 'cycle of eternal recurrence'. However, the waxing and waning, the systole and diastole of the Universe, combined with an implied cyclical spiritual ascent in terms of Harmachis' journey towards redemption - where cosmic cycles run in tandem with human reincarnation - has more in common with Blavatsky's Theosophical model and the cycles of *yugas.* In these Sanskrit terms, appropriated from Vedic cosmology, time is divided into cycles of four *yugas* or epochs, with an overarching Grand Cycle of the creation and destruction of the universe – The Day of Brahma, described by Isis in Harmachis' vision. Therefore, Haggard's Isis describes Theosophical doctrines of cycles, as described by Helena Blavatsky in *Isis Unveiled* (1877).[353] Whilst Blavatsky uses Sanskrit terms much of this early work contains ideas which reflect her reading of Hermetic, Neoplatonic and Gnostic literature.[354] In the latter work, Isis is Nature personified, as she is in *Cleopatra.* [355] The goddess also mentions the associated microcosmic cycles of Man, which is again an

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[351] Ibid., p.21.

[352] Thompson, *Wonderful Things*, I, p.16.

[353] Blavatsky, Isis *Unveiled*, I, p.293.

[354] As Christopher Plaisance has argued convincingly, whilst Blavatsky frequently refers to the Neoplatonists, she differs significantly from them in her 'transvaluation' of the soul and spirit (making the spirit the more 'heavenly' of the two) which indicates a Pauline influence. See Christopher A. Plaisance, 'The Transvaluation of "Soul" and "Spirit": Platonism and Paulism in H.P. Blavatsky's *Isis Unveiled*', *The Pomegranate*, 1, 15 (2013), 250-72.

[355] The front cover annotation of *Isis Unveiled* states that: 'In Volume I the scientific and spiritualist theories of the time are balanced against fundamental concepts of the "anciently universal Wisdom-Religion," making plain that Isis – nature personified – still veils realms of consciousness and substance unapproached by modern science.' In addition, Blavatsky avers that: 'In our studies, mysteries were shown to be no mysteries. Names and places that to the Western mind have only a significance derived from Eastern fable, were shown to be realities. Reverently we stepped in spirit within the temple of Isis to lift aside the veil of "the one that is and was and shall be" at Saïs. (See Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled*, I, p.vi).

iteration of the Theosophical notions of cycles and races of Man (see below). In addition, she describes the reincarnation of Harmachis himself, and 'remembrances and oblivions' in this context are suggestive of *amnesis* of previous existences but also the possibility of Platonic *anamnesis*.[356] The spiritual development of mankind is described in Blavatskian Theosophy in terms of 'cycles' or 'rounds'[357] with 'life waves' of humanity washing across the globe and being replaced by successive waves of more advanced races.

These concepts of temporal cyclicity, alongside linear concepts of time have an important historical context. The apprehension of time itself was dramatically altered during the Victorian period. It was during this era that 'Transportation and communication technologies [...] regularized time and squeezed space. The telephone, the wireless telegraph, the bicycle, the motor car, and the steam ship all helped foster an environment where material progress seemed unstoppable and human nature infinitely perfectible.' [358] With advancing technology and communication, the concomitant 'shrinking' of the planet resulted in a new globalisation of time, and the consolidation of the concept of 'Deep Time'. Such a concept of time was further enhanced by scientific discoveries, especially in the earth sciences. As Tim Murray observes, such advances disturbed traditional contexts of temporality, and thus 'nineteenth-century society encountered an abyss of *terrestrial* time, a precursor of the abyss of

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[356] The passage in Plato dealing with the recollection of the soul's Pre-Existence with the divine is found in the *Phaedrus*, Sections 249B and 249C: 'For a human being must understand a general conception formed by collecting into a unity by means of reason the many perceptions of the senses; and this is a recollection of those things which our soul once beheld, when it journeyed with God and, lifting its vision above the things which we now say exist, rose up into real being.'(Gk: *δεῖ γὰρ ἄνθρωπον συνιέναι κατ' εἶδος λεγόμενον, ἐκ πολλῶν ἰὸν αἰσθήσεων εἱς ἓν λογισμῷ συναιρούμενον: τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἀνάμνησις ἐκείνων ἅ ποτ' εἶδεν ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ συμπορευθεῖσα θεῷ καὶ ὑπεριδοῦσα ἃ νῦν εἶναί φαμεν, καὶ ἀνακύψασα εἰς τὸ ὂν ὄντως.*) Plato, *Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Phaedrus*, trans. by Harold North Fowler, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), pp. 480-81.

[357] Sinnett used the term 'rounds' which was subsequently elaborated by Blavatsky. See A.P. Sinnett, *Esoteric Buddhism* (London: Trübner &Co., 1883), p.43. The concept of 'rounds' is complex as it involves a cosmic evolution whereby the Earth itself is in evolution and is one in a chain of seven globes, each on different planes of existence representing different stages of evolution. The 'round' involves the individual essence of the human being, the 'monad', in company with all the other monads which form the 'life wave', making one journey through all of the seven Globes. See Blavatsky, *The Secret Doctrine*, I, p. 172 and pp. 158-59. This is elucidated particularly well in Julie Chajes, 'Reincarnation in H.P. Blavatsky's *The Secret Doctrine*', *Correspondences* 5 (2018), 65-93 (pp.77-78).

[358] Tim Murray, 'Archaeology and the Threat of the Past: Sir Henry Rider Haggard and the Acquisition of Time', *World Archaeology*, 25, 2, (1993), 175-86 (p.175).

cosmological time which began to take shape after the publication of Einstein's special theory of relativity early in the next century'.[359]

Such new ideas inevitably challenged the cherished notions of biblical narratives, pushing the history of man further back in time. For the Victorians, this posed the problem of gazing into a past which threatened unintelligibility, and oblivion in consequence. Haggard steps into the foreground with a literary solution to this anxiety. In his romances, he presents the past in terms of the backward projection of ethnographic 'Presents', the 'living fossils' of non-modern 'savage' tribes. The Amahagger people in *She* are an example.[360] Thus, as Murray argues:

> Haggard [chose] settings either in the archaeological past or in modern survivals of societies which he thought had changed little for thousands of years. Others had more historical themes […]. However, in all of these the welding of the past with the present, the appeal to moral and ethical universals, and the overwhelming power of Nature and Fate are aspects of his concern to destroy time by understanding the meaning behind its pattern and process.[361]

In *She*, Haggard enunciates his theme of the providential cyclical rise and fall of nations and peoples. Ayesha tells Horace Holly in the Tombs of Kôr that its people built their city four thousand years before the catacombs in which they stand: 'Yet when first mine eyes beheld it two thousand years ago, it was even as it is now. Judge, therefore, how old must that city have been!'[362] Holly replies that it seems the world is very old, and Ayesha extols the nature of its unfolding destiny. As she says, over the ages great cultures have come and gone, and are forgotten and erased: 'This is but one of several: for Time eats up the works of man … Who knows what hath been on earth, or what shall be? There is no new thing under the sun, as the wise Hebrew wrote long ago.'[363]

Ayesha is quoting a verse from Ecclesiastes, previously noted as a favourite Haggard text: 'The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done: and there is no new

[359] Ibid., p.175.
[360] The Amahagger first appear in *She,* p.78.
[361] Murray, 'Archaeology and the Threat of the Past', p.180.

[362] Haggard, *She*, pp.178-79.
[363] Ibid., pp. 180.

thing under the sun.'[364] The 'wise Hebrew' being Solomon, the author of Ecclesiastes according to rabbinical tradition. Haggard, then, is not solely concerned with the expanse of civilisation in the imperial sense, but with its cyclical growth and decay, and here he gives the biblical precedent as voiced by Ayesha. Indeed, this threnody for ruined Imperial Kôr can be considered as Haggard's 'proleptic lament for Britain itself'.[365] This idea of the cyclical rise and fall and regeneration of civilisation – aside from the Egyptological and Theosophical considerations - was a pervasive idea amongst the Victorian intelligentsia. Haggard's primary concern was inevitably with the fall of the British Empire, with its dissolution from the centre due to perceived moral decay, whilst at the periphery the 'good men' of Empire continued to forge ahead: a hearkening back to the 'Golden Ages' of ancient civilisations. It can be said that: 'Time in this reading of Haggard is morally cyclical. Antique civilisations thus formed more than a backdrop to his romances; they were a moral and ideological context for the enlightenment of Englishmen.'[366]

To conclude, unlike the Egyptian concepts of time, in Haggard: 'Time (both personal and cultural) was also linear. Death was the inevitable end for both self and society. Haggard thus sought a purpose behind time's arrow *and* cycle. The immensity of time therefore had moral overtones.'[367] The discovery of the immense depth of time allowed Haggard 'the span of time he needed for his "natural selection of civilizations": a kind of cyclical history'.[368] As he would write:

> The best philosophers hold that there is no such thing as an end. You know the sacred symbol of a snake with its tail in its mouth that surrounds the whole world, but begins where it ends, and ends where it begins. It may be seen in any tomb.[369]

In summary, the combined linear and cyclical temporalism is born of Haggard's *hybrid* Theosophical Egypt and contemporaneous notions of the cycles of civilisation. Implicit in these ideas is a sense of the progressive

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[364] Ecclesiastes 1.9.
[365] Stephen Arata, *Fictions of Loss in the Victorian Fin de Siècle: Identity and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.101.
[366] Murray, 'Sir Henry Rider Haggard and the Acquisition of Time' p.182.
[367] Ibid., p.182.

[368] Ibid., p.182.
[369] Haggard, *Morning Star*, p.175.

revelation of divine ethico-moral purpose which Haggard seeks in the rise and fall of civilisations, an immanentist view of deity, and an unfolding of providential design. In the next chapter, we shall consider how the memories and locales of such historical changes are construed, and the topoi by which these were articulated.

Chapter 5: MNEMOHISTORY AND METAGEOGRAPHY OF EGYPT

We have already seen the way in which mnemohistory dovetails with Christian Egyptosophy in the history of Moses and the biblical archaeology of the Exodus, and the importance of the mnemohistorical technique in the analysis of Haggard's Egypt. Mnemohistory is 'reception theory' applied to history – but reception is not to be understood here simply in the narrow sense of transmitting and receiving. The past is not simply 'received' by the present: 'The present is haunted by the past and the past is modelled, invented, reinvented, and reconstructed by the present.'[370] In this chapter we turn to the landscape which cradles such temporalities.

Central to our consideration of geography in general and landscape in particular in Haggard is the concept of 'metageography'. Martin W. Lewis and Kären E. Wigen have defined this as follows: 'By *metageography* we mean the set of spatial structures through which people order their knowledge of the world: the often unconscious frameworks that organize studies of history, sociology, anthropology, economics, political science, or even natural history.' [371] In the following discussion I have extended the use of the term to include religious and imperial dominion. This is vital in terms of the context of imperialism and colonialism, with regard to East-West relations, Eurocentrism, and the adsorption of Egypt to Britain and British culture, especially in terms of the trope of Egypt as a cradle of Western civilisation.

Thus, Haggard's metageographical Egypt places it amongst the Old Testament Bible lands of the Exodus where the Nile is 'Sihor'[372] and the Israelite sojourn in Egypt is in the 'Land of Goshen'.[373] Egypt forms the northern pole of the North-South axis of Haggard's fictional Africa. In his literature he documents both the sophisticated initiatic religion of his 'Old Egypt' and the indigenous spirituality of the African witchcraft of the South African *veldt* with which he came into contact as a young man. However, unlike his contemporaries, Haggard apportions value to the

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[370] Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, p.9.

[371] Martin W. Lewis and Kären E. Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1997), p. ix.

[372] See Haggard, *Cleopatra*, p.77 and passim. This name is found in Isaiah 23.3 and Jeremiah 2.18.

[373] Haggard, *Moon of Israel*, p.15 and passim.

spiritualities on both poles of this axis – the ancient and the contemporaneous. As will be discussed in the course of the thesis, his fascination lies with the visionary, the revelatory and the gnostic akin to both as part of the lived-experience of religion.

Rider Haggard visited Egypt on four occasions – in 1887, 1904, 1912 and 1924, and Egyptology was a life-long passion.[374] As a writer of Egyptian romances, as a well-respected amateur Egyptologist, as a collector of antiquities, and as a 'man of Empire', Haggard squarely illustrates a series of superimposed conflicts. He also represents a figure of transition, from the gentleman antiquarian of the early 1800s to the amateur Egyptologist - exemplary of the concomitant shift from the collections of curios to an emergent pedagogical museum culture. Haggard's interface with Egypt and the cloud of Victorian sensibilities surrounding it are at once readily appreciated. As a collector: the colonialist agenda of acquisition. As a commentator and author, both factual and fictive: the Christian project of confirmation - to a qualified extent – of biblical narratives. It is often the colonialist agenda which is emphasised, and the advance of 'scientific' Egyptology in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century is often specified. However, as we have seen, the support for biblical Egyptologists demonstrates that, in Egyptology, 'the *fin de siècle* enjoyed a little-noticed but widely supported revival of Old-Testament-based Christianity amidst a flowering of diverse beliefs.'[375] From the metageographical perspective, the colonialist and biblical agendas are directly interrelated. The British Empire was not alone in this regard. Aside from the trajectory of biblical legitimisation by what I have termed 'Christian Egyptosophy', the fierce competition between Britain and France in terms of archaeological investigation in Egypt added a territorialist and imperialist dimension to Egyptology: the proliferation of archaeological sites was almost akin to the two sides raising the Tricoleur or the Union Jack. Elliott Colla has very succinctly summarised the colonialist agenda of archaeological 'acquisition':

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[374] See Addy, *Rider Haggard and Egypt*, pp. 1-35, in which the trips to Egypt are described in some detail.
[375] Gange, 'Religion and Science in Late-Nineteenth Century British Egyptology', p.1083.

> Excavation and transport […] took place in the name of disinterested management and study, that is, "acquisition." This new way of speaking about and treating Pharaonic antiquities enabled Europeans to gain control over antiquities sites throughout the nineteenth century, and its logic expanded British and French power and profit even as it disavowed both. Once generalised, the discourse of the artefact gave shape and substance to later forms of colonial discourse about managing *all* the resources of modern Egypt.[376]

Haggard's interest in Egypt is more sophisticated, as he is more concerned with the pursuit of the 'primordial wisdom', and the relationship of Egyptian and Christian religious structures than the British Protectorate per se. Nevertheless, as will be demonstrated, Haggard's metageographical Old Egypt is a 'white', pre-Islamic, proto-Christian, and occasionally even Nordic one.[377] As will be seen, however, Haggard as a novelist is remote from offering an *apologia* for Anglicanism: his role as an esotericist provides further layers in the palimpsest of a complex man. It could be readily argued that Egyptology is not in and of itself *esoteric*. However, the romance of 'Old Egypt' and its incumbent Egyptosophy with a focus on the Hidden Wisdom narrative are an essential current of esoteric thought. Nor was Haggard alone in using Egypt as his subject matter. By the mid-1890s a plethora of works of fiction set in Ancient Egypt were being produced each year - many more than had been written in the whole of the first half of the century – 'most emphasizing the civilisation's biblical connections and spiritual power'.[378]

Moses and the Route of the Exodus

With regard to these biblical connections, there had long been speculation amongst Egyptologists as to the chronology of the Exodus, and which pharaoh was the 'Pharaoh' of the Oppression and the Exodus, and Haggard's writing closely follows contemporaneous Egyptological vogue in this regard. The British Egyptologist Henry Salt had discovered the mummy of Rameses II in 1881. In an interview in *The Strand Magazine*

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[376] Elliott Colla, *Conflicted Antiquities*: *Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2007), p.28.

[377] In *Cleopatra*, the queen makes her entrance followed by a 'glittering guard of Northmen', i.e. Vikings. See Haggard, *Cleopatra*, p.200.

[378] Gange, 'Religion and Science in Late-Nineteenth Century British Egyptology', p.1102.

from 1892, Haggard describes a ring in his personal collection: 'Its red stone is believed to chronicle the portrait of Rameses the great, the Pharaoh of the Oppression, with whose coffin it was discovered.'[379] However, in 1896, Flinders Petrie discovered the Merneptah Stele, the so called 'Israel Stele'.[380] This was the first mention of *Isrir* – Israel – to have been found, although the mention was very brief, and is a statement *en passant* of the pharaoh's defeat of a group of people (not a country). It was hence surmised that Merneptah was the Pharaoh of Exodus, with his father as the oppressor. As Petrie enthused at the time: 'Won't the reverends be pleased!'[381] Although in an article in *The Pall Mall Magazine* in 1906, Haggard still had Rameses as the pharaoh oppressing the Israelites 'labouring at his treasure cities',[382] by the time of writing *Smith and the Pharaohs*, he had referenced Petrie's discovery and speculation. In this romance, locked in at the Museum of Antiquities in Cairo, Smith turns around and gazes on the mummy of Merneptah,[383] 'whose hollow eyes stared at him from between the wrappings carelessly thrown across the parchment-like and ashen face. There, probably, lay the countenance that had frowned on Moses. There was the heart that God had hardened.'[384] However, by the time of the publication of *Moon of Israel* (1918), he had yet again radically altered the story – apparently following a discussion about the possibilities for a new plot with Gaston Maspero.[385] As a result, Haggard's new 'Pharaoh' is the historically opaque pharaonic usurper of the 19th Dynasty, Amenmeses,[386] and typical of Haggard as an English author of historical romance, the story is dominated by the dynastic wrangling over power and heirs which dominated British history writing and education for many years.

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[379] Harry How, 'Illustrated Interviews n. VII: Mr Henry Rider Haggard', *The Strand Magazine*, January 1892, p.6.

[380] The significance of the inscription on the stele is discussed and illustrated by Gaston Maspero in Chapter 10, 'On an Egyptian Monument containing the name of Israel', in *New Light on Ancient Egypt* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1909), pp.91-96.

[381] Petrie would also remark that 'this stele will be better known in the world than anything I have found.' See Margaret Drower, *Flinders Petrie, A Life in Archaeology* (London: Gollancz, 1985), p.221.

[382] H. Rider Haggard, 'Thebes of the Hundred Gates', *The Pall Mall Magazine*, January to June 1906, p.690.

[383] Haggard's spelling is 'Meneptah.'

[384] Haggard, *Smith and the Pharaohs*, p.38.

[385] As mentioned in the dedication of the novel to Gaston Maspero after the latter's death.

[386] On the ascension of the pharaoh Amenmeses (Amenmessu), see Ian Shaw (Ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.295.

For Victorian Egyptologists, the dating of the biblical narrative of the oppression of Israel in Egyptian bondage was paramount. Likewise, the discussion of the veridical nature of the stories as expressed in the Pentateuch, especially following the damage done by the onslaught of continental and home-grown biblical historicism. At the forefront of this argument are the logistics of the Exodus. The historical critics, amongst them John Colenso cast doubt upon the huge number of Israelites that had to be supported in the desert. Colenso had a background as a mathematician and was ridiculed by High Church clergy for his purported preoccupation with arithmetic.[387] Petrie conversely wrote a detailed analysis of the *positive* likelihood of specific Exodus numbers in his *Egypt and Israel* (1911) – notably published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.[388]

The archaeology of the period didn't focus on Egypt in isolation, but included the biblical lands encompassing the Mediterranean littoral. Thus, alongside the Egypt of Maspero and Petrie, there emerged Evans' Knossos and Schliemann's Troy. The overlap between biblical and classical worlds in the metageography of Egypt is exemplified in the romance *The World's Desire* (1890), which Haggard collaborated on with Lang. This contiguity of the archaeology of the pre-classical world of the Mediterranean and the Bible lands was significant with regard to the legitimising of biblical narratives. As David Gange and Rachel Bryant Davis have argued: 'After 1870, Heinrich Schliemann, the German businessman excavating at Troy, and George Smith (1840-76) the bank-note engraver deciphering Deluge Tablets in the bowels of the British Museum, provided fresh material for archaeological intervention in these debates.'[389] Significantly, 'Odysseus' route away from Troy carried him over a biblical landscape. Through such re-working of the long-standing equation between Eden and Troy the geographies of pre-classical literature - Pentateuch, Iliad and Odyssey – become identical.'[390]

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[387] See Gerald Parsons, 'Rethinking the Missionary Position: Bishop Colenso of Natal' in John Wolffe, ed., *Religion in Victorian Britain*, 5 vols (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988-97), V: *Culture and Empire* (1997), 136-75 (p.154).
[388] Flinders Petrie, W.M., *Egypt and Israel* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1911), pp.40-47.
[389] David Gange and Rachel Bryant Davies, 'Troy', in *Cities of God*, ed. by Gange and Ledger-Lomas, pp.39-70 (p.43).
[390] Ibid., pp.43-44.

Certainly in Haggard's portrayal of the Exodus narrative, the Patriarch leads the Israelites from bondage. However, Haggard's Moses is more emphatically of the Egyptian variety. In both of the romances where Moses makes an appearance, the story is narrated from an Egyptian perspective. He is mentioned in *The World's Desire*, where in one of Haggard's typical temporal translocations, expressive of the above-mentioned archaeological contiguity, Odysseus encounters Moses and Aaron in the court of the pharaoh. Here they are described as two 'Soothsayers of the Apura', using an Egyptian term which was believed to be equivalent to 'Hebrews'.[391] Haggard expressly casts Moses - here not mentioned by name - as an Egyptian initiate: 'Their magic is greater than the lore even of us who are instructed, for their leader was one of ourselves, a shaven priest, and knows our wisdom.'[392]

Again, Moses as an Egyptian initiate emphasises the North-South axis of Haggard's Africa with its sophisticated ancient progenitors of the modern in Egypt, and the Zulu witch doctor as a representative of primordial spirituality and a 'living fossil' – more of which we shall have to say later. Such notions would foster an interest in the evidence of religious praxis, and stress the growing importance of material culture in the emergent comparative religion of the period. It is the dependence upon the episteme of the artefact, and Haggard's archaeological imagination which is the subject of the next chapter.

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[391] Haggard is using an Egyptian term *Apura* as equivalent to 'Hebrews'. As early as 1884, Richard F Burton observed: 'It was the fashion to find 'Hebrew' in the Ȧper, Ȧpura, Ȧperiu, and Ȧpiuirui of the monuments, but Brugsch has shown that these are the original 'Erythræans, the equestrian Arabs of the barren extending from Heliopolis to modern Suez.' (See Richard F. Burton, *The Book of the Sword* (New York, NY: Cosimo Classics, 2008) p.182). Maspero wrote in 1910: 'The identification which was very favourably welcomed at first is now rejected by most of those who have knowledge of such matters.' (See Gaston Maspero, *New Light on Ancient Egypt*, p.94). It is nevertheless preserved in Haggard's fiction: here again, as with 'original monotheism', he does not always follow contemporary theories.

[392] Haggard, H. Rider and Andrew Lang, *The World's Desire* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1890), p.65.

Chapter 6. AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE IMAGINAL

Ton rêve est une Égypte et toi c'est la momie avec son masque d'or.
Jean Cocteau, *Plain chant* [393]

Artefactual Fictions

In Haggard's Egyptian Romances there is evidence of marked intertextuality between archaeological fact and fiction. Thus, for example, historical figures become characters. The historical Cleopatra is written into romance as is 'Roy', a statuette of a priest of the same name, which was in his collection of Egyptian antiquities. In other words, they are notionally fictive and only parenthetically real.[394] Haggard often included genuine artefacts in his stories: Roger Luckhurst describes this as a component of what he terms Haggard's *artefactual fictions.* As he says, if artefaction is a process whereby 'unruly' objects become museum artefacts, 'Haggard adopted a parallel process of turning objects into fictions. For such a fantastical writer, his imagination was often utterly material, starting out with a literal handling of objects.'[395] However, he also engenders a *faux* archaeology by fabricating the artefacts which appear in his stories. Thus, as Gerald Monsman puts it, where the romance is concerned, 'the reader's awareness of its ontological status as fiction is problematized.'[396] The objects themselves are also 'problematic' in that 'their authentic and primitive epistemological status is always insecure, stuck in the middle of a never-solved predicament [i.e. truth or falsehood].'[397] The two famous examples are the 'Sherd of Amenartas' from *She,* and the 'Map of Dom Silvestra' in *King Solomon's Mines* (1885) – both of which were

[393] Quoted in Jurgis Baltrušaitis, *La Quête d'Isis: Essai sur La Légende d'un Mythe* (Paris: Flammarion, 1985), p.6.
[394] On the statuette of Roy in Haggard's collection of Egyptian antiquities, see The Editor, 'Another Statue of a Man Named Roy as a Worshipper of the Sun-God', *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 6, 3 (1920), 212-13.

[395] Luckhurst, *The Mummy's Curse*, p.203.
[396] Gerald Monsman, 'Who Is Ayesha? An Allegory of Isis Unveiled', *Studi Di Anglistica*, 20 (2009), 15-35 (p.23).

commissioned.[398] The sherd tells the way to the lost city of Kôr, the residence of 'She-who-must-be-obeyed', the latter to Solomon's diamond mines. In his thesis entitled *Reading Maps, Sculptures, and Ancient Pottery: Text-Objects in the Late Victorian Novel of Empire*, Daniel Meyer defines what he terms these 'text-objects':

> [These are] objects in novels which require reading or interpretation such as maps, documents, artifacts, artwork, and of course books. […] A character will look at a chair, sit in it, move it, or have any other of a variety of corporeal interactions with it. With a text object though, even if it is not described, there is an implied mental process, a reading relationship between a character and a text-object. [399]

Such text-objects may, for example, provide the archaeological evidence for the story, or the artefact from which the story is derived, much as archaeologists piece together historical narratives from found objects. This references Rider Haggard's role as an important amateur Egyptologist and collector of antiquities. Such objects also provide the stories with a *nimbus of occult authenticity*, a verisimilitude which is important both in terms of the narrative tension, and Haggard's desire to convey his religio-philosophical ideas. However, these objects mean still more than this. Haggard's text-objects act as intermediaries in a true esoteric sense between the quotidian world and the realm of the imagination. In this way, they could be considered to have a magical or talismanic quality. Such objects can be described as having an 'aura' about them – auratic in the sense that specific legends and stories are invariably attached to them: 'To perceive the aura of an object we look at means to invest it with the ability to look at us in return.'[400] The importance of these objects to Haggard and his text may be judged by his instructions to the Norwich Castle museum curator for their display after he donated them to the people of Norfolk. In a letter to the Lord Mayor which was read by the latter at a meeting on 18

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[397] Marilena Parlati 'Memories of Exoticism and Empire: Henry Rider Haggard's Wunderkammer at Ditchingham House' in *Writers' Houses and the Making of Memory*, ed. by Harald Hendrix (Oxford: Routledge, 2012), pp.175-85 (p.183).

[398] The 'Sherd of Amenartas' is on display in the Norwich Castle Museum. See Addy, *Rider Haggard and Egypt*, p. ix.

[399] Daniel Meyer, 'Reading Maps, Sculptures, and Ancient Pottery: Text-Objects in Late Victorian Novels of Empire' (BA thesis, Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts, 2008), p.4.

[400] Walter Benjamin quoted in Parlati, Marilena, 'Memories of Exoticism and Empire: Henry Rider Haggard's Wunderkammer at Ditchingham House' in *Writers' Houses and the Making of Memory*, ed. by Harald Hendrix (Oxford: Routledge, 2012), pp.175-85 (p.180).

September 1917, Haggard stipulates his requirements for the disposal of his manuscripts. These included that they be kept in a place of safety during current and other troubles, and that the family should have access to them as required. It is of note that he states that 'as soon as it is safe to do so, the MSS. are to be exhibited in a suitable glass case with a selection of them open (for example "She" with the original sherd and ring, "King Solomon's Mines" with Da Silvestra's Map.'[401] Haggard clearly recognised the importance of the juxtaposition of text and text-object to the activation of the imaginative faculty. His imaginal realm is a hinterland characterised by the play of intermediaries between the microcosm and macrocosm i.e. the human and the divine. This idea of a 'spiritual' imagination revealing 'ungrasped truth' echoes that of John Keats, with his conflation of beauty and truth: 'What the Imagination seizes as Beauty must be Truth whether it existed before or not.'[402] As Marilena Parlati comments on the Sherd of Amenartas: 'As in a rhetorical vortex, a fake object – the sherd - is inscribed with fictitious but credible writing made up by experts [sic.] on Egyptian antiquities, on Greek and Latin, as on medieval Latin and Middle English.'[403] As aforementioned, there are other objects appearing in the novels which were genuine Egyptian artefacts. Rider Haggard himself wore a ring of ancient Egyptian provenance, given to him by the wife of his great friend Andrew Lang after his death as a token of remembrance.[404]

The ring, often bearing a royal insignia, is a common trope appearing in the Egyptian romances.[405] It is also an important one. The ring is a symbol of marriage, but more importantly, it is often given and returned to lovers across incarnations. As such, for Haggard, it symbolises Eternal Love

[401] Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MS 4692. Dom Silvestra's map is now pasted on the inside of the front cover of the original bound manuscript of *King Solomon's Mines* (MS 4692/7). It is no longer legible having faded with age and only shows smudges of red and black ink.

[402] See Wouter. J. Hanegraaff, 'Romanticism and the Esoteric Tradition', in *Gnosis and Hermeticism from Antiquity to Modern Times*, ed. by Roelof van den Broek and Wouter J. Hanegraaff (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1998), pp.237-68 (p.243).

[403] Parlati, 'Memories of Exoticism and Empire', p.183.

[404] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, II, p.82. He explains the ring's possible origins: 'I have now received and shall always wear this ring. It belonged to Queen Taia, the wife of Amenophis the first, or perhaps to Nefertiti, her daughter-in-law, who married the famous Khu-en-aten, the fourth Amenophis and the remarkable Pharaoh who inaugurated what the priests of Amen considered the heresy of the worship of the Sun's Disc, by which I take it, he symbolised the one Almighty God who made the world.'

[405] For example, in *She* p.138, *Smith and the Pharaohs*, p.24, *Morning Star*, p.139, and *The Way of the Spirit*, p.96.

which survives death. For example, the ring bearing the inscription *Suten-sa-Ra*, 'The Royal Son of the Sun', which we mentioned previously was a genuine artefact. As Addy reports:

> The scarab is set in a modern ring and has the hieroglyphs meaning "Royal Son of the Sun." [...] Haggard himself describes it in *She*: "A small chocolate-coloured *scarabeus*". [...] To impart an aura of authenticity to *She*'s plot, Haggard wrote the following footnote: "I am informed by a renowned and most learned Egyptologist to whom I have submitted this very interesting and beautifully finished scarab, "Suten se Ra," that he has never seen one resembling it." [406]

In addition, there is a significant religious context to these artefacts, forgeries and text-objects. The Egypt Exploration Fund had been created with the express task of finding evidence for biblical narratives. However, there had been no evidence found of the Israelite sojourn in Egypt after ten years in the field.[407] This had some unfortunate sequelae: several individuals had written to the British Museum claiming to be in possession of the only ancient Egyptian depiction of Joseph. In fact, 'Egyptologists began to suspect that an industry forging increasingly popular Egyptian-biblical reliquary had been set up in Birmingham.'[408] It was not only Haggard that was creating 'artefactual fictions'.

This phenomenon formed part of a larger protestant trend for reliquary, to which the Egypt Exploration Fund contributed. Amelia Edwards, novelist and co-founder of the Fund, had made the impracticable request that 1,000 of the enormous bricks built without straw from Pithom - thought to be those that Pharaoh demanded of the Israelites in Exodus [409] - be sent to Britain as gifts for EEF subscribers: 'The cost of actually carrying out this

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[406] Addy, *Rider Haggard and Egypt*, p. 88.

[407] Gange, 'Religion and Science in Late Nineteenth-Century British Egyptology', p.1093.

[408] Ibid., p.1093. Haggard was aware of this phenomenon. He wrote to Lilias from Honolulu on 22 June 1916 that he had purchased some green Maori carvings which he describes as being akin to 'Birmingham frauds', reporting that 'None of them had ever seen a Maori'. Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MC 32/40/4. Similarly, he had written to Lilias from the Mena House Hotel, Cairo Pyramids on 5 April 1912: 'One donkey boy today told us how he made sham scarabs "cut them out of limestone in the night" […] to sell them to white people as "local old Antique what Pharaoh have".' (Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MC 32/40/2.)

[409] Exodus 5.18: 'Go therefore now, *and* work; for there shall no straw be given you, yet shall ye deliver the tale of bricks.'

demand would have run into many thousands of pounds, Edwards being unaware of the enormous size and weight of the bricks.'[410] The importance of all this to my argument is that the significance attached to apparent material evidence legitimising the biblical narrative of Israel in Egypt is again explicit. The Anglo-Catholic trend for reliquary is even more apparent in some of Haggard's novels. For example, the reverence expressed for a mummified hand in *Smith and the Pharaohs* [411] and a mummified foot in *She*.[412] Here, the artefact is transposed into a saintly relic.

It would appear, then, that whilst Haggard was creating objects to support his fiction, the biblical Egyptologists were – albeit unwillingly - fostering the acquisition, and indeed production, of objects which supported their own arguments for the historicity of Israel in bondage. In the discussion above, mention has already been made of the imperialist agenda underpinning the processes of acquisition and artefaction. Meyer points out that, in addition, 'The text-object is linked with imperialism because the process of gaining knowledge about the "Other" and organizing it into a complete picture, a narrative, is consciously mediated through text-objects.'[413] Haggard's intertextuality engenders a sleight of mind in the reader - the blurring of the real and the imaginal – in the case of the Egyptian romances between Egyptology and Egyptosophy - is completed. In addition, the 'Sherd of Amenartas' and the 'Map of Dom Silvestra' provide guidance through the topographies of Haggard's metageographical Africa – the path to the mythical ancient city of Kôr, and the route to the mines of the biblical Solomon.

To summarise then, there are many layers of intertextuality evident in Haggard's imaginal Egypt. Biblical histories provide him with romantic narratives; forged artefacts become text-objects for fictional narratives as do actual artefacts. The polyvalent meanings of a Haggard 'artefact' are apparent: as an object of imperialist acquisition; as text-object; as artificial

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[410] Gange, 'Religion and Science in Late Nineteenth-Century British Egyptology', p.1093.
[411] Haggard, *Smith and the Pharaohs*, p.23.
[412] Haggard, *She*, p.112.
[413] Meyer, 'Reading Maps, Sculptures, and Ancient Pottery', p.7.

artefact; as artefact of his own life, and most importantly for this discussion, as intermediary. The artefact and its cognate text-object occupy a liminal space between two worlds: the former, between the empires of Ancient Egypt and Victorian Britain. The latter, from an esoteric perspective acts as a true ‘intermediary’ between the mundane world and the *mundus imaginalis* - the ‘Empire of the Imagination’. In terms of ‘hidden Nature’ therefore, Haggard’s mythopoetic imagination exposes ontological ambiguities in the hitherto apparently clear division between the fictional and non-fictional, the real and the imaginal. For a further explication of such ambiguity, it is to the world of the Romantic imagination that we now turn.

II. ISIS VEILED: Romanticism and the New Romance

Overview

In his *Egyptian Myth and Legend* (1907), the journalist and folklorist Donald Mackenzie wrote that

> Herodotus was informed by the sages of Egypt that souls of the dead passed through “every species of terrestrial, aquatic, and winged creatures”, and, after a lapse of about three thousand years, “entered a second time into human bodies”. If that belief were as prevalent at present in these islands as it was in Celtic times, we might be at pains to convince the world that Shelley was a reincarnation of Akhenaton.[414]

Whether or not we are in agreement with Mackenzie’s assumptions, it allows us to travel with his ‘Poet King’ and join him born again as the author of *Ozymandias*, to consider Rider Haggard’s esotericism in relation to the Romantic movement, and its instauration as the New Romance of the 1880s. Inevitably, we must begin our discussion with the perennial – and possibly by now traditional - argument of what constitutes the ‘Romantic’. As Hans Eichner has observed: ‘Romanticism is an unpleasantly vague term, whose meaning depends only too often on the preoccupations of the person who happens to use it.’[415] Lovejoy also initially averred with considerable scepticism:

> There is no hope of clear thinking on the part of the student of modern literature, if -as, alas! has been repeatedly done by eminent writers - he vaguely hypostatizes the term, and starts with the presumption that "Romanticism" is the heaven-appointed designation of some single real entity, or type of entities, to be found in nature.[416]

Indeed, as Hanegraaff points out, Lovejoy’s inescapable conclusion was that ‘romanticism has meant very different things to different people;

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[414] Donald A. Mackenzie, *Egyptian Myth and Legend* (London: The Gresham Publishing Company Limited, 1907; repr.1913), p.325.
[415] Hans Eichner, ‘The Genesis of German Romanticism’, *Queen’s Quarterly*, 2, 72 (1965), 213-31 (p.213).
[416] Arthur O. Lovejoy, ‘On the Discrimination of Romanticisms’, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 2, 39 (1924), 229-53 (p.236).

apparently it is impossible to reach a consensus even about fundamentals. Lovejoy concludes that scholars should learn to use the word "romanticism" only in the *plural*.'[417] Thus, he saw a number of 'Romanticisms': a German Romanticism beginning in the 1790s, an English one from the 1740s; one French one commencing in 1801 and another in the second decade of the nineteenth century. However, as Hanegraaff again observes, Lovejoy subsequently revised and consolidated his position, considering that there were a series of idea complexes which were consistent with a 'Romantic period'. As Hanegraaff explains, for the period of the 1780s and 1790s, these idea complexes were associated with 'three characteristic German words: *das Ganze*, *Streben* and *Eigentümlichkeit,* which may be referred to as *holism* or *organicism*, *voluntarism* or *dynamism*, and *diversitarianism*.'[418] In other words, an organic living cosmos the Whole of which, in the Kantian sense, was greater than the sum of its parts; a striving for the Infinite characterised by personal spiritual evolution; and the importance of pluralism and diversity of culture and opinion, as opposed to Enlightenment uniformity.

On the question of a 'Romantic period', in *The Roots of Romanticism* Isaiah Berlin highlights the difficulties of making generalisations about the 'Romantic' when describing such a historical time frame, but contends that it is possible to identify recurring elements and themes within Romanticism when conceived as a literary movement. As he remarks:

> One can say, like Valéry, that words like *romanticism* and *classicism*, words like *humanism* and *naturalism*, are not names which one can operate at all. 'One cannot get drunk, one cannot quench one's thirst, with labels on bottles.' There is much to be said for this point of view. At the same time, unless we do use some generalisations it is impossible to trace the course of human history.[419]

This notion of a Romantic movement is extended to that of a Romantic *Weltenschauung* by Gerald McNiece. McNiece stresses the passion for unity, a lively unity pervading a rich diversity:

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[417] Hanegraaff, 'Romanticism and the Esoteric Tradition', p.238.
[418] Ibid., p.239. Following a systematic comparison of Lovejoy's formulations with those of René Wellek, Morse Peckham, M. H. Abrams and Ernest Lee Tuvesson, Hanegraaff describes three core elements of Romanticism as Organicism, Imagination and Temporalism. See Hanegraaff, 'Romanticism and Esoteric Tradition', passim.
[419] Isaiah Berlin, *The Roots of Romanticism* (London: Pimlico, 2000), p.20.

> A potential unity of purpose for example, of literature, philosophy, science, religion and mythology provided a motive and energy for much Romantic speculation and aspiration. The celebration of imagination and symbol as synthesising powers capable of reconciling oppositions and producing continually novel combinations may be understood in relation to this powerful drive towards comprehensiveness, Coleridge's multeity in unity. A preoccupation with unity seems to be connected with a preference for idealism. Romantic systems of thought were also, therefore, dominated by a persistent and pervasive strain of idealism and elitist psychology which emphasised the self-consciousness of exceptional men, who were also thought to be capable of drawing from profound layers of unconscious thought.[420]

It is not unlikely that Haggard as litterateur considered himself to be one of these 'exceptional men'. In Part II, therefore, I shall consider how Haggard's work demonstrates the contiguities of his ideas with that of the Romantic movement in both its English and German forms, and how this established him as a leading proponent of another of the 'Romanticisms' - that of Saintsbury's 'New Romance'.

Romantic ideas are all-pervasive in Haggard. Even in such apparently self-consciously sensational adventure stories as *Allan Quatermain* they are not far below the surface – though easily missed. In this particular romance, the adventurers Quatermain, Sir Henry Curtis and Umslopogaas find themselves in a canoe on the lake of a volcanic caldera. Quatermain, as narrator, says: 'There in the bows sat old Umslopogaas, like Pleasure in the poem', and Haggard, as 'Editor', corrects him in a footnote: 'Mr Allan Quatermain misquotes – Pleasure sat at the Helm. −EDITOR.'[421] The poem quoted is Gray's *The Bard: A Pindaric Ode* (1757), set during the reign of Edward I and his conquest of the Welsh.[422] It is significant as a proem to our discussion as Gray's poem is considered to have initiated the Celtic

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[420] Gerald McNiece, *The Knowledge That Endures: Coleridge, Germany Philosophy and the Logic of Romantic Thought* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 1992), p.1.

[421] H. Rider Haggard, *Allan Quatermain: Being an Account of His Further Adventures and Discoveries in Company with Sir Henry Curtis, Bart., Commander John Good, R.N., and one Umslopogaas* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co.,1887), p.108.

[422] Thomas Gray, *The Bard by Gray with Illustrations from Drawings by the Honourable Mrs John Talbot* (London: John van Voorst, 1837). The poem concerns the tradition of the King's ordering of the execution of all the bards for fostering sedition. The couplets concerned are in Stanza V:

> 'Fair laughs the Morn, and soft the Zephyr blows,
> While proudly riding o'er the azure realm
> In gallant trim the gilded vessel goes;
> Youth on the prow, and Pleasure at the Helm.'

Twilight movements, and thus lies at the very root of English Romanticism. The excerpt is doubly significant as it also borrows from the German tradition by the use of Friedrich von Schlegel's *romantische Ironie*.[423] We have already seen how frequently the protean Haggard shifts identity between 'Author', 'Narrator', and 'Editor.' In common parlance, irony is spoken of as a kind of muted sarcasm, but in the Romantic sense it has a metaphysical connotation whereby it problematizes the ontological status of the writing – in Haggard's case between fact and fiction. In the example above, he is more playful: he provides a 'laying bare of device' by correcting himself.[424]

Therefore, alongside Romantic irony, and taking into account the caveats discussed above, my analysis will include the notions of the Romantic *Imaginatio*, the goddess Isis as a living Nature, and other Romantic themes which obtrude upon the Ayesha series of novels: the approximations of Love, Sex and Death; the necessity of the unrequited; the striving for the Infinite. Expanding on some of these themes, Ricarda Schmidt, following Paul Kluckholn, describes a series of shared philosophical assumptions amongst the German Romantics which are fundamental to this section:

> Dialectical and cyclical rather than linear thinking; ideas of infinite unity and infinite multiplicity, of the sublime and yearning for the infinite, of hovering above unresolved contradictions and enthusiasm. A merging of the sacred and the profane, of the sublime and the trivial, characterizes Romantic yearning. But this is often expressed in irony, the awareness of the contrast between ideal and reality, which emerges through self-reflection and seeks distance from the self (Romantic irony). At times this leads to the conscious destruction of aesthetic illusions, escape from an identity which is little more than role-play.[425]

She further summarises, again from Kluckholn, that at the core of Romanticism there is

> An empathetic understanding of nature (as opposed to dissecting nature), a participation in its creativity, an emphasis on the unity of body, soul and spirit, an interest in the unconscious forces of the soul, in the so called 'vegetative' life of the psyche in which dream has prophetic function and provides a connection

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[423] For an explication of the concept and its history, see Lilian R. Furst, 'Who Created "Romantische Ironie"?', *Pacific Coast Philology*, 1, 16 (1981), 29-37.
[424] This links Romantic irony with intertextuality. On the 'laying open of the device' in this context, see Martínez Alfaro, 'Intertextuality', p.274.
[425] Ricarda Schmidt, 'From early to late Romanticism', in Nicholas Saul, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to German Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 21-39 (pp. 22-23).

> to the transcendental or divine. Fantasy and emotion play the central role in forming Romantic individuality.[426]

Many of these ideas will emerge as we explore the resurgence of Romanticism in Haggardian New Romance. Haggard's fiction draws extensively on Old Testament narratives for his Romantic poeticised histories. As with that of the Romantic movement, his writing gives evidence of a kind of 'theoretical synaesthesia' which links 'poetry, the novel, philosophy and theology as well.'[427] We shall examine how Haggard drew on both English and German Romantic authors (the latter in translation), and the Romantic elements of the Weimar Classicists Friedrich von Schiller and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. The necessarily poeticised nature of Romantic literary endeavour contributes at least in part to the difficulties we have encountered in trying to pin down and define 'the 'Romantic'. As Friedrich Schlegel wrote:

> The romantic kind of poetry is still in the state of becoming; that, in fact, is its real essence: that it should forever be becoming and never be perfected. It can be exhausted by no theory and only a divinatory criticism would dare to try and characterise its ideal.[428]

Thus, as Prickett comments: 'Romanticism here is not so much a thing as an Aristotelian *entelechy*, a process of becoming.'[429] I shall elucidate in Haggard how this process of becoming extends to the 'striving' human, and spiritual evolutionism in the form of an amalgamation of metempsychosis and reincarnation.

As we have already seen, metempsychosis was not part of the soul-theory of the Ancient Egyptians, but the increasing exposure of European intellectuals to Eastern religion from the 1750s onward meant that it would become a preoccupation of German Romantics who looked to India for the topos of their *Östliche Mystik.*[430] In this context, there are certain

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[426] Ibid., p. 23.
[427] Prickett, *Origins of Narrative*, p.187.
[428] Friedrich Schlegel, *Athenaeum Fragment* 116, cited in Prickett, Ibid., p.187.
[429] Ibid., p.187.
[430] A. Leslie Wilson writes: 'Although the number of volumes of travel literature concerning India was sizeable before 1750, examples of this literary genre increased mightily between 1750 and 1800. They were a generally widespread and favourite reading matter in the second half of the eighteenth century. […] It was in these books that the Romantic mythical image of India had its inception, for from them were culled the opinions and assumptions and beliefs which, when gathered and sorted and combined by theorists who were compelled by an attitude of philosophical humanism and bursting with longing for primal verities, resulted in the development of that mythical image.' See A. Leslie Wilson, *A Mythical Image: The Ideal of India in German Romanticism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1964), p.23. In

commonalities between the Romantic orientalist perspective on Egypt and that directed to India. In Part I, we explored how Christian comparativism saw itself mirrored in Egyptian religion with the idea of an 'original monotheism' in Egypt. It perhaps comes as little surprise then that a similar European response was directed to India. As Wilhelm Halbfass has observed, the orientalist Friedrich Majer (1771-1818) 'was captivated by the idea of an "original monotheism",' which was thought to be present in the most ancient Indian documents:

> It was his conviction that the religious and philosophical situation in Europe could only be clarified and rectified through a return to the Indian origins, and that the sources of the Western tradition found their integrating context and background in Indian thought: "It will no longer remain to be doubted that the priests of Egypt and the sages of Greece have drawn directly from the original well of India; that only Brahmanism can provide those fragments of their teaching which have come down to us with the clarity which they do not possess." [431]

As we have seen, Haggard never went to India, and unlike Kipling did not set his romances there. However, he did use Oriental religious and philosophical ideas, and where these are concerned he was very much dependent on the Romantic re-presentations in translation - one thinks of the notion of *Seelenwanderung* ('transmigration') of a German mythic India - and, as we shall see later, he drew on these representations as they were interpreted and integrated in the Theosophy of Helena Blavatsky.[432]

In Part II we consider in more detail Haggard's Romantic exegesis of Old Testament narratives of Israel in Egypt, the Egyptian Moses and the Exodus. In particular, I shall consider the merging of Romantic and biblical notions of erotic love as a mystical metaphor: the Platonist and Christian

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his *West-Östliche Mystik* (1926), Otto makes a direct comparison between the writings of Meister Eckhart and the Advaita Vedanta of Sankara. Of especial note is his finding of Indian mysticism in the writings of Friedrich Schleiermacher (Appendix II in Otto). See Rudolf Otto *Mysticism East and West: A Comparative Analysis of the Nature of Mysticism*, trans. by Bertha L. Bracey and Richenda C. Payne (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited,1932), pp.233-43.

[431] Wilhelm Halbfass, *India and Europe: An Essay in Understanding* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1988), p.73.

[432] See the idea of *Seelenwanderung* in the work of Johann Georg Schlosser and Johann Gottfried Herder in Lieselotte E. Kurth-Voigt, *Continued Existence, Reincarnation, and The Power of Sympathy in Classical Weimar*, Studies in German Literature, Linguistics and Culture (Rochester NY: Camden House, 1999), pp.111-46. Although the meanings of the terms 'metempsychosis', 'transmigration', and 'reincarnation' are often used interchangeably (as Kurth-Voigt does with transmigration and reincarnation), and in any case are used differently over time, in this account they will be used as having specific though related meanings, especially with regard to Haggard's Ayesha Series of romances.

ideas of *érōs* and *agápē* - of physical and spiritual love in the context of Haggard's Pauline opposition of the flesh and the Spirit.

Chapter 7. THE ONE GOD AND HIDDEN NATURE

Φύσις κρύπτεσθαι φιλεῖ. [433]

This fragment from the Presocratic philosopher Heraclitus is particularly appropriate as an opener for this chapter. *Physis cruptesthai philei:* 'Nature Loves to Hide' expresses an idea which has dominated Western culture for millennia, not least because of its cryptic nature and varied interpretations. In Part I of the thesis, I considered some of the Egyptosophical speculations in Haggard's romances, contextualised within the discursive fields of Victorian Egyptology and Anglican and Dissenting theology. Next, I shall turn to assess how Haggard's work demonstrates the contiguity of ideas on the Divine and Nature from classical antiquity, through Enlightenment deism and pantheism, the English Romantic movement, German Romantic Idealism and Weimar Classicism to the New Romantic resurgence from the 1880s onwards. We shall explore how Haggard's ideas continue those of early Romanticism as manifestly derived from esoteric historical currents. For this purpose, we shall focus on Haggard's inspiration from Friedrich Schiller, specifically Schiller's *Die Sendung Moses* and *Das verschleierte Bild zu Sais*, which are manifest in his *Moon of Israel, The World's Desire* and *She.* We have already seen how Haggard's Exodus is portrayed from an Egyptian perspective, and before proceeding we need to briefly map out the historical contexts and precedents for this.

Firstly, as Assmann writes in *Moses the Egyptian*, the non-biblical histories of the Exodus draw on the writings of the Egyptian priest Manetho, Strabo, and the Romano-Jewish historian Flavius Josephus amongst several others. In this context, Assmann views the Exodus from his mnemohistorical perspective. Thus, by a process of 'encryption', Manetho's recollection of a group of lepers expelled from Egypt with their leader, the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt, the cataclysmic religious revolution of Akhenaten, and the subsequent devastating 'Asiatic' plague are conflated in the context of a mnemohistorical remembrance of trauma.[434] The equation of Moses with Akhenaten draws the Patriarch into this encrypted mnemohistorical

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[433] See Pierre Hadot, *The Veil of Isis: An Essay on the History of the Idea of Nature* (London: Harvard University Press, 2006).

[434] Assmann, *Moses The Egyptian*, pp.23-54.

picture as both an explication for the biblical narrative of Exodus and the origins of monotheism.[435]

Secondly, the *Interpretationes Graecae* in the Egypt of the Middle Platonist Plutarch and historian Diodorus of Sicily were instrumental in fostering the eighteenth-century conceptualisation of Egyptian society as being religiously divided by language – a *digraphy*, inspired by the incomprehensibility of hieroglyphics. It was held that religion was divided between the initiates, projected as partaking of a pseudo-Greek mystery religion with the priests understanding the secrets of the hieroglyphs, and the vulgar polis who were ignorant of these.

Inspired by these interpretations, the Enlightenment theologian and Anglican bishop William Warburton (1698-1779) took up this notion and innovatively politicised it in his *The Divine Legation of Moses*.[436] He understood that as part of the mission of statecraft it was necessary to deify laws and legislature whilst the true religion remained hidden. In the context of Enlightenment philosophy where secret initiation became cognate with 'enlightenment', and in the throes of the revolutionary atmosphere of the late 1700s with the rejection of the absolutist rule of state and religion, the Egyptian priests became viewed as Enlightenment Deists or Spinozists *avant la lettre.*

Thus a connection between the Hidden God and man can be explored in the context of the Romantic casting of Moses as an Egyptian which followed, notably in terms of the influences on Haggard, in the essay of Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805), *Die Sendung Moses*, 'The Mission of Moses' (1789/90). Schiller was one of the earliest to consolidate the notion of an Egyptian Moses. Written prior to 'The Veiled Image at Sais' it may be considered 'the classic account of ancient Egypt as the primary model for a *religio duplex*'.[437] In this essay, he adopted Warburton's politicised double-religion with the priesthood serving an unknown deity. 'For Schiller, this idea of god represents the epitome of the sublime. [Schiller writes]: "In order to distinguish him in a more striking way, they gave him no name at all."'[438] What is particularly striking about this essay is the way that

[435] Assmann's argument is considerably more extended than this. See especially Chapter 2. 'Suppressed Memory, Repressed Memory', in Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, pp.23-54.

[436] Assmann, *Religio Duplex*, p.61.
[437] Ibid., p.91.
[438] Ibid., p.91.

Schiller combines Hermetic, Egyptian, and classical history with Hebraic narratives. He refers to the Latin *Asclepius* of the Hermetica, where 'god is nameless, since He is one and all, so that one must either call everything by His name or call Him by the name of everything.' He equates this with the Yahwistic 'I am that I am',[439] which he interprets as withholding a name. He says that Moses derived this idea from the Egyptian Mysteries, and asserts that Moses, although ethnically Hebrew, was culturally Egyptian having been brought up as an Egyptian prince, and been initiated into the Mysteries 'up to the final stage of epopty'.[440] Schiller interprets Yahweh in the Burning Bush as the 'same deity who, in the "veiled image at Sais", conceals herself more than she reveals herself as "everything that was, is and shall be"'.[441]

Schiller's essay illustrates the eighteenth-century construction of an esoteric religion in Egypt in a number of ways. Firstly, behind the veil of official Egyptian polytheism there is a single monotheistic divinity. Secondly, as we have described, this divinity equates to Jehovah, the God of Mosaic monotheism. In *The Mission of Moses*, Schiller asserts that the Hebrews were saved from the errors of polytheism by the teaching of Moses, itself derived from the Egyptian Mysteries: 'This teaching, which inevitably resulted in the most thorough contempt for polytheism, and connected to the teaching of immortality, hardly separable from it, was the rich treasure the young Hebrew brought forth from the mysteries of Isis.'[442] Schiller's transfer of the esoteric hidden yet true religion to the Hebrews is therefore more a shift in emphasis than a revelation. Because they remain an ignorant vulgar people (according to Schiller) the true religion is still dispersed parabolically. Nonetheless, as Brian Britt has noted: 'Merging Egypt, Israel, and his own Romantic idealism, Schiller's story of the self-sacrifice and transformation of Moses presents a cultural shift from the worldly greatness of Egypt to the sublimity of Hebrew religion.'[443]

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[439] Exodus 3.14.
[440] Assmann, *Religio Duplex*, p.91. *Epopteia* is the experience of 'truth' in the final stage of initiation in the Eleusinian Mysteries.
[441] Ibid., p.91.
[442] Friedrich Schiller, 'The Mission of Moses', trans. by George W. Gregory, in *Friedrich Schiller: Poet of Freedom*, ed. by Christina Huth and others, trans. by various authors, 4 vols (Washington, DC: The Schiller Institute, 1988), II, p.319.
[443] Brian Britt, *Rewriting Moses: The Narrative Eclipse of the Text*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, 402, ed. by Claudia V. Camp and Andrew Mein (London: T&T Clark International, 2004), p.22.

Whilst as we have seen, Haggard generally thought of scriptural narrative as true, it is significant that in both of his romances which feature Moses he refers to traditions of the Exodus as they are recorded outside of the Pentateuch, and from Schiller his Moses retains his Hebrew ethnicity, and has been initiated into the Mysteries of an Enlightenment Egyptian imaginarium. In terms of the support for biblical narrative, it could be seen as bolstering the truth of the story by providing the same story, but presenting it from an Egyptian perspective – and in terms of Egyptian archaeology in particular (note the epigraphical 'Apura'). Elsewhere he includes the archaeology of the Troad and the Mediterranean littoral where in *The World's Desire* he combines it with an alternative version of Helen of Troy, after Stesichorus.

As we have seen, to the Enlightenment Spinozist, the concept of the One, Hidden, and Anonymous God becomes conflated with hidden Nature in the context of pantheism. The tradition of the veiled Isis as Nature extends back to Plutarch and his treatise *Isis and Osiris* where he mentions the strange inscription on the statue at Sais in order to illustrate the enigmatic, mysterious nature of Egyptian religion:

> "At Sais", he writes, "the seated statue (τὸ ἕδος) of Athena, whom they consider to be Isis also bore the following inscription: 'I am all that has been and is and shall be; and no mortal has ever lifted my garment (τὸν ἐμὸν πέπλον).'" [444]

Since Marsilio Ficino, Plutarch's 'peplos' has generally been translated as 'veil'.[445] The initiated priests in Egypt who were thought to pursue their worship underground performed the Mysteries of Isis or Nature. This was the true religion which had to be kept secret and Isis-Nature was the goddess behind the veil. In the eighteenth century, as Assmann notes '"Isis" was generally taken to be synonymous with "nature" – not in the sense of the visible *natura naturata* but the invisible *natura naturans*.'[446] As Immanuel Kant makes explicit in a footnote to the *Critique of the*

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[444] Jan Assmann, 'Egyptian Mysteries and Secret Societies in the Age of Enlightenment. A 'mnemo-historical study', *Aegyptiaca: Journal of the History of Reception of Ancient Egypt*, 1, (2017), 4-25 (p.22).

[445] Ibid., p.22. This famous phrase 'I am all that has been, and is, and shall be' (*ἐγώ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὂν καὶ ἐσόμενον*) appears in Plutarch, 'Isis and Osiris', Ch. 9 (354C). See Plutarch, *Moralia*, trans. by Frank Cole Babbitt, Loeb Classical Library, 16vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936), V, p.25.

[446] Assmann, *Religio Duplex*, p.88.

Power of Judgement, she is 'Mother Nature', and he cites the inscription which accompanied the 'Veiled Image at Sais':

> Perhaps nothing more sublime has ever been said, or any thought more sublimely expressed, than in the inscription over the temple of Isis (Mother Nature): "I am all that is, that was, and that will be, and my veil no mortal has removed."[447]

The Kantian *Ding an sich* – the 'Thing-in-itself' which cannot be apprehended and remains beyond human perception resonates throughout Kant's philosophy. It is also embodied in the very notion of the Veil of Isis, which no man may lift. After many years of studying Kantian philosophy, Schiller would enclose this precept in the poetry of his ballad *Das verscheierte Bild zu Sais.* The 'Veil of Isis' and the trope of unveiling as a dominant theme of Romantic idealism are important influences and sources of literary motifs for Haggard. Andrew Lang, Haggard's long-time friend and critic, thought that Haggard's narrative source for *Cleopatra* was in fact Plutarch. He makes the following comments on the novel: 'I don't see who they can say you stole your plot from. They'll say the parts from Plutarch are from Shakespeare, probably they never read Plutarch!'[448] Haggard would certainly refer to Plutarch in the 'Author's Note' to *Cleopatra.*[449] However, for *She*, the indirect source of Haggard's Isidism is Weimar Classical rather than the classical Plutarch and *Isis and Osiris* - specifically Friedrich von Schiller's *The Veiled Statue of Sais.* It tells of an impetuous youth who pursues 'Truth': he lifts her veil only to suffer melancholia, involution, and an early death. Here he sees the statue for the first time:

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[447] Immanuel Kant, *Critique of the Power of Judgement*, trans. by Paul Guyer and Eric Mathews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p.194.

[448] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, I, p.270.

[449] Haggard alludes to Plutarch's *Anthony.* See Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. by Bernadotte Perrin, Loeb Classical Library, 11 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), IX, pp.139-332.

They stood within the temple's silent dome,

And, as the young man paused abrupt, his gaze

Upon a veil'd and giant IMAGE fell:

Amazed he turn'd unto his guides – "And what

Towers, yonder, vast beneath the veil?"

"THE TRUTH,"

Answered the Priest.[450]

Schiller's poem reverberates throughout *She*, but a reference is made explicit on two occasions.[451] Schiller read the veil as an allegory of what he termed the 'theoretically sublime' i.e. as representing the ineffable. As he wrote in *Of the Sublime* (1793):

> Everything that is veiled, everything mysterious, contributes to the terrible and is therefore capable of sublimity. Of this kind is the inscription that could be read at Sais in Egypt above the temple of Isis: 'I am everything that is, that has been, and that will be. No mortal has lifted my veil.'[452]

The fearful sublimity of the veiled Saitic Isis extends to the veiled Ayesha herself. In Chapter XIII 'Ayesha Unveils', Holly implores her to allow him to gaze upon her face. After warning him of the dangers, Ayesha unveils to Holly. He describes her features as

> beautiful, surpassingly beautiful as they all were, her loveliness did not lie in them. It lay rather, if it can be said to have had any fixed abiding place, in a visible majesty, in an imperial grace, in a godlike stamp of softened power, which shone upon that radiant countenance like a living halo. Never before had I

[450] This is Bulwer-Lytton's translation and Haggard's most likely source. Bulwer-Lytton, *The Poems and Ballads of Schiller*, pp.50-52.
[451] Vance, *Bible and Novel*, p.182.
[452] Quoted in Assmann, *Religio Duplex*, p.91, where it says the quote is from '*On the Sublime* (1793).' Note the quote is from the 1793 treatise entitled *Of the Sublime: Toward the Further Elaboration of Some Kantian Ideas* which is different from the later treatise *On the Sublime* published in 1801 which I have also cited. A rare English translation of *Of the Sublime* is located at <http://davidsbuendler.freehostia.com/schiller.htm> [accessed 20 July 2017].

> guessed what beauty made sublime could be--and yet, the sublimity was a dark one--the glory was not all of heaven--though none the less was it glorious.[453]

Ayesha's beauty is ineffable, terrible, majestic: a 'beauty made sublime'. Haggard is alluding specifically here to the aesthetic formulation of the sublime in Kant's *Critique of the Power of Judgement*. Kant begins by differentiating between the Beautiful and the Sublime. In §23, 'Transition from the faculty for judging the beautiful to that for judging the sublime', Kant observes: 'The beautiful in nature concerns the form of the object, which consists in limitation; the sublime, by contrast, is to be found in a formless object insofar as *limitlessness* [454] is represented in it.'[455] Haggard echoes this when Holly says: 'Her loveliness did not lie in them [i.e. her facial features]. It lay rather, if it can be said to have had any fixed abiding place, in a visible majesty.' It is an apperception of the sublime not curtailed by sensual perception. The sublime lies in an impression of something 'limitless' and greater than the physical form of Ayesha herself. In his essay *On the Sublime* (1801) which further elaborates Kantian thought, Schiller insists on what Holly sees – the 'beauty made sublime' in Ayesha:

> The beautiful is valuable only with reference to the *human being*, but the sublime with reference to the *pure daimon* in him; and since it is certainly our vocation, despite all sensuous limitations, to be guided by the statutes of pure spirit, the sublime must complement the beautiful in order to make *aesthetic education* into a complete whole and to enlarge the perceptive capacity of the human heart to the full extent of our vocation; beyond the world of sense in any case.[456]

Ayesha's loveliness lies beyond 'sensuous limitations', and is attributed to the Sublime - the subliminal and supersensual. The second reference to *The Veiled Image of Sais* occurs later in the romance in a passage in Chapter XXII of *She*, 'The Temple of Truth'. In this Temple of ancient Kôr, the travellers behold a statue. Holly asks who it is, and Ayesha replies that it is 'Truth standing on the World, and calling to its children to unveil her face.' She tells the explorers that Truth was the Goddess of old Kôr, and it was her they sought knowing that this was in vain. Holly replies: '"And so," I

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[453] Haggard, *She*, p.155.
[454] Bold script used for emphasis in the original.
[455] Kant, *Critique of the Power of Judgement*, p.128.
[456] Friedrich von Schiller, *Naïve and Sentimental Poetry and On the Sublime: Two Essays,* trans. by Julius A. Elias (New York, NY: Ungar Publishing Co., Inc., 1966), p.210.

added sadly, "do men seek to this very hour, but they find not; and, as this scripture saith, nor shall they; for in Death only is Truth found.'"[457]

As with Schiller's hapless youth, the search is always doomed, the striving endless. There are certain limits to mankind's knowledge which is deliberately curtailed by divinity. By making the veiled goddess Truth, Haggard explicitly confirms Schiller as his source: 'Schiller sticks to Plutarch's version in his ballad but makes one important change: the deity of his veiled image is neither Athena nor Isis but truth itself.'[458] The Anglican Haggard, like Schiller and other Romantics before him, eschews pantheism whilst taking onboard an organicist view of Nature. As he writes in *Ayesha*, Isis is the *Anima Mundi*: 'Know Leo that she is what I named her – Nature's soul, no divinity, but the secret spirit of the world; that universal Motherhood, whose symbol thou hast seen yonder, and in whose mysteries lie hid all earthly life and knowledge.'[459] Haggard portrays his Kantian Mother Nature as distinct from Deity, but *living* – 'Nature hath her animating spirit as well as man, who is Nature's child'[460] - and whose priests are the initiates of Romantic Mysteries. The veiled, Romantic Isis of Schiller simultaneously represents 'Truth' − explicit in Haggard's *She* − the truth about Nature and her ontological and eschatological relationship to God and mankind. But this is a truth 'so hideous that one can no longer live after having known it'.[461] His Isis can be considered as both Truth and the *Anima Mundi,* but not a feminine version of the Spinozan *deus sive natura.*

Such Romantic Mysteries would be lost when in 1822, Jean-François Champollion successfully deciphered the hieroglyphs. They remain in the popular imagination alone. There is 'no monotheism, no arcane theology, no antagonism between a popular religion and a religion of the sages and initiates'.[462] As Assmann has noted, the eighteenth century formed an image of Egyptian civilization divided into exoteric and esoteric cultures, 'not because it contained any authentic knowledge about Egypt but because

[457] Haggard, *She*, p.265.
[458] Assmann, *Religio Duplex*, p.90.
[459] H. Rider Haggard, *Ayesha: The Return of She* (New York, NY: Grosset & Dunlap, 1905), p.262.
[460] Haggard, *She*, p.151.
[461] Hadot, *The Veil of Isis*, p.271. For a concise overview of Spinoza's pantheistic concept of 'God or Nature', see Bertrand Russell, *The History of Western Philosophy* (London: Counterpoint, 1984), pp.553-54.
[462] Assmann, 'Egyptian Mysteries and Secret Societies in the Age of Enlightenment', p24.

it served as a mirror of contemporary society and culture'.[463] The history of Egyptology in the nineteenth century demonstrates how this mirroring process continued, as reflected in Haggard's New Romance.

[463] Ibid., p.10.

Chapter 8. THE INITIATES OF SAIS

The Visions of Harmachis: Initiation, Anacalypsis and Gnosis

In the previous chapter, we saw how Haggard adopted the Romantic notion of Moses as an Egyptian initiate into the 'Mysteries' - though his Hidden God and Isis represent two discrete metaphysical entities. In this chapter I argue for Haggard's focus on personal religious experience as opposed to scriptural concerns. Haggard's emphasis on mystical piety and lived-experience is very much in the tradition of the phenomenology of religion expounded by Friedrich Schleiermacher, Friedrich Max Müller and Rudolf Otto, of which we shall have more to say in later chapters. For Schleiermacher, 'Religion's essence is neither thinking nor acting, but intuition and feeling.'[464] Otto would describe this as Schleiermacher's *intuitus mysticus*.[465] Here, therefore, our focus lies primarily with the theme of initiation and mystical experience itself, and how Haggard portrayed initiation in his reworking of the history of the Ptolemaic queen Cleopatra VII *Thea Philopator*.

Cleopatra features the young priest Harmachis who is initiated into the Mysteries of Isis.[466] He undergoes a series of mystical visions and experiences which seem to reflect a gnostic ascent during the process of initiation through what could be termed a 'hierarchy of knowledge' towards a final experience of anacalypsis – the unveiling of the goddess Isis before him, and his experience of mystical gnosis. [467] In the following I shall analyse the visionary process, and contextualise it within the occult milieu of the Victorian *fin de siècle*.

The visions progress along a mystical trajectory from kataphasis with a panoramic recall of the history of man in Egypt, through apophatic ecstasy,

[464] Friedrich Scheiermacher, *On Religion: Speeches to its Cultured Despisers*, 2nd edn, trans. and ed. by Richard Crouter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p.22.
[465] Otto, *Mysticism East and West*, pp.235-36.
[466] The *anacalypsis* of the goddess Isis before Harmachis bears more than a passing resemblance to the appearance of the goddess before Lucius in Apuleius' *The Golden Ass*, at the beginning of Book 11.3. Though the set-piece may have inspired Haggard, the wording and imagery are very different. See Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, trans. by P. G Walsh (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp.219-22.
[467] I have borrowed the term 'Hierarchy of Knowledge' from Wouter J. Hanegraaff, who uses it in an analysis of what he argues are the sequential, hierarchical visions described within a number of the tractates of the *Corpus Hermeticum*. See Wouter J. Hanegraaff, 'Altered States of Knowledge: The Attainment of Gnōsis in the Hermetica', *The International Journal of the Platonic Tradition*, 2 (2008), 128-63.

to an initiatic death and katabasis to the Underworld, and finally the anacalypsis of the goddess and mystical gnosis.

Kataphasis

The visions commence in the penetralia of the Temple of Isis, where the young Harmachis is guided by an elderly priest. They begin with a vision of the Nile:

> I saw the ancient Nile rolling through deserts to the sea. There were no men upon its banks, nor any signs of man, nor any temples to the Gods. Only wild birds moved on Sihor's lonely face, and monstrous brutes plunged and wallowed in his waters. […]. The picture passed and another rose up in its place. Once again I saw the banks of Sihor, and on them crowded wild-faced creatures, partaking of the nature of the ape more than of the nature of mankind. They fought and slew each other. [..] They stole and rent and murdered, dashing out the brains of children with axes of stone. And, though no voice told me, I knew that I saw man as he was tens of thousands of years ago, when first he marched across the earth.[468]

It appears then that a dinosaur of some kind wallows in the Nile, given its Old Testament name of 'Sihor' as this is a Victorian biblical Egypt.[469] But Haggard doesn't present Adam and Eve: Harmachis sees what are clearly intended to be creatures from a human anthropoidal ape-like past. In short, we are presented with a Darwinist image of human prehistory, revealed in the mystical vision of a priest of Isis in Ptolemaic Egypt.

The cinematographic images are strikingly reminiscent of the following passage from Helena Petrovna Blavatsky's *Isis Unveiled* (1877) which documents an experiment in 'Clairvoyant Psychometry'[470] using a piece of prehistoric bone:

> Professor Denton submitted a fragment of fossilized bone to his wife's examination, without giving Mrs Denton any hint as to what the article was. It immediately called up to her pictures of people and scenes which he thinks belonged to the stoneage [sic.]. She saw men closely resembling monkeys, with a body very hairy, and "as if the natural hair answered the purpose of clothing." "I question whether he can stand perfectly upright; his joints appear to be so formed, he cannot," […]. Now I see a face like that of a human, though there is a

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[468] Haggard, *Cleopatra*, p.58.
[469] This is more accurately transliterated as 'Shi'hor.' See, for example, Isaiah 23.3 and Jeremiah 2.18.

[470] Psychometry is discussed in more detail in the section on 'Haggard's Reception of Theosophy' in Chapter 15.

> monkey-like appearance about it. All these seem of that kind, having long arms and hairy bodies.[471]

In the later work *Clairvoyance* (1903), Charles Webster Leadbeater (1854-1934), the systematiser and interpreter of Blavatsky, describes the experience of access to what is called in Theosophical terminology the 'Akashic Record',[472] upon which a memory of all cosmic events is inscribed. The passage reads:

> When the visitor to the [Astral] plane is not thinking of them specifically in any way, the records simply form a background to whatever is going on, just as the reflections in a pier-glass at the end of the room might form a background to the life of the people in it. It must always be born in mind that under these conditions they are merely reflections from the ceaseless activity of a great Consciousness upon a far higher plane, and have very much the appearance of an endless succession of the recently invented *cinematographe*, or living photographs. They do not melt into one another like dissolving views, nor do a series of ordinary pictures follow one another; but the action of the reflected figures goes on as though one were watching the actors on a distant stage.[473]

Hanegraaff has documented the history of psychometry and the corollary of Theosophical ideas around the active imagination and the 'astral plane', and has noted how these ideas follow the extant technologies. Thus, this idea of a succession of 'living photographs' and cinematography was preceded by the invention of the daguerrotype.[474]

I would argue therefore that the initial components of Harmachis' visions seem very much to be representative of the Theosophically prescribed attainment of Astral consciousness. Although the process may relate to Theosophy, Haggard has of course moved away from Blavatsky's ideas of evolution; Blavatsky believed in a spiritual evolution, with Man's descent from ethereal angelic beings through various so-called root races.[475]

Harmachis' visions continue to advance epoch by epoch until the presumed time when the gods ruled in Egypt. Although there is initially something of a Golden Age, men are seduced by evil and Harmachis witnesses the

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[471] Helena Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled,* 2 vols (California: Theosophical University Press, 1998), I, p.295.

[472] On the Akasha (*Akaṣa*), See Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled*, I, p.129, and p.139 as the life-principle or *anima mundi.*

[473] See Charles Webster Leadbeater, *Clairvoyance*, 2nd edn (London: Theosophical Publishing Society,1903), pp.115-16.

[474] Wouter J. Hanegraaff, 'The Theosophical Imagination', *Correspondences*, 6 (2017), 1-37 (pp.15-20).

[475] Blavatsky elaborates her theory of the Root Races in the second volume of *The Secret Doctrine*: 'Anthropogenesis.' She begins with the twelve 'Stanzas of Dzyan' which gives the origins of the Root Races, and then provides a detailed commentary. See *The Secret Doctrine* (London: The Theosophical Publishing House, 1888), II, pp.15-21, and passim.

murder and dismemberment of Osiris by Set, and his resurrection assisted by the Goddess Isis:

> And I understood that what I had beheld was the holy vision of the struggle between the Good and Evil Powers. I saw that man was created vile, but Those who are above took pity on him, and came down to make him good [...]. But man returned to his wicked way, and then the bright Spirit of Good, who is of us called Osiris, but who has many names, offered himself up for the evil doing of the race that had dethroned him.[476]

Here again we see the influence of Wallis Budge. Osiris 'who has many names' offers himself up for the 'evil doing of the race', exemplary of the Osiride Christology which we have previously discussed. Haggard says through Harmachis as interlocutor that 'the mummy cloths of symbol and of ceremony that wrap Osiris round fell from him, and I understood the secret of religion, which is Sacrifice.'[477] Here again there is a clear statement and assertion of the Christian doctrine of vicarious atonement in Egyptianised form.

Apophasis

To continue, Harmachis now prepares for the next stages of his mystical ascent; the elderly priest departs leaving him alone in the temple. Haggard now unleashes a burst of mystical poetics in an attempt to convey a word image of apophatic ecstasy. Harmachis invokes the goddess Isis:

> "Isis, Holy Mother," I prayed. "Isis, spouse of Heaven, come unto me, be with me now; I faint! Be with me now."
>
> And then I knew that things were not as things had been. The air around me began to stir, it rustled as the wings of eagles rustle, it took life. Bright eyes gazed upon me, strange whispers shook my soul. Upon the darkness were bars of light. They changed and interchanged, they moved to and fro and wove mystic symbols which I could not read. Swifter and swifter flew that shuttle of light: the symbols grouped, gathered, faded, gathered again, faster and still more fast, till my eyes could count them no more. Now I was afloat upon a sea of glory; it surged and rolled, as the ocean rolls; it tossed me high, it brought me low. Glory was piled on glory, splendour heaped on splendour's head, and I rode above it all!
>
> Soon the lights began to pale in the rolling sea of air. Great shadows shot across it, lines of darkness pierced it and rushed together on its breast, till, at length, I

[476] Haggard, *Cleopatra*, p.60.
[477] Ibid., p.60.

> was only a Shape of Flame set like a star on the bosom of immeasurable night.[478]

Initiatic Death and Katabasis

Harmachis is overwhelmed by this experience. He dies and experiences the autoscopy of his dead self:

> A change – life came back to me, but between the new life and the life that had been was a gulf and difference […]. I stood; and yet it was not I who stood, but rather my spiritual part, for at my feet lay my dead Self. There it lay, rigid and still, a stamp of awful calm sealed upon its face, while I gazed on it.[479]

Thus the Romantic trope of only witnessing the hideous truth through death is completed. Harmachis experiences this terrifying yet fascinating mystery and *does* die - to experience a *palingenesis,* a rebirth in Isis. Haggard's notion is certainly coloured here by his experience of post–mortem spirit manifestation, derived from the séance room of his youth, and which we discuss in detail in Part III.

To return to the narrative, Harmachis' initiatic death is followed immediately by the katabasis of his spiritual self, a descent to Amenti, the 'Land beyond the Setting Sun', and the Halls of Isis, where the manifestation of the goddess is imminent. Here he sees winged angelic forms, with a countenance of fire. Although these belong to Christian rather than Egyptian theology, they certainly resemble the angels experienced by the scientist and mystical visionary Emanuel Swedenborg during one of his visionary quests to Heaven. If we compare the following excerpts: in *Cleopatra*: 'Music wailed about its spaces, and all adown its length stood winged Spirits fashioned in living fire, and such was the brightness of their forms that I could not look on them.'[480] And in Swedenborg's *Heaven and its Wonders and Hell*: 'The garments of some blaze as if with flame, and those of others glisten as if with light.'[481] Haggard had read Swedenborg as he indicates through the voice of one of his other more famous characters Allan Quatermain in the novel *She and Allan* (1921), where Allan says 'I even tackled Swedenborg, or rather samples of him, for he is very

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[478] Ibid., p.62.
[479] Ibid., p.63.
[480] Ibid., p.65.
[481] Emanuel Swedenborg, *Heaven and Its Wonders and Hell* (New York, NY: American Swedenborg Printing and Publishing Society, 1909), p.104.

copious,'[482] and he again suggests a character in *Love Eternal* (1918) had a tendency towards 'mysticism of the Swedenborgian type '.[483]

Anacalypsis, Gnosis and Palingenesis

Harmachis now finds himself in the presence of the unseen Isis. He enters into a dialogue with the goddess who tells him that she is the form of a living Nature, the *anima mundi*, of which he is a part, and he experiences the final anacalypsis and mystical gnosis:

> "I am in thee and thou art in Me, O Harmachis […]. For we are bound together by the common bond of life – that life which flows through suns and stars and spaces, through Spirits and souls of men, welding all Nature to a whole that, changing ever, is yet eternally the same." […] A Voice called aloud the awful Word, then the vapours burst and melted, and with my eyes I saw the Glory, at the very thought of which my spirit faints.[…] I sank down before the Glory.[. . .] There was a sound as the sound of Worlds rushing down the flood of Time – and I knew no more![484]

Harmachis then awakes on the floor of the temple, completing his palingenesis:

> Once again I awoke – to find myself stretched at length upon the stone flooring of the Holy Place of Isis. By me stood the old Priest of the Mysteries, and in his hand was a lamp. He bent over me, and gazed earnestly upon my face.
>
> "It is day – the day of thy new birth, and thou hast lived to see it, Harmachis!"[485]

Reading some of the above passages one could quite seriously ask as an aside whether Rider Haggard was himself a mystic. Certainly, his daughter Lilias thought so, and in *The Cloak that I Left* she described her father as having a 'strong leaning toward the mystical' - though this was allied to 'a sturdy common sense'.[486] His autobiography is peppered with references to precognitive dreams.

It is clear from these extracts that Haggard presents the reader with a series of experiences which appear to represent a hierarchy of knowledge through which the priest Harmachis progresses during the course of his initiatic experience. There is evidence of a taxonomy of mystical experience, which is coloured by his experience of spiritualism, psychometric visions, and

[482] Haggard, *She and Allan*, p.15.
[483] Haggard, *Love Eternal*, p.12.
[484] Haggard, *Cleopatra*, pp.66-69.
[485] Ibid, p.70.
[486] Haggard, *The Cloak that I Left*, p.31.

Swedenborgianism. However, Haggard does not give us much insight into what may have been speculated upon as the actual Egyptian contents of the 'Mysteries of Isis'. As modern Egyptology demonstrates, many of such 'Mysteries' of Isis and Osiris were in any case public festivals rather than private initiations.[487] What these passages do present to us is Haggard's further referencing of Romantic Isidism representative of the unveiling of the hidden secrets of Nature. In addition to these explicitly Romantic ideas, the contents of the visions of Harmachis clearly give evidence of Haggard's absorption of the prevalent ideas in the occult milieu of the time, here in juxtaposition with Darwinian evolutionary theory, exemplary of the melange of ideas and fin-de-siècle hybridity engendered by the Victorian occult sensibility.[488] In the next chapter we explore what is in many ways the greatest flowering of Haggard's occultist sensibility: *She.*

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[487] For an overview of the principal sources of evidence for the festivals of the Isis-Osiris cycle see 'The Festivals of Khoiak' in *Digital Egypt for Universities* <http://www.digitalegypt.ucl.ac.uk/ideology/khoiak.html> [accessed 16 November 2016].

[488] For an analysis of Theosophy as what he terms a 'Late-Victorian hybrid religion', see Franklin, *The Lotus and the Lion*, pp.50-87.

Chapter 9. THE AYESHA MYTHOS AND THE ALCHEMICAL *SHE*

The Genesis of She

Approaching what is assuredly Haggard's most famous romance with a view to analysis provokes a trepidation akin to standing before the 'Flame of Life' itself. In terms of Haggardian scholarship there are many apodictic assertions as to what the romance signifies: many analyses are dominated by Haggard's valorisation of Empire; a number are concerned with gendered historical critiques of its themes of femininity and gynaeocracy - of the New Woman in the Victorian era. Most have their valid points, but, I would argue, few seem curious as to the intention that the author described himself. In this chapter, therefore, I shall review and critique some of the scholarly views concerning *She: A History of Adventure*, engaging with Haggard's own words on the subject, and deploying a novel approach which addresses the esoteric context of the 'Ayesha mythos'. I shall explore how Haggard's religiosity addresses the interface of the natural, the supernatural and preternatural in a series of Romantic themes. However, firstly we should consider some of Haggard's possible sources and inspiration for the work – there are many possibilities.

As an overview, it is probably best to state at the outset that *She* is *overdetermined.* Almost any one of them might be sufficient, but it would appear that all could be involved, and as a result deserve consideration. By way of an introduction to the analysis of the Ayesha mythos, we shall begin therefore by considering some of these literary and historical sources for *She* considering the mise-en-scène, characters, themes, structure and narrative, and I shall focus on a number of sources which have thus far remained undiscovered in the literature.

Though frequently mentioned as a likely source, Haggard denied that the ancient city and catacombs of Kôr were based on the ruins of Great Zimbabwe. It is possible that the imagery of a ruined city of tombs was in part derived from Edward Bulwer-Lytton's romance *Zanoni* (1842),[489] though in any case the 'ruins by moonlight' literary trope is a Romantic commonplace. More likely, given his proclivities for Scandinavian mythology – and given that he would shortly write his own 'saga' in the

[489] Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *Zanoni*, 3 vols (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1842).

form of *Eric Brighteyes* [490] - is that he lifted it directly from the *Prose Edda*, where 'Kör' is the death-bead of the goddess Hel:

> Her hall is called Éljúðnir; her dish, Hunger; Famine is her knife; Idler, her thrall; Sloven, her maidservant; Pit of Stumbling, her threshold, by which one enters; Disease, her bed; Gleaming Bale, her bed-hangings. (Norse: Éljúðnir heitir salr hennar, Hungr diskr, Sultr knífr, Ganglati þræll, Ganglöð ambátt, Fallandaforað grind, Þolmóðnir þresköldr er inn gengr, Kör sæing, Blíkjandböl ársalr hennar eða tjald.) [491]

This fits in well with the civilisation of Kôr being destroyed by plague. In addition, there are a number of other themes taken from *Zanoni* and its unfinished precursor *Zicci* (1838),[492] notably the theme of Zanoni, the immortal Chaldean magus who gives up his immortality and dies for love during the Parisian Terror. There are other less obvious features. The monstrous Dweller of the Threshold, which the querent after Truth must face as an initiatory obstacle: it is shown as veiled, with burning eyes behind the veil - and it is hinted that this evil entity is female. This is strongly reminiscent of Horace Holly's first encounter with Ayesha - veiled and unseen, yet he can feel her eyes playing upon him.[493] It also reprises Schiller's *Veiled Statue of Sais* in a dark Romantic or gothic guise. However, there is an earlier short story which Bulwer must have written when he was very young, 'The Tale of Kosem Kesamim, the Magician,' which appeared in *The Student* of 1835, and which is not mentioned in the literature either.[494]

In this tale, the magician Kosem Kesamim tells a story to the narrator of the young Prince Gondorah, a youthful seeker after wisdom, who Kosem says was likely himself in a past life. Gondorah encounters a living Fire with a beautiful female spirit playing within it, which proceeds to accompany him night and day. He is entranced by it, though no-one else can see it, and he seeks the advice of an Egyptian seer who has imparted knowledge to him since his boyhood - and the Fire accompanies him. The Egyptian sees it

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[490] *Eric Brighteyes* was written in 1888 following a trip to Iceland, and published by Longman & Co. in 1890.

[491] See the 'Prose Edda', <https://notendur.hi.is//~eybjorn/gg/gg4par33.html> [accessed 15 December 2016]. Haggard's own attempt at the Icelandic saga form is itself influenced by the 'Njal's Saga.' See Hartwig A. Vogelsberger, *'King Romance': Rider Haggard's Achievement*, Ed. by James Hogg, Salzburg Studies in English Literature, Romantic Reassessment 3:92 (Salzburg: Institut Für Anglistik Und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, 1984), pp.48-54.

[492] Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *The Romances and Novels of Edward Bulwer Lytton (Lord Lytton): Zanoni, Zicci* (Boston: Little, Brown &Co., 1912).

[493] Haggard, *She*, p.141.

[494] Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *The Student: A Series of Papers*, 2 vols (London: Saunders and Otley, 1835), II, pp.55-92.

straight away and is aghast when first he meets it. He fearfully asks the spirit who she is, 'And the Fire answered, "I am the Life of this world and I am *not* of other worlds."'[495] The exchange continues:

> "Thou awest me not," said the Egyptian, though the blood fled from his shrivelled and tawny cheeks. "Thou art-"
>
> "The Living Principle of the World," interrupted the voice.[496]

The Egyptian expires and - as in the denouement of *She* - it is an accelerated death and decay. Later in the story, the once beautiful flame-clad nymph changes into a rotten corpse and death-head - as did Ayesha - and the spirit, via Kosem Kesamim, announces to Gondorah, and all those romantically in pursuit of truth – again echoing Schiller – that she is the spirit of Corruption – the reality of physical Nature without the divine. The story ends with the voice of the divine emanating from the sunlit heavens:

> And lo! the Heavens were lit up with a pure and glorious light, and from the midst of them there came forth A Voice, which rolled slowly over the face of the charnel earth as the voice of thunder above the valley of the shepherd. "SUCH," said the Voice, "is NATURE, IF THOU ACCEPTEST NATURE AS THE FIRST CAUSE SUCH is THE UNIVERSE WITHOUT A GOD!" [497]

Thus, Bulwer-Lytton closes with a flourish of anti-pantheism and anti-Spinozism.

The 'Flame of Life' which is so central to *She* and Ayesha's preternaturally extended life also appears to have been influenced by another of Bulwer-Lytton's works. In *Zanoni*, the mystic Mejnour says that what he practices is 'not Magic; it is the Art of Medicine rightly understood'. He then goes on to discuss how life may be extended indefinitely: 'That more noble secret which I will only hint to thee at present, by which HEAT or CALORIC, as ye call it, being as Heraclitus wisely taught, the primordial principle of life, can be made its perpetual renovator.'[498] As we shall see, Haggard elaborates further on what G.R.S. Mead termed a 'Gnosis of Fire'.[499]

Haggard informs us that the title for *She* 'was taken from a certain rag doll, so named, which a nurse at Bradenham used to bring out of some dark

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[495] Ibid., p.76.
[496] Ibid., p.78.
[497] Ibid., p.92.
[498] Bulwer-Lytton, *Zanoni*, I, p.216.
[499] G.R.S. Mead, *The Chaldæn Oracles,* Echoes From The Gnosis Series, 8, 2 vols (London: The Theosophical Publishing Society, 1908), I, p.20.

recess in order to terrify those of my brothers and sisters who were in her charge'.[500] In this regard, *Kosem Kesamim* is also significant in that it gives the word 'SHE' in capitals in a passage of the original published typescript, which I suggest may have been the actual spark to inspiration; the young prince of the story who is in pursuit of wisdom describes how one night he goes to meet the woman he loves:

> And I stood beneath the tree where SHE was to meet me and my heart leapt within me as I saw her.[501]

I also suspect that Haggard's fear of accusations of plagiarism may have led him to dissimulate, though this remains speculative. Nevertheless, Haggard clearly took many ideas from Bulwer: it has been further suggested that there are other elements which Haggard drew from *A Strange Story* for *She.* Herman Styles Ficke points out that they both contained a protagonist called 'Ayesha', and both took their lovers across the crater of an extinct volcano, amongst other passages of similarity.[502]

Ancient Egyptian and Roman sources for *She* are posited by Steve Vinson. These are 'a Greek-language novel from the Roman period, Heliodorus' *Aithiopika*, or "Ethiopian Story," and an Egyptian-language ghost story from the Ptolemaic period, conventionally called "The First Tale of Setne Khaemwas" or "First Setne".[503] In addition, given Haggard's friendship with the Homeric scholar Andrew Lang and his own familiarity with the Classics, J.L. Hilton argues for the presence of classical Greek tropes and characters in Haggard's African Romances in general.[504] Monsman notes that Haggard himself explicitly compares Ayesha to the sorceress Circe,[505] and he draws his own critical comparisons with the Neoplatonic literature and philosophy of the Italian Renaissance (which given the often negative view taken of Haggard's work *qua* 'literary' writing may come as a surprise to some). Haggard drew the name of Kallikrates, priest of Isis, directly from Herodotus. He informs us of this in a 'footnote' in *She* where he tells us that Kallikrates' grandfather, also called Kallikrates, was a Spartan, and the one mentioned in the *Histories*:

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[500] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, I, p.248.
[501] Bulwer-Lytton, *The Student*, p.67.
[502] Herman Styles Ficke, 'The Source of Rider Haggard's *She*', *Studies in English*, 6 (1926), 178-80.
[503] Steve Vinson, 'They-Who-Must-Be-Obeyed: Arsake, Rhadopis, and Tabubue; Ihweret and Charikleia', *Comparative Literature Studies*,3, 45 (2008), 289-315.
[504] J.L. Hilton, 'Andrew Lang, Comparative Anthropology and The Classics in The African Romances of Rider Haggard', *Akroterion* 56 (2011), 107-28.
[505] Gerald Monsman, *H. Rider Haggard on the Imperial Frontier: The Political and Literary Contexts of His African Romances* (Greensboro, NC: ELT Press, University of North Carolina, 2006), pp.194-47.

> The Kallikrates here referred to by my friend was a Spartan, spoken of by Herodotus (Herod. ix. 72) as being remarkable for his beauty. He fell at the glorious battle of Plataea (September 22, B.C. 479).[506]

An important and seemingly overlooked source for *She* is the history and Egyptian folk-legend of Nectanebus II, the last of the dynastic and native Egyptian pharaohs, and the associated 'Alexander Romance'. In 1889, Wallis Budge published his *The History of Alexander the Great, being the Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes.*[507] As he says in the Preface to the work, it had been suggested to him as early as 1881 that he should produce a translation. He would therefore have been working on it at the same time that Haggard was writing *She* and Haggard is likely to have absorbed ideas for his own romance. The following points are of note in this regard:

(i) The leonine imagery and blond/white hair of Alexander the Great are repeated in 'Leo' Vincey in *She.*

(ii) Philip of Macedon is told that Alexander will be born as the 'avenger' of his father (though in the tale, Philip does not know that Alexander is the illegitimate son of Nectanebus with Philip's wife Olympias). Leo Vincey is the *Vindex* – the 'avenger' - descended from Amenartas to avenge the murder of Kallikrates by Ayesha.

(iii) Nectanebus appears in the Ayesha Series (*Wisdom's Daughter*) as the father of Amenartas.[508]

(iv) The Nectanebus myth deals with the pharaoh disappearing but returning in the rejuvenated, reincarnated form of his lineal descendant – in this case very promptly as his own son Alexander.

(v) In the romance, Nectanebus gazes into a basin of water and uses hydromancy to see the ships of the Persians approaching (just as Ayesha did to see the arrival of Leo, Horace Holly and Job in *She*.[509]

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[506] *She*, p.10.
[507] E.A. Wallis Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great being the Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1889).
[508] In contemporary Egyptology, *Amenirdis* I (modern transliteration) was the sister of Piy, the son of the first Kushite pharaoh, Kashta rather than the daughter of Nectanebo, the last Egyptian pharaoh. See Kathryn A. Bard., *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), p.267. In *Wisdom's Daughter*, the pharaoh appears as 'Nectanebes, the second of that name who then sat upon the throne, the last native king who reigned upon the Nile.' (p.58).
[509] On these elements of the legend in Ps. Callisthenes compared with original Egyptian source material see B.E. Perry, 'The Egyptian Legend of Nectanebus', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 97 (1966), pp. 327-33.

(vi) In *She*, Ayesha says to Leo as the reincarnated Kallikrates: 'I fled with thy father from Egypt in the days of Nectanebus.'[510]

Another important Egyptian source - and an allusion on Haggard's part - is the legend of the 'Book of Thoth.' Thoth, the Egyptian god of writing and magic, wrote all of his wisdom on the magical arts into one book. It was so powerful that, to protect mankind, he put it in a number of boxes within boxes, of gold, silver, ebony and ivory, bronze, brass and iron and threw it into the Nile at Coptos.[511] In *She*, Leo Vincey's father left Horace Holly with an iron chest to be opened on the boy's twenty-fifth birthday. The chest contains another made of ebony and a final one made of silver, containing the Sherd of Amenartas showing the way to the lost city of Kôr.[512] Anyone who opened and read the Book of Thoth would suffer misfortune, as do the three travellers in *She*.

There are a number of other possible sources for Ayesha herself. Certainly, one cannot ignore Charles Kingsley's *Hypatia* (1853), which Haggard read and seems to have admired.[513] If nothing else, there are parallels between the historical Hypatia of Alexandria and Ayesha as two beautiful pagan philosophers who die horribly - albeit that Hypatia was a Neoplatonist whereas Ayesha's materialism owes more to Epicurus and to the Stoa as discussed further below. One possible African influence of note is the *Mojadji*, the Rain Queen of the Lovedu people.[514] Although her dynasty is

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[510] Haggard, *She*, p. 30.

[511] See Rawlinson, *Ancient Egypt*, pp.46-47. *She* was first serialised in the *Graphic* from October 1886 through January 1887. It is feasible therefore that Rawlinson was Haggard's source for the detail of the Thoth legend. Haggard was certainly familiar with the legend of the Book of Thoth as he mentions it explicitly in *Dawn* (1884), where he has his character Arthur Heigham ponder: 'What has Thoth written in his awful book?' See H. Rider Haggard, *Dawn* (London: Spencer Blackett, 1888), p.188.

[512] Haggard, *She*, pp.23-31.

[513] Charles Kingsley, *Hypatia or New Foes with an Old Face*, 2 vols (London: J.W. Parker and Son, 1853). In a letter to Andrew Lang dated 28 December 1907, Haggard proposed a number of ideas for further literary collaboration with his friend: 'How about a variant of the Faust legend? How about the Sons of God and the Daughters of Men? [Genesis 6.2]. Something grand and pure and simple, something to lift up! Now don't be discouraged, for though we are both antique, I know we can do it, if only we can find the theme. Where is our Hypatia? Let's do a big thing for once and die happy!' See Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, II, p.77.

[514] See E. Jensen Krige and J.D. Krige, *The Realm of a Rain-Queen: A Study of the Pattern of Lovedu Society* (London: Oxford University Press, 1943). The Kriges certainly seem to have assumed the influence of the Mojadji on *She*: 'We cannot attribute the sagacity of the queens, as did Rider Haggard, in his story of *She-who-must-be-obeyed*, to her pure Arabian ancestry. There may be Arab blood in her veins, as there probably is in the veins of all her people; certainly it was not by virtue of any foreign blood that 'She' ruled the tribe, and there is nothing that suggests that the Lovedu owe their organisation of culture to an alien conqueror. They are among the politically weakly organized rather than highly centralized Bantu. Haggard's book, which appeared in 1886, correctly emphasises the high status of women, the pride in female ancestry, the inaccessibility of the queen; and it is upon her immortality that the plot turns. There are also mysterious caves, but people never lived in them.' (p.3). As I discuss later, this critique of anthropological accuracy in Haggard's fictional work began early in his career.

extinct in the modern era, this queen was mythically pale-skinned, had supernatural control of the weather and was allegedly immortal – though the matriarchy was likely continued by a daughter. Although Haggard predictably denied this influence, Morton Cohen notes his travels in Southern Africa in 1876 took him within a hundred miles of the tribe.[515] In addition, in *She*, Ustane provides an anthropological description of a possible explanation for Ayesha's immortality which sounds remarkably like the rain queen's lineage of female offspring.[516]

What does all this mean in terms of Haggard's engagement with British occultism? Ayesha is the perfect and paradoxical chimera of the Imperial Occult: she is a white Arab; she is the put-upon feminist, but yet an exultant, liberated woman. She is an Egyptian queen and poses the threat to become a British one; she is the veiled Saitic Isis, Nature as *natura naturans*; she is Mojadji, and the type of the biblical Sheba. She is the Greek rationalist that St Paul encountered at Corinth. However, more than anything else, as Haggard himself said: 'Being all things, she was among them a liar, as she was a courtezan, a sage, a spirit, a sinner, and – a woman. She drank all cups!'[517]

One cannot leave the subject of the posited sources of *She* without considering the issue of alleged plagiarism of the novel against Haggard – as the alleged source is in and of itself of interest, given later intellectual currents discussed in my thesis. Frank Leney, the then curator of the Norwich Castle Museum takes up the story:

> There appeared in an evening journal [the *Pall Mall Gazette*] a series of furious onslaughts upon the author of "She." These for the most part took the form of an elaborate and laboured accusation of plagiarism. "She" it was declared was stolen from "The Epicurean" written by Thos. Moore in the year 1827, the case being supported by parallel columns of quotations from the two books, which it must have given someone a great deal of trouble to collate. Afterwards, when the author of "She," on his return from a journey to some distant part of the world was able to prove that he had never so much as read a single line of "The Epicurean," the accusations were quietly dropped, but not before they had worked him a great deal of harm.[518]

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[515] Cohen, *Rider Haggard*, p.109. For a more recent account of the Modjadji, see J.S. du Toit, 'Who is "She"? Rider Haggard, the Queen of Sheba and the African landscape', *Journal of Semitics,* 1,13 (2004), 82-94. Other sources for Ayesha's pained immortality include the myth of the Wandering Jew - the Jew who had mocked Christ on the way to the crucifixion and was doomed to wander the Earth until the Second Coming. Haggard mentioned this subject on a number of occasions and had planned a large-scale literary project on the theme which he discussed with Kipling. See Haggard, *The Cloak That I Left*, p.272.

[516] Haggard, *She*, p.90.

[517] Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MS 4694/31/14.

[518] From the Introduction to the Catalogue: *Norwich Castle Museum: Catalogue of the Holographic Manuscripts of Novels, Romances and Works on Agriculture and Sociology by Sir Henry Rider Haggard*

The defence of Haggard came in a detailed letter from Lord Curzon to the *Pall Mall Gazette* dated April 1887, in which he refutes the accusation in a similar meticulous, seriatim fashion to the original allegations. Haggard has added as a coda to the letter: 'Curzon sent me this letter which the Pall Mall refused to insert because it completely exposed them!' [519] Curzon's letter is instructive as – aside from providing a stiff rebuttal to the accusations – it follows a line of reasoning as to Haggard's more likely sources and influences which is concordant with my own. He says that he has read Moore's 'rhapsodized fiction' and found 'the charge of plagiarism is so flimsy as to be absolutely preposterous'. He then provides his detailed comparison of Thomas Moore's *The Epicurean* and Haggard's *She.* Of particular import for our discussion is that Curzon avers that the squall which results in the shipwreck of Horace and Leo takes us back again to the influence of St Paul on Haggard: 'But, oh why should Mr Haggard's description be denied the superior pedigree of a descent not from Thom [sic.] Moore and Alciphon but from the Acts of the Apostles and St Paul?'[520]

Ayesha and Kallikrates: Old Flames Never Die?

The story of Ayesha called 'She-Who-Must-Be-Obeyed' is told over four novels, the so-called 'Ayesha Series.' These are *She: A History of Adventure* (1887), *Ayesha: The Return of She* (1905), *She and Allan* (1921) and *Wisdom's Daughter: The Life and Love Story of She-Who-Must-Be-Obeyed* (1923). Of these, *Ayesha* is a true sequel to *She*, but *She and Allan* and *Wisdom's Daughter* are both prequels. Both *She* and *Ayesha* were purportedly written by L. Horace Holly, the adventurer-don of the novels. In *She and Allan*, Haggard brings Ayesha together with his other famous literary creation, the adventurer Allan Quatermain, and it is he who tells the story of his encounter with Ayesha which occurs prior to that with Holly. *Wisdom's Daughter* is written by Ayesha herself, during her second incarnation in the caves of 'Thibet', and is a record of her life up until

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KBE Printed by Order of the Committee (Norwich: Gibbs & Waller Ltd., 1920). Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MS 4692.

[519] Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MS 4692/38.
[520] Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MS 4692/38. Acts.27. 13-44.

Holly finds her again in *Ayesha.* It thus rejoices in being simultaneously a biography and an autobiography.

This then is the story of 'She-Who-Must-Be-Obeyed'. Set in ancient Egypt before the time of Christ, Ayesha, a priestess, falls in love with Kallikrates, High Priest of Isis. Although fabulously beautiful, her beauty is beginning to fade. She is taunted by the Egyptian princess Amenartas, who Kallikrates takes as a lover. Ayesha meets a wise old man Noot, who is the guardian of the Flame of Life. Noot tells Ayesha that after he dies, she will take over as the guardian, but he warns her not to bathe in the Flame for fear of dire consequences. Nevertheless, for the love of Kallikrates, Ayesha bathes in the flame, is rejuvenated and her physical life preternaturally extended. She asks Kallikrates to enter the Flame, but he refuses and in a jealous rage she murders him. Amenartas escapes, carrying her lover's child. Ayesha is condemned to wait in solitude until Kallikrates is reborn.

In Victorian 'Cambridge',[521] Leo Vincey, the adopted son of L. Horace Holly, a resident scholar, discovers through the writing on a potsherd ('The Sherd of Amenartas') bequeathed to him by his father that he is the direct lineal descendant of Kallikrates and Amenartas, and that throughout the ages his ancestors have pledged vengeance against Ayesha. He travels with Holly to the African interior where they find her as queen of the ancient city of Kôr. She has waited two thousand years, and Leo is Kallikrates reborn.

Having met Kallikrates again in the form of Leo, the couple fall in love again. Ayesha tells Leo that they may not make love until he is the same as her, having been tempered against the onslaught of time by bathing in the Flame. They journey to the site of the Flame of Life: Ayesha, Holly, Leo and their valet Job. Leo is terrified by the sight of the Flame, and to reassure Leo of its safety, She enters the Flame for the second time, precipitating the agonal event of the romance. With the second fire-bathing the Flame takes back its virtue and Ayesha hideously ages two thousand years in a matter of moments and dies in front of them. Leo's hair turns white with shock and Job dies of fright. As they leave, the cave is sealed and they escape from Africa, eventually returning to England.

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[521] The reader is told in the Introduction that it is called Cambridge 'for the purposes of this history'. (Haggard, *She*, p.1.)

Many of the motifs involved in *She* - the flame-bathing, death and rebirth associated with fire and the myth of the phoenix – are redolent of alchemical symbolism, and it is to an analysis of these alchemical themes that we now turn.

The Alchemical She

> THE HOLY FIRE
> Thus Mind "in potentiality" is the "Hidden Fire" of Simon the Magian (who doubtless knew of the "Books of the Chaldeans"), and the "Manifested Fire" was the Mind "in operation" or Formative Mind. As *The Great Announcement* of the Simonian tradition has it […]:
> "The hidden aspects of the Fire are concealed in the manifest, and the manifest produced in the hidden […]"
> And so in our Oracles, as with Simon, and with Heraclitus, who called it "Ever-living Fire," the greatest symbol of the Power of Deity was called "*Holy Fire*," as Proclus tells us […]. This fire was both intelligible and immaterial, and sensible and material, according to the point of view from which it was regarded.[522]

We have previously seen how Haggard was influenced by the stories of the Egyptian magician Kosem Kesamim and the Chaldean Zanoni who learned the transformative power of *Caloric*, and how Ayesha is transformed in the Flame of Life. Haggard draws on this Heraclitean idea of fire as life-force, what G.R.S. Mead presents in the quote above as Proclus' 'Holy Fire', and the leitmotif of this chain of literary influence from Bulwer-Lytton is alchemical transmutation. Here Haggard provides evidence of his most overt engagement with Hermetic discourse as a potent source for revitalising religiosity.

The historiography of the Hermetic Art of alchemy is intricate, and its granular symbolic literature and commentaries vast.[523] Here we can only touch on the slightest of pointers relevant to our task. Though famous in the public imagination for the production of the *Lapis Philosophorum* - the 'Philosopher's Stone', necessary for *chrysopoiesis* i.e. the changing of base metals into gold - alchemical processes in all likelihood originated in

[522] Mead, *The Chaldæn Oracles,* I, pp.37-38.
[523] For a concise historical overview see Stanton J. Linden (Ed.), *The Alchemy Reader: From Hermes Trismegistus to Isaac Newton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Egypt, mainly concerned generally with metallurgy and particularly with the tinting of metals. Such ideas appeared famously in the Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri and found their way into Europe via Dynastic Arabia where they were known as *al-kīmiyā* - simply 'chemistry' in Arabic. Different forms existed with the metallurgical alchemy of the crucible and distillation alchemy of the retort and alembic producing the *Elixir Vitae.* However, practical aspects were, as a generalisation, seen as requiring a spiritual commitment on the part of the alchemist. Hence the Latin maxim '*Ora et Labora*' – 'prayer and work', from whence the modern term 'laboratory'. There were considered to be two co-dependent processes: the production of the Philosopher's Stone and the spiritual transmutation of the alchemist. For our purposes, it is important that in the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century, the stages of the process – often represented by colour changes, or the florid chimerical symbology of mythical animals, or a 'chemical wedding' representing the union of opposites - came to be seen more especially as one of an elaborate *metaphor* for spiritual transformation. Somewhat contrary to the historical evidence, this resulted in the near exclusion of the practical processes, notably following Mary Ann Atwood's *A Suggestive Enquiry into the Hermetic Mystery* (1850),[524] and more especially under the profound hegemony of the psychological interpretations of Carl Gustav Jung.[525]

Whilst focussing on Haggard's use of alchemy in the Ayesha Series, this section also uses some material from his romance *Stella Fregelius* (1903) where there is evidence of certain commonalities. It attempts to elucidate how Haggard deploys alchemy in terms of its dual aspect of physical and spiritual transformation, and his perpetual theme of 'the Eternal War between Flesh and Spirit.'

Stella Fregelius tells the tale of a typical Haggard triangle 'between a departed and a present personality, of which the battle-ground is an aching human heart and the prize its complete possession; between earthly duty

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[524] See Mary Ann Atwood, *Hermetic Philosophy and Alchemy: A Suggestive Enquiry into The Hermetic Mystery with a Dissertation on the more Celebrated of the* Philosophers, revised edition (New York, NY: The Julian Press, Inc., 1960).

[525] See the following works of Carl Gustav Jung: *Psychology and Alchemy*, trans. by R.F.C. Hull, The Collected Works of C. G. Jung, 12, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 1968); *Alchemical Studies*, trans. by R.F.C. Hull, The Collected Works of C.G. Jung, 13 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press,1967); *Mysterium Coniunctionis*, trans. by R.F.C. Hull, The Collected Works of C.G. Jung, 14 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970).

and spiritual desire'.[526] Morris Monk is torn between his earthly wife and the deceased Stella with whom he had fallen in love and married in the spirit rather than in the flesh.[527] After she drowns, Morris becomes progressively obsessed with trying to contact her and eventually turns to occult means. He begins by looking into her diaries and their esoteric contents where

> He was like the neophyte of some veiled religion, who, after long years of arduous labour and painful preparation, is at length conducted to the doors of its holy of holies, and left to enter there alone. [...] Would the goddess herself, the unveiled Isis, wait to bless her votary within those doors? [528]

We are told indirectly in the text that Morris chooses the path of alchemy. He toils night after night, with 'his soiled hands, the shabby clothes which he wore when working with chemicals or at the forge, the sheets of paper covered with half-finished and maddening calculations',[529] whilst his earthly wife Mary fled the smell of the chemicals, hating the 'place strewn with hot irons and bottles of acids'.[530] Mary nevertheless felt that:

> The sight also of algebraic characters pursuing each other across quires of paper, like the grotesque forces of some broken, impish army, filled her indolent mind with a wondering admiration that was akin to fear. The man, she reflected, who could force those cabalistic symbols to reveal anything worth knowing must indeed be a genius.[531]

Ayesha and Morris are both explicitly alchemists, and Haggard demonstrates his awareness of the personal transmutational aspect of the *Opus Magnum* whereby the alchemist acts on his or herself in parallel with the transformation of the substance in his retort or crucible. Both have their own alchemical laboratories. In an attempt to regain their lost loves and defeat death, both Ayesha and Morris must cross the barrier between the corporeal and the spiritual, but they go in opposite directions to achieve the same goal. Ayesha's transmutation in the Flame of Life fixes her physical materiality such that her life is preternaturally extended (though she is NOT immortal as often inaccurately stated – Haggard periodically does this himself); thus, she must wait until the spirit of the murdered Kallikrates is again physically incarnate. To make contact with his beloved and lately deceased Stella, Morris becomes an alchemist, and during the alchemical

[526] Haggard, *Stella Fregelius*, 'Author's Note', p. vii.
[527] Ibid., p.237.
[528] Ibid., p.293.
[529] Ibid, p.337.
[530] Ibid., pp.337-38.
[531] Ibid., p.338.

process he becomes physically attenuated and increasingly disconnected from the material world. Stella had written in her diary, which had included a record of her own attempt to contact her late sister, and which Morris reads: 'To see a spirit one must grow akin to spirits, which is not good for us who are still in the flesh.'[532] This process of increasing etherealisation results in Morris's physical exhaustion and his physical life is extinguished. For this reason Haggard tells us in his autobiography that he intended this as a moral tale against spiritualism and other occult investigations.[533] From a more Romantic perspective, Morris' involution, having contacted the other world, echoes the decline and demise of the young man who lifted the Veil of the goddess in Schiller's poem that as we have seen Haggard used to great effect in *She*.

The sequel to *She, Ayesha*: *The Return of She* was published in 1905. Originally entitled *Hes* (the Egyptian name which is transliterated into Greek as 'Isis'),[534] it features Holly and Leo once again setting out in search of Ayesha, having been called to her by a vision and told that they will find her in the mountains of Tibet. After much travail and the completion of what Haggard tellingly calls the 'trials', they find themselves in a Tibetan Lamasery where they sojourn for the Himalayan winter. It transpires that following her death in the cave of the Flame of Life - rather than her soul being reincarnated as Holly surmised she might have been as a 'Grand Lama in Thibet'- it underwent a transmigration to occupy the body of a dying one hundred and eight-year-old priestess. Leo meets the haggard old crone, and Ayesha reveals her identity. He loves her in spite of her appearance, and in fairy tale fashion this love restores her former ethereal beauty. Following an interlude in which they wage war against a Queen Atene – the reborn Amenartas – Ayesha can no-longer resist her husband's pleas to be with her. She kisses him and he withers and dies. They surmount a volcano and are transfigured in the flame.

The themes of death, rebirth and transformation are frequently interwoven with images of fire, and pyrometallurgical tempering. As Haggard remarked in his autobiography, he shared the 'Buddhist belief' (as he understood it) that 'the Personality which animates each of us is

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[532] Ibid., p.301.
[533] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, II, p.250.
[534] *Hes* was, as Lilias Haggard observed, 'another name for the Goddess Isis, that is, Nature herself.' See Haggard, *The Cloak That I Left*, p.207.

immeasurably ancient, having been forged in so many fires, and that, as its past is immeasurable, so will its future be'.[535] Ayesha of course had been quite literally 'forged in the fire'. In a footnote, the 'Author' of *She* Horace Holly says of the queen that:

> Ayesha was a great chemist, indeed chemistry appears to have been her only amusement and occupation. She had one of the caves fitted up as a laboratory, and although her appliances were necessarily rude, the results that she attained were, as will become clear in the course of this narrative, sufficiently surprising.[536]

In *Ayesha: The Return of She* (1905), Chapter 22 is entitled 'Ayesha's Alchemy', and She refers to herself specifically as an alchemist: '"Tell me, O thou well-read Holly, if thou hast ever heard of a better alchemist than this poor priestess of a forgotten faith?"'[537] Holly recalls how in *She*, Ayesha had threatened to usurp the throne from Victoria:

> Those who have read the first part of her history, which I left in England to be published, may remember that when I found her at Kôr, *She* horrified us by expressing a determination to possess herself of Great Britain, for the simple reason that we belonged to that country. Now, however, like her powers, her ideas had grown, for she purposed to make Leo the absolute monarch of the world.[538]

And how will she go about doing this? By flooding the economies of the world with alchemical gold:

> "And how wilt thou persuade the kings of the earth to place their crowns upon thy head?" I asked, astonished.
>
> "By causing their peoples to offer them to us," she answered suavely.[...] When we appear among men, scattering gold to satisfy their want, clad in terrifying power, in dazzling beauty and in immortality of days, will they not cry, 'Be our monarchs and rule over us!"[539]

The 'immortal' invincible She says that she will appear in the world at 'Pekin' [540] echoing the contemporary paranoia over the supposed threat of 'The Yellow Peril.' Ayesha shows Holly and Leo her alchemical chamber:

[535] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, II, p.241.
[536] Haggard, *She*, p.194.
[537] Haggard, *Ayesha*, pp.295-96.
[538] Ibid., p.286.
[539] Ibid., p.288.
[540] Ibid., p.288.

> As we guessed at once, the place was her laboratory, for about it stood metal flasks and various strange-shaped instruments. Moreover, there was a furnace in it, one of the best conceivable, for it needed neither fuel nor stoking, whose gaseous fires [...] sprang from the womb of the volcano beneath our feet.[541]

She initially converts an iron ingot into gold, and then repeats the process having stamped another ingot with an ankh, both for identification to convince a doubting Holly, and to indicate to the reader that life itself may be transformed. She as *artifex* places the iron in her alchemical athanor/furnace. It appears that the 'rays' which are instrumental in the chrysopoetic process are electromagnetic/radioactive, taking the form of a blinding light to which Ayesha herself is immune.[542] Holly says that the light scorched their eyes and made their skin smart, 'yet Ayesha stood there unshielded from them. Aye, she even went down the length of the room and, throwing back her veil, bent over them, as it seemed a woman of molten steel in whose body the bones were visible.'[543]

She herself had undergone a transmutation in the Flame of Life, and subsequently death and corruption, and eventually freedom from the physical body, in a process resembling the allegorical narratives of the alchemical process.

Haggard's frequent recourse to the Romantic leitmotif of the *Liebestod* – the 'love-death'- dominates the story of Ayesha and Leo-Kallikrates. The alchemy of the Ayesha mythos reaches its apotheosis in the closing passages of *Ayesha.* The alchemical process as aforementioned is often symbolised as a type of 'chemical wedding', the *coniunctio oppositorum* - the *hieros gamos*, or sacred marriage. Most famously in the case of the extended 17th century allegory *The Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosencreutz.*[544] The bride and groom are typically assigned Lunar and Solar attributes. During the course of the Ayesha Series, we are told that Kallikrates wears a 'scarabeus' bearing the insignia 'Royal Son of the Sun' (see above). This is passed down the centuries by his ancestors and eventually returns to Leo Vincey as Kallikrates reborn. In the prequel to

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[541] Ibid., p.294.

[542] On the cultural relationship of occultism and radio-chemistry in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Mark Morrisson, *Modern Alchemy: Occultism and the Emergence of Atomic Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[543] Haggard, *Ayesha*, p.295.

[544] See Adam McClean, Introduction and Commentary, *The Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosenkreutz*, trans. by Joscelyn Godwin (Boston, MA: Phanes Press, 1991).

She, *Wisdom's Daughter* Ayesha is given the titular appellation i.e. She is the daughter of Isis, hence - with Isis' lunar attribution - she is the Daughter of the Moon.

There is no doubting the erotic charge of *She,* but it is more reflective of religiosity than sensuality. As Prickett has observed, 'At the heart of this new eroticising of religious experience lay questions which, in various forms, came to haunt the Victorian novel: what is the connection between *eros* and *agape*, sexual love and heavenly?'[545] It is to these questions that we now turn our attention.

Érōs and Agápē: *The Swedenborgian Androgyne*

Haggard's concept of the 'eternal war between the flesh and the Spirit' as central to his personal philosophy is evolved from several sources, but it is *in essentia* lifted from the letters of St Paul. Here are two examples, the first from Galatians:

> This I say then, Walk in the Spirit [*Πνεύματι*], and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh [*σάρξ*]. For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: and these are contrary the one to the other: so that ye cannot do the things that ye would.[546]

Then again in Romans: 'There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh [*κατά σάρκα*], but after the Spirit [*κατά πνεῦμα*].'[547] It is through the allegory of Ayesha and Kallikrates, a love that survives the physical death of the body, that Haggard teaches how they learn through their incarnations, a spiritual evolution from carnal *érōs* to an eternal *agápē:* the triumph of the Spirit over the flesh. Gerald Monsman observes that Ayesha gives her 'mythic definition of love as *agápē*: "For deep love unsatisfied is the hell of noble hearts and a portion of the accursed, but love that is mirrored back more perfect from the soul of our desired doth fashion wings to lift us above ourselves, and make us what we might be."'[548] Here we can also perceive a Platonic influence in terms of the language Haggard deploys of lower and

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[545] Prickett, *Origins of Narrative*, p.225.
[546] Galatians 5.16-17. The Koine is taken from Henry Frowde, *Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΚΗ: NOVUM TESTAMENTUM GRÆCAE: CUM LOCIS PARALLELIS* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901).
[547] Romans 8.1.
[548] Monsman, 'Who Is Ayesha? An Allegory of Isis Unveiled', pp. 27-28. The quote is from *She*, p.283.

higher forms of Love: the language of the 'winged-lover' who sees himself 'mirrored' in the beloved echoes passages on love in the *Phaedrus*. The fourth of Plato's 'manias' is Love:

> All my discourse so far has been about the fourth kind of madness, which causes him to be regarded as mad, who, when he sees the beauty on earth, remembering the true beauty, feels his wings growing and longs to stretch them for an upward flight, but cannot do so, and, like a bird, gazes upward and neglects the things below.[549]

In a second excerpt we find the beloved as the mirror of the lover: 'He sees himself in his lover as in a mirror, but is not conscious of the fact.'[550] There is a complex of ideas which recur: the flesh being overcome by the Spirit; a higher spiritual love which is opposed to carnal desire and survives death, and the union of souls as one in the afterlife. As we have previously adduced, Haggard had read the work of the Swedish chemist, theologian, and visionary Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772). Swedenborg was very much a voice of proto-spiritualism and believed that his seership had given him insight into post-mortem survival and existence of the spirit. Swedenborg was influenced by alchemical thought, although as an Enlightenment mechanistic philosopher his rhetoric concerning alchemy was often negative.[551] Nevertheless, as David Dunér observes, 'Alchemical images and symbols occur in his writings, as in *The Dream Book*, where he sees his own spiritual purification as an alchemical process to achieve gold – goodness.' [552] Haggard's writing contains none of the chimerical and fantastic imagery of the alchemical literary corpus per se; much like Swedenborg, his use is mainly confined to the articulation of a pyrometallurgical metaphor for spiritual transformation, but there do seem to be other alchemical ideas that he has adopted - again indirectly and via Swedenborg. It is likely that the idea of the *Rebis* or 'two-thing' particularly appealed to Swedenborg - the union of the opposites and the alchemical androgyne. He defined two types of love, the higher 'conjugial'

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[549] See section 249D of the *Phaedrus* in Plato, *Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Phaedrus*, trans. by Harold North Fowler, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), pp.482-83. (Gk: *Ἔστιν δὴ οὖν δεῦρο ὁ πᾶς ἥκων λόγος περὶ τῆς τετάρτης μανίας—ἣν ὅταν τὸ τῇδέ τις ὁρῶν κάλλος, τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀναμιμνῃσκόμενος, πτερῶταί τε καὶ ἀναπτερούμενος προθυμούμενος ἀναπτέσθαι, ἀδυνατῶν δέ, ὄρνιθος δίκην βλέπων ἄνω, τῶν κάτω δὲ ἀμελῶν, αἰτίαν ἔχει ὡς μανικῶς διακείμενος·*)
[550] Ibid, pp.500-1. Section 255D. (Gk: […] *ὥσπερ δὲ ἐν κατόπτρῳ ἐν τῷ ἐρῶντι ἑαυτὸν ὁρῶν λέληθεν.*)
[551] David Dunér, *The Natural Philosophy of Emanuel Swedenborg: A Study in the Conceptual Metaphors of the Mechanistic World-View*, trans. by Alan Crozier, Studies in the History of Philosophy of Mind, 11(New York, NY: Springer, 2013), p.267.
[552] Ibid., p.268.

love and the carnal 'scortatory'[553] love – corresponding to the Pauline dichotomy of *agápē* and *érōs*. In Swedenborgian thought, by virtue of their 'conjugial' love, a husband and wife were united as one soul – they literally became a single angel after death. As Swedenborg writes in *Conjugial Love* (1768): 'Two married partners in heaven are not two, but one angel. Wherefore, by means of the conjugial unition they become filled with the Human, which consists in willing to become wise, and in loving that which belongs to wisdom.'[554] The following final passages in *Ayesha* suggest the influence of Swedenborg. Ayesha yields to Leo's imploring and kisses him. As Ayesha had forewarned, the mortal Leo cannot contain her immortal effulgence and he dies. Ayesha says to Holly:

> "Think not that I am conquered, for now my name is Victory! Think not that Ayesha's strength is spent or her tale done, for of it thou readest but a single page. Think not even that I am to-day that thing of sin and pride, the Ayesha thou didst adore and fear, I who in my lord's love and sacrifice have again conceived my soul. For know that now once more as at the beginning, his soul and mine are *one*." [555]

In other words, they have formed the *Rebis*, the Swedenborgian androgyne.[556] At the end of the story Holly, Ayesha and the body of Leo are at the summit of the sacred mountain, an active volcano surmounted by a natural rock formation on the lip of the crater in the shape of the ankh. The following scene ensues:

> Now, as once before, the darkness gathered on the pit, and presently, although I heard no prayer, though now no mighty music broke upon the silence, through that darkness, beating upon the gale, came the two-winged flame and hovered where Ayesha stood.

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[553] 'Scortation': lewdness; fornication (Lat.: *scortum*, prostitute).

[554] Emanuel Swedenborg *The Delights of Wisdom relating to Conjugial Love after which follow The Pleasures of Insanity relating to Scortatory Love,* trans. by A. H. Searle (London: The Swedenborg Society, 1891), p.55. The term 'conjugial' is Swedenborg's coinage which he created by adding an 'i' to the old legal term 'conjugal'. See Michael Stanley, ed., *Emmanuel Swedenborg: Essential Readings*, Western Esoteric Masters Series (Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2003), p.134.

[555] Haggard, *Ayesha*, p.355.

[556] As A. J. L. Busst writes: 'Swedenborg thought he actually saw a man and woman combined in the form of a single androgynous angel: for, as the chariot containing the married pair sent down for his inspection left the highest heaven, it appeared to contain only one angel; but a man and a woman were seen in it as it approached the earth. Even on earth, these two were still so united that the words uttered by one seemed to issue from both their mouths.' See A. J. L. Busst, 'The Image of the Androgyne in The Nineteenth Century', in *Romantic Mythologies*, ed. by Ian Fletcher (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1967), pp.1-95 (p.78).

> It appeared, it vanished, and one by one the long minutes crept away until the first spear of dawn lit upon the point of rock.
>
> Lo! it was empty, utterly empty and lonesome. Gone was the cor[p]se of Leo and gone too was Ayesha the imperial, the divine.
>
> Whither had she gone? I know not. But this I know, that as the light returned and the broad sheet of flame flared out to meet it, I seemed to see two glorious shapes sweeping upward on its bosom, and the faces they wore were those of Leo and Ayesha.[557]

Haggard has Ayesha and Leo simply disappear. There is the up-rush of flame, and Leo-Kallikrates and Ayesha appear together united and transfigured upon it, *Sol et Luna*, the 'Royal Son of the Sun' and the 'Daughter of the Moon' united together in a *hieros gamos* for all eternity. Note how he says a 'two-winged flame' heralding the single angel that Ayesha and Leo-Kallikrates will become. The disappearance of their physical selves is more than suggestive that Haggard is portraying the alchemical transmutation and *coniunctio* as a Christian transfiguration. Ayesha's statement that their soul has become *one* certainly makes the case for their Swedenborgian conjugial love and that they are now 'not two, but one angel'.

In some respects, *She* can also be considered a Promethean story: Ayesha steals fire from the *spiritus mundi*, in spite of the wise old man Noot warning her of the consequences. As has been shown, She was not an 'Immortal Queen'. In addition, it has been said that she was preserving her beauty in the Flame. However, a reading of *Wisdom's Daughter* demonstrates that Ayesha was losing the first flush of youth, and Kallikrates' gaze had begun to wander. It was thus a *rejuvenation* in the flame. In *Ayesha*, furthermore the reader is told that She sold her soul to Set, making the story of Ayesha at once Promethean and explicitly an Egyptianisation of Goethe's *Faust*.[558] In summary, in his exploration of the *amor aeternus* of Ayesha and Kallikrates, Haggard weaves his story around the opposition of *érōs* and *agápē* into an alchemical myth amplifying ideas from Pauline epistolary scripture with Platonic dialogue and Swedenborgian mysticism. It remains to consider how this intimacy of

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[557] Haggard, *Ayesha*, pp. 355-56.

[558] Haggard, *Ayesha.*, p.262. Lilias Haggard wrote that her father was discussing with Andrew Lang the possibility of another collaboration and suggested 'a variant on the Faust legend' - though in a way he had already written one. See Haggard, *The Cloak That I left*, p.207.

sexuality, transcendent love and ever-present death has been analyzed in Haggardian scholarship.

The Ayesha Mythos: Love, Sex and Death

> Alles Vergängliche
> Ist nur ein Gleichnis;
> Das Unzulängliche,
> Hier wird's Ereignis;
> Das Unbeschreibliche,
> Hier ist's getan;
> Das Ewig-Weibliche
> Zieht uns hinan.[559]

This famous last stanza by the *Chorus Mysticus* of Goethe's *Faust,* tells of the *Ewig-Weibliche*, commonly translated as the 'Eternal Feminine' - a phrase famously co-opted by Freud, and which Haggard himself used on a number of occasions - notably in reference to Ayesha - and how She is seen as a psychopomp to the human soul. Such German Romantic thought with its associated themes of the 'hidden' or 'veiled' Truth is recognised as giving rise to the notion of a dynamic unconscious, beginning with Schelling and elaborated by Freud and Jung. As above mentioned, one of the main trajectories of Haggard scholarship is that of the scholar of gendered history, a perspective from which issues the narrative of Haggard as conservative opponent of the New Woman and female emancipation in general. In the following discussion, I shall consider this perspective and the problematics of the psychoanalytic method it deploys, alongside allied trajectories which employ similar modes of interpretation, and reappraise these viewpoints in terms of the study of Christian esotericism – more specifically Pauline mystical theology - which I am highlighting.

The methodological approach of the study of gendered history typically deploys a psychoanalytic hermeneutic. As I mentioned above, Haggard is

[559] Faust Part 2: 'All things corruptible, are but a parable, Earth's insufficiency, here finds fulfilment; Here the ineffable wins life through love; Eternal Womanhood leads us above.' See Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust Part 2*, trans. by Philip Wayne (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1959), p.288.

often seen as a naive writer who simply acted as a passive unthinking conduit for the culturally-embedded anxieties and preoccupations of his day. In this context, Haggard's Ayesha is portrayed as the embodiment of the New Woman, representing Haggard's purported fears when confronted with an aggressive, sexually provocative and powerful woman. 'She' is also an imperial threat i.e. one threatening to usurp the imperial throne. Daniel Karlin remarks:

> [It] is not to say that such interpretations are wrong or unhelpful. Gilbert and Gubar are especially acute in defining the lineage of the 'femme fatale' to which Ayesha belongs, and in reconstructing the social and literary context in which Haggard's fantasy, overdetermined as it was by private and public anxieties about race, gender, imperial decline and religious scepticism, proved so astoundingly popular.[560]

He goes on to observe that there is something rather disturbing about the ease with which *She* is read as though it were documenting a cultural case history of neurosis or perversion. He concludes that a psychoanalyst told that 'She-who-must-be-obeyed was originally the name of a hideous rag doll which lived in a deep, dark nursery cupboard and was used by Haggard's nurse to frighten him, might be forgiven for suspecting a leg-pull.'[561] As Karlin implies, the problem with the psychoanalytical approach and its incumbent 'criticism as diagnosis' is that the readings are often highly subjective and thus somewhat limited. Interestingly they tend to take either a Freudian – sexuality/repressed sexuality - or a Jungian – mythopoeic/Archetypal approach. These approaches of necessity subtend a circular argument as both Carl Gustav Jung [562] and Sigmund Freud[563] read

[560] Daniel Karlin, Introduction to H. Ride Haggard, *She: A History of Adventure* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,1991), p. xix.

[561] Ibid., p. xix.

[562] Carl Gustav Jung mentions Haggard a number of times in the context of his formulation of the anima archetype. See Carl Gustav Jung, *Aspects of the Feminine* (London: Routledge, 1982). The following observations are drawn from this collection:

'Rider Haggard's *She* gives some indication of the curious world of ideas that underlies the anima projection. They are in essence spiritual contents, often erotic in disguise, obvious fragments of a primitive mythological mentality that consists of archetypes, and whose totality constitutes the collective unconscious.' (p.59.)

'Most men, probably, who have any psychological insight at all will know what Rider Haggard means by "She-who-must-be-obeyed," [...]. Moreover they know at once the kind of woman who most readily embodies this mysterious factor, of which they have so vivid a premonition. The wide recognition accorded to such books shows that there must be some supra-individual quality in this image of the anima.' (p.88.)

She, and both mentioned the novel in terms of their respective formulations of the 'Eternal Feminine'[564] and the Archetype of the *Anima*. Haggard like Freud uses this expression from Goethe's *Faust* part 2 in *She and Allan*, though Quatermain does not elaborate on the terms so it is initially difficult to extrapolate what Haggard understood by it. Bilali, the overseer of the Amahagger says to Allan: '"There is only one who can order," he answered with mild astonishment. "She-who-commands, She-who-is-everlasting?" It occurred to me that this must be some Arabic idiom for the Eternal Feminine, but I only looked vague.'[565] However, later in the book, it would appear that Haggard has more the idea of the Archetype of Woman.

'The anima also has "occult" connections with "mysteries," with the world of darkness in general, and for that reason she often has a religious tinge. Whenever she emerges with some degree of clarity, she always has a peculiar relationship to *time:* as a rule she is more or less immortal, because outside time. [...] I would refer to the classic descriptions in Rider Haggard's *She* and *The Return of She*.' (p.183.)

[563] As Gilbert and Gubar write, in his *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1900), Freud reported a dream which his self-analysis revealed features derived from Haggard's *She* (as well as *The Heart of the World*). In the dream he was given a strange task which, as Freud recalls, 'related to a dissection of the lower part of my own body, my pelvis and legs, which I saw before me as though in the dissecting room, but without noticing their absence in myself and also without a trace of any gruesome feeling. Louise N. [an analysand] was standing beside me and doing work with me. The pelvis had been eviscerated, and it was visible now in its superior, now in its inferior, aspect, the two being mixed together. Thick flesh-coloured protuberances...could be seen...I was once more in possession of my legs and was making my way through town...Finally I was making a journey through a changing landscape with an Alpine guide who was carrying my belongings. Part of the way he carried me too, out of consideration for my tired legs [...] At last we reached a small wooden house at the end of which was an open window. There the guide set me down and laid two wooden boards, which were standing ready, upon the window-sill, so as to bridge the chasm which had to be crossed over from the window.' (Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century*, 3 vols (New York, NY: Yale University Press, 1989), II, p. 42.) Freud comments on the complexity of the dream and how its analysis would take some time, but the self-dissection clearly represents self-analysis. He emphasises that some of the imagery had been taken from *She*. He had recently offered to lend *She* to the patient Louise saying that it was '"A *strange* book,"' [...] "but full of hidden meaning . . . The eternal feminine, the immortality of our emotions."' (p.43.)

It is of note that in both *She* and *The Heart of the World*, a perilous journey was described guided by a woman, 'all points suggesting ways in which Haggard's novels might have seemed to Freud to provide appropriate metaphors for the pioneering trips on the "royal road to the unconscious" along which his female patients were guiding him.' (p.43.)

Norman Etherington has argued that the topography of the landscape and Haggard's 'quest' narratives helped Freud to conceptualise his topographical theory and the strata of the psyche. See Norman A. Etherington, 'Rider Haggard, Imperialism, and the Layered Personality', *Victorian Studies*, 22,1 (1978), 71-87, passim.

[564] As Monsman writes: 'As in a dream fugue, Ayesha represents *das Ewig Weibliche*, "the Eternal Feminine that draws us ever onward."' See Monsman, 'Who is Ayesha? An Allegory of Isis Unveiled', p.25. On Freud and Haggard, see also Kathy Alexis Psomiades, 'Hidden Meaning: Andrew Lang, H. Rider Haggard, Sigmund Freud, and Interpretation', *Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net*, 64 (2013) < http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1025669ar> [accessed 4 July 2017].

[565] Haggard, *She and Allan*, p.133.

Umslopogaas, the native partner of Quatermain says of She that 'this chieftainess is not one woman, but all women.'[566]

Feminist literary criticism tends to deploy the Freudian psychoanalytic approach but in so doing replaces the patriarchal Freudian discourse on hysteria with its own brand of phallocentrism. The interpretations can sound forced and odd: Ayesha bathes in the Flame of Life, and although this is considered to represent an aspect of the *spiritus mundi* and feminine Nature, it is described as a phallic column - though we are actually told in the narrative that the flame travels in a circle:

> The "rolling pillar of Life" that brings Haggard's romance to its apocalyptic climax is an almost theatrically rich sexual symbol...it seems clear from the pillar's celestial radiance and regenerative power that this perpetually erect symbol of masculinity is not just a Freudian penis but a Lacanian phallus, a fiery signifier whose eternal thundering return speaks the inexorability of the patriarchal law She has violated in her Satanically overreaching ambition.[567]

It is worth pointing out that so keen was Haggard to destroy this character – terrifying *femme fatale* and personification of the overly powerful 'New Woman' of Victorian society – that he brought her back for a sequel and two prequels. It is not the patriarchal law of Victorian social mores that Ayesha has broken: it is the Law of Mother Nature that she has contravened, as Haggard tells us; not for ambition, but for love and wisdom. Satanic, yes, perhaps in the sense that she, metaphorically, sold her soul to Set, as we are told in *Ayesha* (see above). As Karlin says, on occasion the critics' assessments of Haggard are 'swept away by the trumpet-blast of interpretation (as grand and as sonorous as some of Haggard's own writing)'.[568]

An important focus of critical interpretation in the Ayesha series is the linking of sex and death. As Denis de Rougemont has succinctly observed:

> One thing the tremendous vogue of the romantic novel makes immediately clear: the chord that awakens in us the most sonorous echoes has for its tonic and

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[566] Ibid., p.143.
[567] Haggard, *She* (1991), p. xix.
[568] Ibid., p. xix.

> dominant, so to speak, the words 'love' and 'death.' There are other more occult grounds for thinking that this is one clue to the European mind.[569]

Thus, for Rebecca Stott, sex predominates: Ayesha's death is a moment of sexual ecstasy, ''the final sex-death equation of the book' which completes the Cathartic revenge of man to expel the overpowerful woman'.[570] Pearson argues that such readings of Haggard are misleading and feels that they ignore the 'foregrounded and predicated central narrative, the death drive'.[571] He notes that Stott's selective reading announces the deaths of female protagonists as significant whilst systematically ignoring the deaths of male characters. In addition 'her reading of *She* ignores the detail that the death of She Who Must Be Obeyed condemns the male hero, Leo, to an eternal living death, an eternal loss of desire'.[572] I would argue that these readings actually underplay the principal narrative - that Ayesha bathes in the Flame a second time to encourage Leo to do so and join her in 'immortality'. Pearson suggests that

> The real narrative here indicates that [...] the moment of orgasmic fulfilment, of symbolic sexual union, becomes a moment of frustration and separation, of lack, and of the defeat of desire. It is the desire to transgress, to evoke and satisfy a gothic perversity of desire, which results in the destructiveness of desire, and the separation in death suggested by these texts.[573]

I would contend that the narrative drive is not specifically towards death itself – or at least not death alone – though the *eros-thanatos* coupling of the Romantic *Liebstod* is apparent. Haggard's motive is to demonstrate that love is eternal: as we have seen, this is a 'spiritual' love - a mystical *agápē* rather than *érōs* – which outlives erotic desire and physical love, and survives death itself. As we have seen, many of Haggard's romances have this theme: couples are separated by death only to be reincarnated and reunited, as in the Ayesha series. Often a ring is exchanged between lovers, and in Haggard's stories this is a reified 'eternity ring', returned by one to the other in the next lifetime. In the novel *Beatrice*, for example, the

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[569] Denis de Rougemont, *Love in The Western World*, trans. by Montgomery Belgion, 2nd edn (New York, NY: Pantheon Books Inc., 1956), p.15. By 'occult' in this context he simply means hidden.

[570] Pearson, 'Archaeology and Gothic Desire', pp.225-26.
[571] Ibid., p.226.
[572] Ibid., p.226.
[573] Ibid., p.226.

Roman ring which cemented the love of Beatrice and Geoffrey returns with him to the grave,

> It should never leave his hand in life, and that after death it should be buried on him. And so it will be, perhaps to be dug up again thousands of years hence, and once more to play a part in the romance of unborn ages.[574]

This ring is engraved *Ave atque vale* – 'hail and farewell' – 'a suitably cyclical motto'.[575] Thus, physical death and the renunciation of the body is necessary to demonstrate this 'Love Eternal.' It is unfortunate that after identifying what he considers to be the 'real narrative drive', Pearson goes on to misread the story: 'In *She,* Ayesha [...] is of Egyptian origins and is tormented by the thought that Kallikrates and the Egyptian woman who murdered him might be together in death.'[576] It is Ayesha that murders Kallikrates and waits two thousand years for him to be reborn - the basic premise of the story. He continues, on the importance of the archaeological mise-en-scène:

> The chamber of the flame of eternal youth [sic] has 'the appearance of a tomb', the mummified corpse of Kallikrates lies within, and the walls reveal 'scroll and detail' of ornamentation. The chamber is clearly based on Haggard's knowledge and experience of archaeological sites. Love and death merge in this place, but they will again be parted in the moment of sexual ecstasy described by Rebecca Stott.[577]

The mummified corpse of Kallikrates lies within Ayesha's apartments. The cave of the Flame of Life is deep within a mountain at some days travel from the catacombs of Kôr. It is difficult to see therefore where this place is that 'love and death' are merging. Nevertheless, I would agree with the presence of gothic eroticism and its connection with exotic alterity, and the erotic charge associated with Egypt: Haggard was after all in the business of selling books rather than simply dishing out homilies.

Pearson does make an important point about the drive towards destruction of both sexes: 'Central to the narrative dynamics is the inevitability of the death drive, the driving to destruction of the hero/ine by a fatal sexual

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[574] Haggard, *Beatrice*, p.297.
[575] Ibid., p.297. Typical of Haggard it is a classical reference - to the last line of Catullus CI, an elegiac poem for the poet's brother: *Atque in perpetuum, frater, ave atque vale* ('And forever, brother, hail and farewell.'). See 'The Poems of Gaius Valerius Catullus', in *Catullus. Tibullus. Pervigilium Veneris,* trans. by F.W. Cornish and others, Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann, 1913), pp.172-73.
[576] Pearson, 'Archaeology and Gothic Desire', p.228.
[577] Ibid., p.228.

desire.'[578] Relating the fall of Harmachis in *Cleopatra* (see Chapter 8), he observes that

> Harmachis knows his fate very early in the text, and states it in sexual terms: 'Alas! The seed that I had been doomed to sow was the seed of death!' But the text also establishes a gender reversal – the 'Fall' of Harmachis in the subheadings implies his sexual impurity, and his defeat by Cleopatra shows her to be his master. [...] Harmachis is a 'Fallen' man; the sexual taint lies in both Harmachis and Cleopatra.[579]

Commenting on Haggard's essay *About Fiction,* he notes that both men and women are driven by such instincts, and that the 'inversion of Victorian gender ideology here serves to emphasize the potential for degeneration in both sexes, and the heroic fatalism of this force.'[580]

In a letter to the Editor of *The Spectator* dated January 1887, Haggard responds to a reader who was dissatisfied with the death of Ayesha in *She*. Here Haggard tells us precisely how he intended *She* to be interpreted:

> "She" was not intended to be a story of imaginative adventure only. In the first place, an attempt is made to follow the action of the probable effects of immortality working upon the known and ascertained substance of the mortal. This is a subject with a prospective interest for us all. Secondly, the legend is built upon the hypothesis that deep affection is in itself an immortal thing. Therefore, when Ayesha in the course of ages grows hard, cynical, and regardless of that which stands between her and her ends, her love yet endures, true and holy, changeless amid change.[581]

Love is eternal and survives death itself. As Patrick Brantlinger remarks, after about 1900 Haggard dwelt with increased fervour on the truth of reincarnation: 'The idea he had first tentatively expressed in *Witch's Head*, that lovers worked out their relationships in successive lives and literally eternal triangles, became a dominant theme in his later novels.'[582] Driven by passion and thus returning to the Flame which extinguishes her physical life, this enduring love 'gives [Ayesha] the strength to cast away the evil,

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[578] Ibid., p.232.
[579] Ibid., p.232.
[580] Ibid., p.232.
[581] H. Rider Haggard, Letter to the Editor of *The Spectator*, 22 January 1887, included in H. Rider Haggard, *She: A History of Adventure*, ed. by Andrew M. Stauffer (Toronto, ON: Broadview Editions, 2006), p.287.
[582] Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness*, pp.243-44.

and [...] even to do homage to "the majesty of virtue".'[583] Haggard continues:

> For love is her saving grace and gate of redemption, her hardened nature melts in the heats of passion, and, as has happened to many other worldly-minded people, through the sacred agency of love, she once more became (or at the moment imagined that she would become) what she had been before disillusion, disappointment, and two thousand wretched years of loneliness had turned her heart to stone.[584]

Haggard emphasises Ayesha's focus on *this* world in spite of herself:

> All through the book, although Ayesha's wisdom tells her that there is some ultimate fate appointed for a man which is unconnected with the world..., it is to this world only and its passions that she clings. Even in the moment of her awful end, she speaks of a future *earthly* meeting with the lover, whom in the past she had feared to follow into death.[585]

In *She,* Haggard has Holly refuse the gift of physical immortality, as his faith leads him to immortality of the spirit. She mocks him, describing all religion as but a 'subtler form of selfishness and terror for the end'.[586] In so doing, Ayesha 'lifts herself up against the Omnipotent. Therefore at the appointed time she is swept away by It with every circumstance of "shame and hideous mockery".' Vengeance is wrought against her for her pride and is

> More heavy because long-delayed, [and] strikes her in her proudest part – her beauty; and in her lover's very presence she is made to learn the thing she really is, and what is the end of earthly wisdom and of the loveliness she prized so highly.[587]

Haggard remarks ruefully that 'if any reader of the book is but half as much in love with She as I confess to being, he will understand how necessary I thought her fate to the moral, before I could steel myself to bring her to such an end.'[588] Though, of course, two decades later he brought her back. Haggard concludes with a comment on the allegorical nature of *She*:

[583] Haggard, *She* (2006), p.287.
[584] Ibid., p.287.
[585] Ibid., p.288.
[586] Ibid., p.288.
[587] Ibid., p.288.
[588] Ibid., p.288.

> It appears [...] that I did not make my purpose sufficiently clear. Knowing that allegory if obtrusive is bad art, I was anxious not to bring it too much to the fore, with the result that this side of the story has evidently become almost imperceptible.[589]

The Ayesha Letters

> The Prohibition party made him lecture on the fate
> Of the female Cleopatra who imbibed her poison straight,
> While the Theosophic centres were revolving 'round his knees
> And suggesting further volumes on some forty further "She's." [590]

Rudyard Kipling wrote this stanza about Haggard in a classic piece of his humorous doggerel, included in a letter to Andrew Lang, in which he spoke of Haggard and Lang as writers and friends. The letter is dated 1889, revealing that Kipling was aware very early on that Haggard's novel had aroused Theosophical interest. The interest in the possible return of She (as Ayesha herself said she would at the denouement of the romance) would continue amongst his readers. This section is deliberately named because it concerns seven letters between Haggard and his readers – including his nephew - which are vital to an understanding of what Haggard *himself* intended to be understood by his (demi) immortal character. As we have already seen, Haggard was painfully aware of what he saw as the inadequacy of allegoresis, and that his Ayesha Mythos would be misunderstood. In the following account we shall examine how he attempted to remedy this problem by delineating in his correspondence precisely what he intended. Before considering the letters - which form the bulk of this account - we should consider another important document by way of brief introduction. As early as March 1888, Haggard wrote a piece entitled a *Suggested Prologue to the Dramatized Version of 'She'*,[591] in which he provided an overview of the circumstances necessary for an audience to understand what led to the action of *She*. In so doing he alludes to the philosophy underpinning it. The prologue takes place in the Temple of Truth: Ayesha and Amenartas have travelled there bearing the corpse of the recently murdered Kallikrates. The engagement between the two

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[589] Ibid., p.288.
[590] Letter from Rudyard Kipling to Andrew Lang 26 October 1889, Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MS 4694/21/1.
[591] H. Rider Haggard, 'Suggested Prologue to a Dramatized Version of 'She'', *Longmans Magazine*, March 1888, pp.492-97.

women is very much that of Haggard's perpetual war of the flesh and the Spirit. Ayesha is preternaturally immortal, and in a histrionically vituperative exchange she mocks Amenartas' grief:

> Thou ravelling shred, thou worm burrowing to the grave! A little space, a few short years, and age will draw its sting. Time shall breathe on it and it shall die, and death shall bury it. It will fade like the stamp of mortal beauty on thy brow – fade as hot clouds of sunset, and be swallowed in the grey forgetfulness of night.[592]

Amenartas responds, emphasising that although she dies she will have the immortal spiritual life whereas Ayesha is confined to the darkness of a physical eternity: 'After night, the dawn. Live on immortal; for thee the night, for me the morning!'[593]

Amenartas makes it clear that she is his spiritual lover and to Ayesha is left the decaying dross: 'Hug that corpse to thy colder breast: let thine immortality make merry with its corruption. Take thou yon clay-clad form and leave me the Spirit loosed. That is my part, and *there* lies thine.'[594] Haggard concludes the prologue - unwilling, as ever, to pass over the opportunity for a wry one-liner:

(*Curtain fall for an interval of two thousand years*).[595]

We now proceed to consider the core material of this section. In a series of hitherto unpublished letters, Haggard had an extended correspondence over many years with a reader, one Edward L. Rashleigh and subsequently E. Coleman Rashleigh.[596] In the first letter dated 8 November 1905 - the year of the publication of *Ayesha: The Return of She* – Haggard writes:

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[592] Ibid., p.493.
[593] Ibid., p.494.
[594] Ibid., p.494.
[595] Ibid., p.497.
[596] Given the continuity of the correspondence it is likely that E. L Rashleigh and E. Col(e)man Rashleigh are the same individual, and that Haggard simply got the initial incorrect (the middle name also appears misspelt by others). Clearly, he had quite a lot in common with Haggard, being legally trained and having a taste for the natural world. An Edward Coleman Rashleigh is reported as passing the Intermediate Examination on 9 November 1898 in the *Law Students Journal*, 20 (1898), 264. Edward C. Rashleigh is the author of *Among the Waterfalls of the World* (London: Jarrolds Publishers Ltd., 1935). The contents are described as follows: 'While most people who have travelled at all extensively on the Continent are no doubt acquainted with the principal waterfalls of Europe, not many, probably, even in these days of increased facilities for travel have visited more than three or four of what the author has termed the 'Giant' Falls of the world; nor does he himself claim to have done more than that. He believes, however, that in this book, for the first time under one cover, there is presented to the reader a fairly complete account of all the more notable waterfalls of the world accompanied, for the first time again as far as such are

> I may say […] that any writer who attempts to convey ‘something beyond’ in the shell of fiction, especially adventurous and action fiction, is unlikely to be understood by critics and a public in search of the obvious and often unimaginative.

He continues in a more positive vein:

> Yes certainly I believe that “Beyond the night the royal suns ride on, and ever the rainbow shines around the rain.”’ [Quoting *Ayesha:* ‘Beyond the night the royal suns ride on; ever the rainbow shines around the rain. Though they slip from our clutching hands like melted snow, the lives we lose shall yet be found immortal, and from the burn-out fires of our human hopes will spring a heavenly star.’] [597]

Twelve years later, Haggard wrote to E. Coleman Rashleigh in which the author discussed the possibility of writing ‘the beginning of “She” – if She had a beginning!’ He mentions the lost possibility that Lang would have collaborated prior to his death (though Lang had expressed his doubts in this regard[598]). Haggard jockeys for position in terms of possible inconsistencies and difficulties in continuity between stories and prequels: ‘She would have dictated the story to Holly while Leo was out on his hunting expedition.’ As a fail-safe conceit, he falls back on the notion that Ayesha simply may have not told the truth about her own story: ‘For She the truth was a jewel that had many facets.’[599]

Two more letters follow; the correspondent is not appended but given the thematic continuity between letters it is likely to have been E. Coleman Rashleigh again. In the first, dated 6 October 1919, Haggard muses: ‘There may have been a temple of Truth at Kor but its congregation were all dead.’

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available, by accurate engineers' figures as regards their respective volumes and dimensions.’ A review of *Among the Waterfalls* published the following year confirms that Rashleigh and Haggard had other common interests: ‘Books by well-known authorities are freely quoted as are reports and articles, while ultimate conclusions are clearly stated as well as differing opinions. But lest statistics tend to weary they are accompanied by fine descriptions of beauty and grandeur and by legends and superstitions preserved by natives for whom some fall's stupendous force embodies the supernatural.’ See E.W.N., ‘Review: Among the Waterfalls of the World by Edward C. Rashleigh’, *The Geographical Journal*, 6, 87 (1936), 570. According to the Australian National Library Catalogue, Edward Colman Rashleigh was born 1877. See also Edward C. Rashleigh, 'The Greatest Water Power in the World', *Discovery*, 12 (1931), 295–97 (After personal communication, Prof. Jonathan Barry, University of Exeter).

[597] Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MS 4694/31/11. See Haggard, *Ayesha*, p.354.

[598] Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MS 4694/23/9. Letter from Lang to Haggard dated 11 November 1911:‘Had I any ideas of Kôr long ago? She, I think is not easily to be raised again unless she engages in some prehistoric adventures. I like Kôr but have no precise conception of it, unless the Egyptians came thence.’

[599] Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, Letter dated 4 September 1917, MS 4694/31/12.

He repeats the assertion of his previous letter in different form: 'To Ayesha verity was a plastic substance.'[600] It is somewhat unfortunate that I can only present Haggard's side of this exchange as on 6 January 1920 he had this to say:

> If I can do that first chapter in the History of She – it is that line I should follow – I mean the Sons of God and the Daughters of Men reversed.[601] As you remind me She says it in Ayesha and built it again to A.Q. under a parable about Aphrodite and Isis. I think the best thing would be to make Lady Ragnall into Amenartes and make her (this time) jilt Allan for Kallikrates, leaving him an infuriated observer who tells his story and perhaps ultimately escorts Amenartes away from Kor. The present She and Allan tale is a mere trifle – afterwards she introduces him to the facts through the Taduki.[602] If one could work them out properly a fine story might be made of it. I should open it in the courts of Isis in Nirvana' [603]

Note the exuberant occult syncretism of 'the courts of Isis in Nirvana', with which he did eventually open *Wisdom's Daughter*, again alluding to the Schillerian identification of the Veiled Isis with Truth. The next letter to Rashleigh is dated 16 January 1920:

> I am piling all your suggestions together and propose to study them in detail as soon as I can get a chance of envisaging the romance. If Allan tells the story of course the Taduki would show him everything, even in the courts of Isis.[604]

Again, in the final letter to Rashleigh, dated 3 February 1920, he comments that Rashleigh has not quite understood the relationships between Ayesha and Allan Quatermain and Leo-Kallikrates. He has the following interesting statement to make about the significant evolution of the character since she was physicality and *érōs* incarnate:

> Also at times she hated Kallikrates because he was of the flesh while she was of the spirit and until he also became of the spirit there could be no real commerce between them (Vide end of Ayesha).[605] Meanwhile it was to her fleshly side that

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[600] Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MS 4694/31/13.
[601] Genesis 6.2.: 'That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they *were* fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose.'
[602] 'Taduki' is a fictional hallucinogenic herb by means of which Haggard's characters, notably Allan Quatermain and the redoubtable Lady Ragnall, undergo an early form of 'past-life regression.' In *The Ancient Allan* (1920), Allan regresses to a previous life in Ancient Egypt, and in *Allan and The Ice Gods* (1927) he finds himself in the Stone Age.
[603] Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MS 4694/31/15.
[604] Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MS 4694/31/16.
[605] Haggard introduces an ambiguity here when he says that Ayesha is 'of the spirit', whereas usually he refers to her physicality and its preternatural preservation. He indicates however that, though she has

> he appealed; he was the galling chain that bound her to mortality, and in short symbolizes that earthly Desire fulfilled.[606]

She had undergone a partial spiritual transmutation in the Flame of Life but her physical desire for Kallikrates still bound her to Earth.

Godfrey Haggard, Haggard's nephew, also commented on the changes in Ayesha during the course of the series. Writing to his uncle from Havana having read *Wisdom's Daughter* shortly after its publication, he said:

> Ayesha is much more human and less of the goddess in "W.D." than she is in "She" – naturally - she'd been a sort of goddess, then, for 2000 years, and in her autobiography she was only beginning life. It was inevitable, and logical (but hadn't occurred to me) that, by deliberately choosing to become an immortal mortal, she should lose touch with the spiritual side, and find her-self anchored to the earth. Then to watch everyone she knew dying out…not a resource in earth or in heaven to fall back upon. No wonder she was glad to see Leo's friendly face after all that time.[607]

In a letter to Rudyard Kipling dated 1 August 1923, Haggard sums up his opinion of the last book of the Ayesha series, *Wisdom's Daughter* in this crucial statement:

> 'In that book is my philosophy...the Eternal War between Flesh and Spirit, the Eternal Loneliness and Search for Unity....' [608]

This 'war' is personified in *Wisdom's Daughter* as a battle between the venereal sensualist Aphrodite and the Goddess of wisdom Isis. It is clear that Haggard intends more than simply a 'history of adventure'.[609] As he does elsewhere, he uses the vehicle of a Socratic dialogue: Ayesha and Holly in *She*, Godfrey and Isobel in *Love Eternal*, Beatrice and Geoffrey in *Beatrice*, and so on. He is in pursuit of Truth, personified as the veiled statue in *She*, and as the veiled Ayesha herself. From the very outset there is a process of unwrapping or unveiling: as has been noted, from the time when Leo is first presented with his father's chest containing the 'Sherd of Amenartas': 'The chests within chests that contain the sherd itself,

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crossed a barrier in bathing in the Flame and being closer to 'the spirit', her remaining physicality is anchored by her desire for Kallikrates, hence her ambivalence toward him.

[606] Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MS 4694/31/14. See Appendix II.

[607] Letter dated 19 June 1923. Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MS 21598/27.

[608] Quoted in Berresford Ellis, *H. Rider Haggard*, p.1.

[609] The original handwritten-manuscript was initially entitled 'She: A Story of Adventure.' Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MS 4692/8.

contribute to a motif of unveiling: of the sherd, of Ayesha, of history and of truth.'[610]

What conclusions can be drawn from this analysis of Haggard's imaginal episteme? The Ayesha Mythos can be seen as evolving several modes of metaphor, be they allegorical or parabolic. In January 1887, Haggard wrote to his old schoolmaster, Dr Holden (who it will be recalled had written the Greek for the Sherd of Amenartas) many years before he would write the final chronicle of his mythical cycle: 'Of course, the whole thing is an effort to trace the probable effects of immortality upon the mortal unregenerate. She's awful end is also in some sense a parable – for what are Science and Learning and the consciousness of Knowledge and Power in the face of Omnipotence?'[611]

In summary, *She* is a tale of *agápē*, a search for the veiled truth, and the quest for mystical Unity. It is an iconostasis of archetypes, cast in allegorical motifs with Ayesha as Promethean *artifex*. Haggard's investigation of soul theory finds an important expression in the Ayesha series, with its intimately related metaphysic of an *amor aeternus*. Beginning with the Pre-Existence of Ayesha's soul in The Halls of Isis; the Platonic expression of the soul seeing itself mirrored in and being given wings by the reflected love of the beloved as drawn from the *Phaedrus*; the polarity of *érōs* and *agápē*, and the opposition of the flesh and the Spirit drawn from the Pauline letters, and their elaborated opposition in the Conjugial and Scortatory love of Swedenborgian mysticism, with his final resolution of the lovers into one angel. However, what must present itself perforce with the evidence for the contrast of *érōs* and *agápē*, the antinomy of flesh and spirit, and physical sensuality versus spiritual love, is the doxa of Pauline epistolary scripture in a romantic guise*:* a tale in any case of 'Love Eternal'. Born and re-born to be together, Ayesha and Kallikrates illustrate the complexities of the reincarnation novel. In the next chapter, we consider the literary and religio-philosophical relationships of fate, providence and reincarnation.

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[610] Carolyn Burdett, 'Romance, reincarnation and Rider Haggard', in *The Victorian Supernatural*, ed. by Nicola Brown and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.217-35 (p.225).
[611] Haggard, *The Cloak That I left*, p.129.

Chapter 10. ROMANCE AND THE PROVIDENTIAL AESTHETIC

> And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are called according to *his* purpose.[612]

The above verse from St Paul's Epistle to the Romans was seen as the origin of Providential thought for Christians of Haggard's generation. The Latin *providere* means 'foresight' and is in conformity with the Christian linear concepts of determinism, destiny, time and eschatology, as ineluctably moving toward the eschaton of Christ. As I mentioned in the Introduction, arguments over free will and determinism and the nature of human autonomy and agency were common in the Victorian period. In this chapter, I review some of the important aspects of conceptualisations of fate and providentialism which are important features of Haggard's romances, and consider how such concepts have been discursively entangled with the ideologies of Empire.

The charge levelled against Haggard by such commentators as Brantlinger and Wendy Katz is one of primarily acting as an agent of empire, and that his fiction vaunted a propagandist agenda. In this section I shall consider Katz's arguments in the light of the case for the profound influence of contemporary esoteric thought on his fiction. Once again, I am not arguing that Haggard was not an important figure in the imperialist project, but that there is a need for a reappraisal of his ideas, and an appreciation of a greater and richer complexity to them than has hitherto been acknowledged. I shall consider in particular Katz's arguments with regard to Haggard's fatalism, as she appears to have largely ignored his hybrid of Christian and Victorian 'Buddhist' ideas in this regard.

[612] Romans 8.28.

Haggard's 'Fatalism'

> Any study of Haggard's work that fails to acknowledge its pervasive imperialism falls far short of the satisfactory [...] Haggard's romances, in particular, illustrate a total mentality, a philosophy of life, an idea of humankind completely in harmony with the imperial ideology.[613]

Several commentators have focused on Rider Haggard's apparent preoccupation with the idea of Fate. In this section I shall consider Katz's arguments with regards to Haggard's fatalism. I shall attempt to show that it is more multi-layered than simply the 'Finger of Fate'.

Katz sees this fatalism as being a product of Haggard's imperialist and propagandist stance. That is, Haggard frequently mentions in his novels that man follows almost a predestined path. Katz's view is that by resigning oneself to one's fate and succumbing to a higher power, Haggard is serving the reader the power of empire – submitting to the power of empire – rather than divinity. She is, as was C.S. Lewis, dismissive of Haggard's alleged 'hotchpotch' of theosophical and Buddhist ideas, but a dissection of these demonstrates that his conceptualisation of 'fate' is more complex than she gives him credence for. In Haggard, Fate and Karma are hybridised into a species of *karmic providentialism*. As aforementioned, the whole question of free will and determinism was an important theological aporia in the second half of the nineteenth century, notably in the wake of *Essays and Reviews* and the questioning of the validity of Old Testament prophecy – which necessarily hangs on the concept of predestination. Here, the notion of Providence is revitalised in the Victorian mind by the reconfiguring of karma - this in the face of a scientific *Weltenschauung* which otherwise submitted Humanity to a cosmos seemingly abandoned to the whims of the stochastic and aleatory. There is a 'necessary causality' of *karma* combined with an over-reaching guiding hand of providence. Haggard's fatalism embraces a soteriology which features the expiation of karmic debt; he makes the following comment in *The Days of My Life*: 'There is a kind of Providence that helps some people through many dangers, although unfortunately it seems to abandon others to their fate. In my case it helped me through.'[614] Haggard performs a metaphysical sleight

[613] Wendy Katz, *Rider Haggard and The Fiction of Empire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p.4.
[614] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, I, pp.36-37.

of mind whereby God is de-anthropomorphised, and Providence anthropomorphised, and this is further complicated by the idea that a Christian repentance for 'the folly of sin' may go some way to preventing the acquisition of karmic debt. He says that there is an 'urgent need of repentance before in some other life or lives we are called upon to reap the harvest of that unrepented folly'.[615] Haggard continues: 'In short, like the Buddhists, I am strongly inclined to believe that the Personality which animates us is immeasurably ancient, having been forged in so many fires, and that, as its past is immeasurable, so will its future be.'[616] This is a Victorian construction of reincarnation more akin to Hindu reincarnation, as there is no soul or identity that survives death in doctrinal Buddhism. In searching for some sense of meaning in the apparent haphazard nature of existence, he compares all human life to revellers at a dance:

> But if we admit that every one of these has lived before and danced in other rooms, and will live again and dance in other rooms, then meaning informs the meaningless. Then those casual meetings and swift farewells, those loves and hatings, are not of chance; then those partners are *not* chosen at hazard after all.[617]

Haggard thus hints again at the law of *karma*. Before we can explore this further we have to consider the concept of Providence and its literary exposition. In this and the following chapter, we shall have cause to make two brief forays into the study of literary aesthetics which are of religious import in Haggard. Here, and by way of a response to Katz's assertions of Haggard's imperialist rhetoric and 'fatalism', we consider the concept of a *Providential Aesthetic*. Thomas Vargish introduced this formulation which denotes 'those devices or conventions characteristic of literary works in which the assumption of providential design and intention at work in the fictional world is a major premise or concern. I have made it a condition that this premise or concern be explicit in the texts, that the narrators or the characters make explicit and repeated reference to it.'[618] Apropos the last statement, we are on relatively safe ground here: a survey of Haggard literature reveals that the word 'Providence' is used 28 times.[619] The

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[615] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, II, p.254.
[616] Ibid., p.241.
[617] Ibid., p.242.
[618] Thomas Vargish, *The Providential Aesthetic in Victorian Fiction* (Charlottesville, VA: The University Press of Virginia, 1985).
[619] Using the online search engine at H. Rider Haggard, 'The Literature Network' <http://www.online-literature.com/h-rider-haggard/> [accessed 21 January 2017]. This site only holds thirty eight novels, three short stories and one work of non-fiction, so the number of mentions is likely to be greater.

concept of a providential aesthetic is particularly apposite to the study of religiosity in Haggardian romance because it draws our attention to

> Issues of causality in narrative (sequence, coincidence, determinism, will), to the confines and opportunities of temporal modes (history, linearity, and their interruptions), to the relation between typological or parabolic significance and the credibility of character or event (psychological verisimilitude and particularity).[620]

Vargish's formulation sees coincidence as an important element. Coincidence occurs as a sign or pointer, a symbol of Providence:

> Coincidence characteristically refers the readers to causes and patterns beyond the immediate or empirical range of what we perceive as probable in physical nature, the naturalistic range. When coincidences occur, a reader may view them as invitations to widen awareness of the fictional cosmos, to see a larger pattern, to entertain the possibility of a unity not limited to the street.[621]

Related to coincidence in his providential aesthetic is what Vargish terms *inconsequent actualization*, that is, 'the fulfilment or realization of a desire or fear by causal sequences which the characters do not initiate or control'.[622] The actualization of the necessary, and circumstances desired by the characters is not consequent upon their own planning or manipulation. Vargish considers two other elements of the aesthetic, a *providential intent* and a *providential decorum.* He contends that the shift after 1850 to fictional realism entailed a change in the design of the providential novel. It could no-longer be seen as presenting the 'earlier imperatives of natural benevolence, universal design, and compensatory, or "poetical," justice [which] lost force' in the face of the dictates of realism which changed because what was real in the worldview had changed. The world had become a dark, corrupt and untrustworthy place; but through this darkness could be perceived evidence of divine care. 'In this fiction, then, God's will can make itself known either through overall design or pattern, as represented in the circumstances and events of the plot, or through certain revelatory glimpses, epiphanies or immanence.'[623]

In the devotional literature of the early to mid-Victorian period, there was a shift from the providential world view of the previous century which

[620] Vargish, *The Providential Aesthetic*, p.2.
[621] Ibid., p.9.
[622] Ibid., p.10.
[623] Ibid., p.24.

presented the evidence to be found in Nature (as promulgated by Butler and Paley and challenged by *Essays and Reviews*) for the divine planner and emphasised the transcendent: rather than the absent watchmaker of these Deists, there emerged the idea of a Being of 'order, foresight, power and benevolence'.[624] This change in the emphasis of religious thought and praxis had a direct correlation in the changing providential aesthetic of the Victorian novel. 'More important for the providential aesthetic in fiction, the very idea of design – plenitude, plan, pattern, order, symmetry, form – as evincing moral qualities, as having what might be termed ethical prestige, gives the structuring impulse tremendous force.'[625] The other emphasis developed within the later providential tradition emphasised the theology of immanence of the divine and God's paternalistic, caring presence in the world: less an image of supernal order and more one of personal solicitude. As Vargish observes,

> Among the many influences upon this change were late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century evangelicalism, with its intense preoccupation with a "right state of heart"; the allied and pervasive reaction against "rationalism" in religious thought and practice, most brilliantly articulated by the leaders of the Oxford Movement; and the epistemological legacy of the romantic movement in literature with its emphasis on the particular, the uniquely significant object or person and its vision, especially in Wordsworth and Coleridge, of the sacramental functioning of the natural world.[626]

In providential fiction, God's will manifests itself as either the overall design or pattern of the plot or through 'certain revelatory glimpses, epiphanies or immanence'. This is termed by Vargish the *providential intent*. By his other term *providential decorum*, he indicates a slightly more nebulous, ill-defined right 'Way' or path for his characters which becomes apparent during the course of the novel and which, intriguingly enough, given our consideration of Eastern religions, he compares with the Tao.[627] This way, he describes - citing H.D.F. Kitto - as a 'system of co-ordinates' for the characters to follow – a series of 'signs' (coincidences and so on).[628] I would argue that Rider Haggard's romances of reincarnation continue the

[624] Ibid., p.20.
[625] Ibid., p.20.
[626] Ibid., pp.21-22.
[627] Ibid., p.24.
[628] Ibid., p.25. Vargish cites H.D.F. Kitto, *Form and Meaning in Drama* (London: Methuen, 1971), pp.243-44.

tradition of the providential aesthetic beyond what Haggard would have seen as the assaults of realism, to coalesce again in the New Romance of the last quarter of the century, but now complicated by marrying karmic debt to didactic providentialism. The teleological or even dysteleological drive of the narrative is no-longer written exclusively by the hand of the divine, whether immanent or transcendent, but constellated by the karmic necessities of past lives. This presents a complex conflation of ideas; it isn't a case of 'either/or' - rather, it is a hybridized 'both/and'. The 'co-ordinates' may be provided by text-objects including archaeological artefacts, notably the ever-present ring (passed between lovers in a past life); such providential intent and decorum are manifested as the karmic necessities of the past lives, the 'Way' being a combination in Haggard of deontological, moral drive, and the paying of the karmic debt. Whilst Vargish stresses the importance of temporal linearity for the providential novel, as we have seen for Haggard, the linear temporal sequence is not compromised by reincarnation cycles which are considered equivalent to the Anglican Intermediate Period.[629]

Katz interprets this providential aesthetic as Haggard's protreptic exhortation to the polis to succumb to the over-arching volition of Empire, the 'State as God'. However, it is clear that Haggard's Providence does not work in isolation: there is a divine and didactic providentialism which works as an over-arching guidance in collaboration with the free will of man. However, if there is any major compulsion to follow a particular path, it is determined by the constellation of karmic necessity from the free will of *previous* life times – life times which were not – especially those from ancient times – bound to the serfdom of the current state as Katz alleges. For Haggard, being an agent of empire does not mean the loss of human autonomy: he is driven more by Pauline doxa than imperial dicta.

Therefore, one can understand more easily how Haggard goes beyond a literary providential aesthetic to a doctrinal debate. In the following two examples from *Stella Fregelius* and *Jess* he refers again to St Paul. In the

[629] Published in 1938 but based on a commission carried out in 1922 towards the end of Haggard's life, the official Anglican doctrinal view on the presence of absence of the 'Intermediate Period' appears suitably vague and ambivalent so as to allow for the inclusion of all views. See Commission on Christian Doctrine, *Doctrine in the Church of England: The Report of the Commission on Christian Doctrine Appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York in 1922* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1938), pp. 211-13.

first example, Stella and Morris are engaged in a typical religious dialogue, this time on the nature of Fate. Stella says to Morris that the next world is for everyone (in passing, a denial of Calvinist election, or indeed the eternal damnation of the non-Christian), but it must be earned (a hint at the Catholic importance of 'works' rather than merely faith [*sola fidei*]). Morris says that this represents 'the old doctrine of our Faith' to which Stella replies: '"Yes; but, as I believe, there is more behind, more which we are not told; that we must find out for ourselves with 'groanings which cannot be uttered; by hope we are saved'. Did not St. Paul hint at it?"'[630] Here Haggard conflates two verses from Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and changes the order:

> For we are saved by hope: but hope that is seen is not hope: for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for? [631]
>
> Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for as we ought: but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered.[632]

Paul's and Haggard's meaning is that at times there is an interaction between the human and the divine to guide man with wordless prayer inspired by the Spirit – for things that he would not otherwise understand. For Stella 'as our spirit sows, so shall it reap; as it imagines and desires so shall it inherit. It is here that the soul must grow not there.'[633] Again, this is suggestive of Haggard's equation of reincarnation with the Anglican *purgatorio.* However, the interaction with the Spirit, the divine, is evidence again of Haggard's hybrid karmic providentialism: the fate that each individual sows for himself with the overarching guide of Providence. As Stella says, 'the material given us to weave with, that is Fate; the time allotted for the task, that is Fate again.'[634] Haggard deftly refuses the mutual exclusivity of free-will and determinism. In the novel Jess, he emphasises this by leaving the question much more open and unsettled, where Fate seems to have the upper hand. The protagonist meets a man that she has sworn never to see again:

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[630] Haggard, *Stella Fregelius*, p.157.
[631] Romans 9.24.
[632] Romans 9.26.
[633] Haggard, *Stella Fregelius*, p.157.
[634] Ibid., p.157.

> His sudden appearance was almost uncanny in the sharpness of its illustration of her impotence in the hands of Fate. She felt it then; all in an instant it seemed to be borne in upon her mind that she could not help herself, but was only the instrument in the hands of a superior power whose will she was fulfilling through the workings of her passion, and to whom her individual fate was a matter of little moment. It was inconclusive reasoning and perilous doctrine, but it must be allowed that the circumstances gave it a colour of truth. And, after all, the border-line between fatalism and free-will has never been quite authoritatively settled, even by St. Paul, so perhaps she was right. Mankind does not like to admit it, but it is, at the least, a question whether we can oppose our little wills against the forces of universal law.[635]

Note however that Haggard persists in advocating the pattern of life as a combination of the workings of the human and the divine: Jess was 'only the instrument in the hands of a superior power whose will she was fulfilling through the workings of her passion'. Such questions would continue to preoccupy him throughout his working life, and as we have seen the answers he provided were usually complicated. We conclude this chapter with a prefatory quote with which Haggard opened *Stella Fregelius,* and which serves to encapsulate his enduring perspective. It is taken from Virgil's *Georgics:*

> Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
> Atque metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
> Subjecit pedibus; strepitumque Acherontis avari.
>
> (Blessed is he who has been able to win knowledge of the causes of things,
> And has cast beneath his feet all fear and unyielding Fate, and the howls of hungry Acheron!) [636]

We previously considered how Haggard had reviewed the Pauline notion of the intervention of the divine in terms of wordless prayers, and thus deep, unspoken feeling. With this in mind, in the next chapter we turn our attention to certain aspects of the phenomenology of religion in Haggard's literature and in particular his engagement with the concept of the Sublime.

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[635] H. Rider Haggard, *Jess*, 2nd edn (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1887), p.148.

[636] Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I-VI*, trans. by H. Rushton Fairclough, Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols (London: William Heinemann, 1916), I, Section 490, pp.150-51.

Chapter 11. THE SUBLIME AND THE NUMINOUS

The Chiaroscuro of the Sublime

In this chapter, I shall return for a further and more extended analysis of Haggard's deployment of the Kantian-Burkean Sublime in his literature, and relate this to instances of what Rudolf Otto termed the 'Numinous' - which we have encountered in various forms on numerous occasions during this account. This chapter continues to make the case for Haggard as a religious writer. That, by the use of the Sublime, Haggard was engaging in his romances with a type of experiential religiosity which we associate with the lineage of Schleiermacher, Max Müller and Otto: an understanding of religion as 'rooted in immediate pre-reflexive feeling and intuition, and only secondarily at the level of intellectual cognition or in moral systems and deeds'.[637] For Schleiermacher, religion wishes 'to intuit the universe, wishes devoutly to overhear the universe's own manifestations and actions'.[638]As we have seen previously, Haggard was familiar with Kant's *Critique of Practical Reason* and he alludes to the *Critique of the Power of Judgement.* Although there is no direct extant evidence that Haggard read Edmund Burke on the Sublime, by a return to Burke's original treatise and an analysis of some passages from Haggard, I hope to demonstrate that he was at least familiar with this direction of thought.

In what follows we are primarily concerned with sublimity in the context of landscape, as an aspect of religious aesthesis. Possessed of a certain pictorial habitus of mind, Haggard employed many of the literary devices invoking the awesome grandeur of landscape, and the stark chiaroscuro of sunrise and sunset are common imagistic tropes in his work. Indeed, on the simplest level, it is not without significance that the two works published during his lifetime which began and ended his living career in fiction were *Dawn* (1884) and *Queen of the Dawn* (1925). In his *Philosophical Enquiry into The Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful: with an Introductory Discourse Concerning Taste*, first published in 1756, Burke considered a number of factors to be instrumental in generating the lived-experience associated with the 'Sublime'.[639] Dale J. Nelson has argued for

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[637] Schleiermacher, *On Religion*, p. xi.
[638] Ibid., p.22.
[639]See Edmund Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry into The Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful: with an Introductory Discourse Concerning Taste: with Several Other Additions* (London: A. Robertson

the presence of the Burkean Sublime in Haggard, focussing on *She*.[640] In the following, I analyse those elements which emphasise the visual aspect of the sensorium, my argument being that by his use of the imagistic, Haggard intended to convey the visionary and *kataphatic* experience of the divine in created Nature, but also that of the divine in that which is created through and by humanity.

In his *Philosophical Enquiry*, Burke argues for the importance of the abrupt change of darkness into light in the evocation of the Sublime. He observes that 'lightning is certainly productive of grandeur, which it owes chiefly to the extreme velocity of its motion. A quick transition from light to darkness, or from darkness to light, has yet a greater effect.'[641] In this context, Norman Vance comments:

> The sublime is present even in Haggard's melodramatic first novel *Dawn* (1884). […] Angela has a kind of bizarre dream […]. She seems to find herself in a vast, dark, pillared hall that rather resembles the setting of John Martin's enormously successful if rather theatrical painting *Belshazzar's Feast* (1820), familiar to the Victorians as a mezzotint engraving.[642]

The shaft of light in cavernous darkness is one of Haggard's favoured techniques, notably in *She* when the travellers, en route to the Place of Life, cross a stony spur over a bottomless chasm. They find themselves in absolute darkness and Ayesha tells them to wait as soon there will be light:

> At the moment I could not imagine what she meant. How could more light than there was ever come to this dreadful spot? Whilst I was still debating in my mind, suddenly, like a great sword of flame, a beam from the setting sun pierced the Stygian gloom, and smote upon the point of rock whereon we lay, illumining Ayesha's lovely form with an unearthly splendour. I only wish that I could describe the wild and marvellous beauty of that sword of fire, laid across the darkness and rushing mist-wreaths of the gulf.[643]

The Neo-classical reference to a tenebrous underworld and a Dantesque journey through it are apparent. Ayesha as Beatrice is illuminated in 'unearthly splendour', and Haggard throws into - quite literally - stark relief her personification of the sublimity and numinosity of the setting.

& Co., 1824). Burke lists eighteen aspects of the Sublime (pp. xii-xiii), of which the non-visual aspects include 'Sound and Loudness', 'Suddenness', 'The Cries of Animals', 'Smell and Taste', and 'Pain'.

[640] See Dale J. Nelson, 'Haggard's *She*: Burke's Sublime in a Popular Romance', *Mythlore* 93/94 (2006), 111-17.

[641] Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, p.139.

[642] Vance, *Bible and Novel*, pp.181-82.

[643] Haggard, *She*, p.273.

The next example is described at least in part in Burkean terms as 'Privation'. As Burke says: 'All *general* privations are great because they are all terrible; *vacuity*, *darkness*, *solitude*, and *silence*.' [644] With the moon rising and the abrupt transition from darkness to light as described previously, this next passage is an exemplar of the Romantic trope of the 'ruin by moonlight' which we find in the description of Ancient Kôr and its Temple of Truth in *She*: the moonlit chiaroscuro of ancient desolation. Horace Holly describes the scene. The rising of the moon, the sculptured pedestals and capitals,

> And over all, the dead silence of the dead, the sense of utter loneliness, and the brooding spirit of the Past! […] Bright fell the moonlight on pillar and court and shattered wall, hiding all their rents and imperfections in its silver garment, and clothing their hoar majesty with the peculiar glory of the night. It was a wonderful sight to see the full moon looking down on the ruined fane of Kor.[645]

In the next excerpt, Haggard again deploys the setting of the Underworld with Quatermain, Sir Henry Curtis and Good in *Allan Quatermain*. Their canoe has been dragged by the current through a low arch in the wall of a volcanic caldera lake. This time the protagonists are on a simulacrum of the Styx itself, but again he portrays the sublimity of elemental fire:

> I heard Sir Henry call out from the bows in a hoarse, startled voice, and, looking up, saw a most wonderful and awful thing. About half a mile ahead of us, and a little to the left of the centre of the stream – which we could now see was about ninety feet broad – a huge pillar-like jet of almost white flame rose from the surface of the water and sprang fifty feet into the air, when it struck the roof and spread out some forty feet in diameter, falling back in curved sheets of fire shaped like the petals of a full-blown rose. Indeed this awful gas jet resembled nothing more than a great flaming flower rising out of the black water. […] And as for the fearfulness of it and its fierce and awesome beauty, who can describe it? Certainly I cannot.[646]

This excerpt is also important from a technical point of view. Although the passage may not be 'Sublime' literature in and of itself (in the sense conveyed by Longinus), it is apparent that Haggard is endeavouring to construct the experience of the Sublime for the reader. If he had not read Burke, it is all the more surprising how self-consciously Burkean the phraseology is, using words to describe the Rose of Fire as 'awful'; the 'fearfulness' of its 'fierce awesome beauty', and thus its ineffability.

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[644] Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, p. 122.
[645] Haggard, *She*, pp.262-63.
[646] Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*, p.110.

The final excerpt which we subject to, if you will, Burkean analysis involves 'Vastness', of which Burke considered depth to be most evocative of the sense of the Sublime:

> 'Greatness of dimension is a powerful cause of the Sublime. [...] Extension is either in length, height or depth. […] Of these the length strikes least; […] I am apt to imagine likewise that height is less grand than depth; and that we are more struck at looking down from a precipice, than looking up at an object of equal height.' [647]

Lindy Steibel has commented on the significance of the aerial, 'bird's-eye' view to Haggard's imaging of the African landscape.[648] I would suggest that this is emphatic of Burke's sense of vastness and depth. In *King Solomon's Mines* we find Quatermain, Curtis and Good on Solomon's Road heading into Kukuanaland, where 'a vast expanse of rich undulating veldt' lay below and ahead of them:

> The landscape lay before us like a map, in which rivers flashed like silver snakes, and Alp-like peaks crowned with wildly twisted snow wreaths rose in solemn grandeur, whilst over all was the glad sunlight and the wide breath of Nature's happy life.[649]

The description is one redolent of the Romantic aesthetic experience of landscape as living 'breathing' Nature, bearing the imprint of the divine. A generation in advance of the American psychologist and philosopher William James' *Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902), Max Müller had promulgated the study of religion not as doctrine but as lived-experience, intuition, and feeling - what he described as 'a yearning after a higher and better life – a life in the light of God', or 'a faculty for the apprehension of the infinite'.[650] This faculty sounds remarkably close to a Haggardian conceptualisation of the imagination with the 'still small voice calling from the Infinite.' Almost a century earlier Schleiermacher had defined religion in similar terms: 'Praxis is an art, speculation is a science, religion is the sensibility and taste for the infinite.'[651] This important formulation was very familiar to Max Müller and the German Lutheran tradition in which he had been raised, coming as it does from Schleiermacher's *Religion: Speeches to its Cultured Despisers* (1799). The book was finally translated into English in 1893 and reissued in Germany edited by Rudolf Otto. The

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[647] Burke, *Philosophical Enquiry*, p. 124.
[648] Lindy Steibel, 'Creating a Landscape of Africa: Baines, Haggard and Great Zimbabwe', *English in Africa*, 2, 28 (2001), 123-33.
[649] Haggard, *King Solomon's Mines*, pp.79-80.
[650] Vance, *Bible and Novel,* p.169.
[651] Schleiermacher, *On Religion*, p.23.

idea of the Sublime is closely allied to that of Otto's 'Numinous'. As Vance remarks, 'The rhetoric of ominous darkness and flaring light represents one of Haggard's most effective ways of invoking the transcendent and the numinous.'[652] Otto formulated this concept of the *Numinosum* in his *Das Heilige* of 1917 (*The Idea of the Holy*, 1923). As the 'ominous' pertains to the omen, so the 'numinous' pertains to the 'numen'− the 'spiritual' Other − the 'uncanny'. This is distinct from the Kantian 'noumenon' of which the 'phenomenon' was the human perceptual experience. He famously described the experience of it as both terrifying (*tremendum*) and fascinating (*fascinans*), and from what we have already recounted this certainly applies to many of the happenings in Haggard's romance.[653] Those things which are tremendous and simultaneously terrifying in Haggard abound and there is not space to include the many examples. However, one might make one observation. The numinous in Haggard – rather than merely the unsettling or weirdly uncanny – often involves fire in one form or another. Immediately, one thinks of the flaming torches at the banquet scene in *She* which are discovered to Holly's horror to be human mummies; the Flame of Life itself and Ayesha's death and Job's dying of fright all possess a profound numinosity.

Vance argues that Haggard was 'particularly influenced by the ancient archetypal narratives and solemn cadences of the Old Testament' and the 'strange, compelling imaginative worlds of his fictions, and in particular the mysterious 'She' who helped Carl Jung to develop his concept of the *anima* […], represent another and different reimagining of the numinous, and more specifically of biblical materials'.[654] What is significant for our argument regarding Haggard's engagement with the theological sequelae of the Essayists' debacle is how this form of religiosity, whilst still engaging with Nature, is more involved with the affective, the phenomenological, and a sense not so much of the natural, but the supernatural which it represents. In his *Natural Supernaturalism*, M.H. Abrams discusses the 'theodicy of landscape', by which he means, as an example, the evidence of God's awesome wrath in Nature, notably the raising of the mountain ranges following the Noahic cataclysm.[655] Comparing ideas in

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[652] Vance, *Bible and Novel*, p.182.
[653] See Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of The Holy: An Inquiry into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of The Divine and its Relation to The Rational,* trans by John W. Harvey, 5th Impression Revised (London: Oxford University Press, 1928). Often one finds the quote 'tremendum et fascinans' in relation to this work, but the words actually always appear separately.
[654] Vance, *Bible and Novel*, p.164.
[655] M.H. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1971), p.99.

Wordsworth's *The Prelude* and Augustine's *Confessions*, he writes that the idea of a 'conversation' with the landscape is not a Romantic innovation, and that 'Wordsworth's "speaking face of earth and heaven" is a lineal descendant of the ancient Christian concept of the *liber naturae*, whose symbols bespeak the attributes and intentions of its author.'[656] It is perhaps unsurprising that amongst the ancient authors of this concept is Paul:

> For on the Pauline ground that "the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen,"[657] the problem had early arisen, how to justify the goodness of an omnipotent Creator who has brought into being an earth which, in many of its aspects, is not beautiful and beneficent, but wild, waste, ugly, perilous and terrifying? [658]

We get a sense of Haggard's struggling with this question in his Wordsworthian colloquies with Nature, and his imagistic presentations of the Sublime.

Landscape and Geopiety

As we have seen, much early Haggard scholarship focussed on his imperialist stereotyping of the roles of masculinity and femininity. In addition, typically focussing on the gynaecomorphic map of the Portuguese explorer Dom Silvestra depicting the way to King Solomon's diamond mines, scholars have discussed the idea of a gendering of the African landscape. Some such as Rebecca Stott have emphasised the significance of this and provided a feminist historian's reading as a result. In *King Solomon's Mines*, the map of the Portuguese explorer showing the way to Solomon's diamond mines does indeed show the 'Breasts of Sheba' leading onward to three colossi in a triangle perceived as an outline of the *pudendum feminum*, with the opening of the mine as the vaginal introitus. However, this has been re-presented as preparatory for and emblematic of the rape of Africa by the 'Great White Hunter'. Stott speculates:

> If the 'aerial view is the imperialist gaze of desire, its object here is the vision of a gigantic recumbent woman, veiled in sleep and complete with breasts and snow-covered nipples. The fantasy is that of a *passive* body, naked beneath the thin veil

[656] Ibid., p.88.
[657] Romans 1.20: 'For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse.'
[658] Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism*, p.98.

> and half asleep. Africa invites, Africa is veiled but offers tantalising glimpses of herself, She beckons in her sleep, in her passivity.[659]

I would contend that the mine and the descent into the Underworld are typical tropes of the German Romantic literary canon - one of its ‘institutions’ - constituting ‘an emblematic descent into nature where history too is fully encountered’.[660]

This eisegesis of sexualized themes in *King Solomon’s Mines* has also read the description of Sheba’s breasts as evidence of a more titillating adolescent or juvenile sexuality.[661] More provocatively, Africa in this context has been seen as a metaphor for the stereotypical passive, indolent Oriental male being raped by the ‘active’ Western man. Heidi Kaufman finds a rich mélange of imperialism, homophobia and antisemitism - seeing the Western perception of Jews as sexually perverse - in her reading of *King Solomon’s Mines*:

> I suggest that we recognise one absent subjectivity invoked in King Solomon’s Mines and overlooked by most Haggard criticism – that of King Solomon’s male body into which the three English men enter [...]. If we see these men penetrating the body of King Solomon, as opposed to Sheba, then the maternal figure doesn’t disappear, but is transformed into the body of another man. Solomon is not quite feminized as he is emasculated because of his Jewish body and deviant sexuality.[662]

The intersection of Empire and Landscape has also been explored by Herman Wittenberg who, by way of contrast, reads in the descriptions of rugged mountain vistas a visual metaphor for European colonialist masculinity itself.[663] Given the context of my discussion of the Sublime and numinous in Haggard, I would argue for a differently inflected, religio-philosophical reading. Haggard is feminising the landscape as part of his own personal New Romantic *Naturphilosophie* - depicting an organicist view of an embodied, living Nature – with, as already discussed, Isis as the

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[659] Rebecca Stott, ‘The Dark Continent: Africa as female Body in Haggard’s Fiction’, *Feminist Review*, 32 (1989), 69-89 (p.79).
[660] Nicholas, Saul, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to German Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.49.
[661] See William J. Scheick, ‘Adolescent Pornography and Imperialism in Haggard's "King Solomon's Mines"’, *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 1, 34 (1991), 19-30.

[662] Heidi Kaufman, ‘King Solomon’s Mines?” African Jewry, British Imperialism, and H. Rider Haggard’s Diamonds’, *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 33, 2 (2005) 517-39 (p.535).
[663] Hermann Wittenberg, ‘The Sublime, Imperialism and the African Landscape’ (D.Litt. thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2004).

Anima Mundi.[664] As McNiece would have it, ''Whatever its logical, experimental or spiritual limitations, *Naturphilosophie* was seized on by many passionate thinkers desiring a unified view of life, particularly […] those recently deprived of orthodox religious convictions by the new science and modern scepticism.'[665]

However, on a more mundane cartographic level, there is a tradition dating from the Middle Ages of showing the landscape as anthropomorphised, notably in the image of the ruler of a given domain.[666] Following on from this, there is scope to compare Dom Silvestra's map with the anthropomorphised map of the Holy Land produced by General Gordon ('Gordon's Calvary').[667] Gordon, as a Protestant opposed to notions of 'piety of place', was dissatisfied with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem as the site of the Crucifixion. He subsequently looked over the city wall, and found a group of rocks which formed the shape of a skull, and where a tomb was located. He thereafter asserted this as the site of Golgotha: he had a map drawn up of Jerusalem around the time of Jesus which formed the shape of a human skeleton – with the skull at the site of his 'Garden Tomb', and the current Dome of the Rock located where the anus would be, 'as a childishly offensive joke at the expense of the Muslims'. For Gordon, the skeleton shape of the map provided 'a providential topographical proof of the identification' of his positioning of the Garden Tomb.[668] Note the term 'providential': this reflects a tendency of Protestant commentators on the Holy Land to look to the sublime beauty of the landscape which is 'Holy' in itself – an Evangelical turning to a humble geopiety, away from the ritual trappings of Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy.

To return to *King Solomon's Mines* and the map of Dom Silvestra. Given Haggard's classical education and proclivities, it is more than probable that the 'Breasts of Sheba' derive from the twin peaks of *Crophi* and *Mophi*

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[664] On *Naturphilosophie*, see Alexandre Guilherme, 'Schelling's *Naturphilosophie* Project: Towards a Spinozian Conception of Nature', *South African Journal of Philosophy*, 29, 4 (2010), 373-90.
[665] McNiece, *The Knowledge That Endures,* p.35.
[666] See 'Aleph' [William Henry Harvey], *Geographical Fun: Being Humorous Outlines of Various Countries with an Introduction and Descriptive Lines by Aleph* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1868).
[667] See Simon Goldhill, 'Jerusalem', in *Cities of God*, ed. by Gange and Ledger-Lomas, pp.71-110 (pp.97-105).
[668] Ibid., p.98. It is of note that Haggard visited Gordon's Tomb on his own trip to the Holy Land in 1900. He seems to downplay Gordon's belief in his own theory. See H. Rider Haggard, *A Winter Pilgrimage in Palestine, Italy and Cyprus* (London: Longman, Green, and Co., 1902), p.305.

mentioned in Herodotus as the source of the Nile. This is a favourable choice as the Greek has the 'two mountain tops which ran up to a sharp point' (*δύο ὄρεα ἐς ὀξὺ τὰς κορυφὰς ἀπηγμένα*) which is likely to have inspired Haggard with the intimate anatomy of the map.[669] Nevertheless, there are more subtle aspects to the map which speak of colonial and religious mutual endorsement. Firstly, by deploying his classicism, Haggard is already alluding to a Western, Hellenic history for Africa. Secondly, Haggard maps out Africa in terms of Old Testament Christianity by deploying the Sheba signifier, alluding to the Christian heritage and metonymically a territorial claim to Africa.

This 'Sheba signifier', and the biblical tale of Solomon and Sheba is more obvious with *King Solomon's Mines*, and *Queen Sheba's Ring.* However, it also subtly links the former to the Ayesha mythos and *She*. On the opening page of *Wisdom's Daughter*, Ayesha proclaimed herself the 'daughter of Yarab the Arab chief'.[670] This links her to Yarab/Yaʿrub, who according to a pre-Islamic genealogy of the Yemen was the first king to speak 'Arabic' and gave his name both to the language and the 'Arab' peoples.[671] According to the same source, Yaʿrub was one of the early lineage of the Ḥimyarite dynasty of kings of Yemen, who conquered the kingdom of *Saba*. There is a Western tradition of equating the ancient Semitic Saba with the biblical 'Sheba' on the Arabian Peninsula - albeit now controversial.[672] Haggard certainly does this, thereby linking Ayesha to 'the

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[669] See Herodotus, *The Persian Wars, Books 1-2*, trans. by A.D. Godley, Loeb Classical Library, 4 vols (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), I, pp.304-05. Macaulay's nineteenth-century translation reads: 'Let these matters then be as they are and as they were at the first: but as to the sources of the Nile, not one either of the Egyptians or of the Libyans or of the Hellenes, who came to speech with me, professed to know anything, except the scribe of the sacred treasury of Athene at the city of Saïs in Egypt. To me however this man seemed not to be speaking seriously when he said that he had certain knowledge of it; and he said as follows, namely that there were two mountains of which the tops ran up to a sharp point, situated between the city of Syene, which is in the district of Thebes, and Elephantine, and the names of the mountains were, of the one Crophi and of the other Mophi.' (Gk.: *ταῦτα μέν νυν ἔστω ὡς ἔστι τε καὶ ὡς ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο· τοῦ δὲ Νείλου τὰς πηγὰς οὔτε Αἰγυπτίων οὔτε Λιβύων οὔτε Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἀπικομένων ἐς λόγους οὐδεὶς ὑπέσχετο εἰδέναι, εἰ μὴ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν Σάι πόλι ὁ γραμματιστὴς τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης. οὗτος δ' ἔμοιγε παίζειν ἐδόκεε φάμενος εἰδέναι ἀτρεκέως· ἔλεγε δὲ ὧδε, εἶναι δύο ὄρεα ἐς ὀξὺ τὰς κορυφὰς ἀπηγμένα, μεταξὺ Συήνης τε πόλιος κείμενα τῆς Θηβαΐδος καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης, οὐνόματα δὲ εἶναι τοῖσι ὄρεσι τῷ μὲν Κρῶφι τῷ δὲ Μῶφι·*) See G.C. Macaulay, *The History of Herodotus*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan and Co., 1890), I, pp.126-27.

[670] H. Rider Haggard, *Wisdom's Daughter: The Life and Love Story of She-Who-Must-Be-Obeyed* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1923), p.13.

[671] See Elsie W. Crosby, *The History, Poetry and Genealogy of the Yemen: The Akhbār of Abīd b. Sharya Al-Jurhumī*, Gorgias Dissertations, 24, Arabic and Islamic Studies, 1 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press LLC., 2007), p.75 and p.28.

[672] On the controversy of this equation, see Israel Finkelstein and Neil Asher Silberman, *David and Solomon: In Search of the Bible's Sacred Kings and the Roots of the Western Tradition* (New York, NY: Free Press, 2006). The Sabaean kingdom began to flourish only from the eight century BC onwards. As the authors argue: 'The biblical thousand-and-one-nights story of Solomon and Sheba is thus an

Queen of Sheba' by association, and thus forging further links between Africa and Judaeo-Christian tradition. Nevertheless, aside from the Western and biblical attribution, the land and landscape are seen as the outward manifestation of the divine as creator. To look beyond the 'Veil of Isis' to understand a living Nature, *natura naturans*, requires the heightened intuitive faculty of imagination, and it is this organ of the mind which is the subject of the next chapter.

anachronistic seventh-century set piece meant to legitimize the participation of Judah in the lucrative Arabian trade.' (p.171.)

Chapter 12. THE NOETIC ORGAN OF IMAGINATION

On the 25th November 1924, Haggard spoke at the Dephian Coterie, and the subject of the debate that evening was 'The Good and Bad of Imagination'; it was the last speech that Haggard would ever give.[673] He told his audience that imagination was a great gift but a terrible steed to ride. He spoke of it delivering both genius and madness, 'a power which came from they knew not where', and questioned what its purpose might be - whilst acknowledging that no man knew. [674] He suggested that 'those who possessed it were gates, through which the forces of good and evil flowed down in strength upon the world; instruments innocent of their destiny', here implicitly linking imagination to Providence over and above human agency, and the inevitable inability of man to discern divine intention.[675] He argued that it was the insight accompanying imagination, 'the power of deducing the unknown from the known, of dealing with those things outside common experience which was the head and fount of all great scientific discoveries'.[676] He bemoaned the British tendency to be suspicious of imaginative gifts, especially in their politicians. In her biography of her father, Lilias concludes this account of his speech by reporting that according to Haggard, imagination was *vision*, '"And where there is no vision, the people perish."'[677] This is a theology of the imagination, as is confirmed by the scriptural references. Such a faculty is not simply vaguely intuitive or creative, but kataphastic and revelatory, providential and prophetic. In this chapter we examine some of the influences on and Romantic implications of Haggard's speculations on the

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[673] Haggard, *The Cloak That I Left*, p.277. Whilst in this chapter, I am primarily concerned with the imagination in its Romantic guise, it is worthwhile bearing in mind the traditional concepts of *Imaginatio* that are central to Western esotericism, some of which we have already touched on. As Hanegraaff says, once one begins the investigation of the Romantic view of the imagination, 'one will quickly get the feeling of having opened a can of worms. For the "imagination" may have a variety of connotations in esoteric contexts. A probably incomplete selection includes: (1) The power of visualizing images for magical purposes; (2) the faculty by which images and symbols (for instance, in alchemy) may become vehicles of inner transformation or transmutation; (3) the faculty that gives access to a "mesocosmos" or "mundus imaginalis" that is between the world of the senses and the world of pure spirit; (4) the process of "internalizing the cosmos", described for example in the eleventh tract of the *Corpus Hermeticum* and of fundamental importance to the celebrated "Art of Memory".' See Hanegraaff, 'Romanticism and the Esoteric Tradition', p.259.
[674] Haggard, *The Cloak That I Left*, p.277.
[675] Ibid., p.277.
[676] Ibid., p.277.
[677] Ibid., pp.277-78.

imagination, but by way of a proem we begin with perhaps the most famous quote of all from *She*.

'Empire of the Imagination'? On the Death of an Old Trope.

One of the most overused quotes of Rider Haggard – and there are a few – is 'My Empire is of the Imagination' from *She*, perhaps because it straightway fuses the ideas of fiction writing and the imperialist perspective. There is, however, something of a story to this quote. It is of course spoken by Ayesha, who has just condemned a number of her Amahagger slaves to death by torture for trying to kill the party of Englishmen against her express wishes. Holly questions the necessity of this hideous cruelty, and this is the answer she gives:

> How thinkest thou that I rule this people? I have but a regiment of guards to do my bidding, therefore it is not by force. It is by terror. My empire is of the imagination. Once in a lifetime mayhap I do as I have done but now, and slay a score by torture. Believe not that I would be cruel, or take vengeance on anything so low.[678]

This is the only way in which she – a woman alone – can control these 'savage' people: by striking fear and terror into their hearts and souls. Considering its over-use, it is worth noting that it wasn't Haggard's first choice. Although he seldom edited his novels thoroughly, *She* was the one that came out in several versions with additions and changes. The above quote is from the first book edition of 1887. In the original serialised version of *She* which ran in the *Graphic*, Haggard has Ayesha say: 'My Empire is a moral one.'[679] Employing the contemporary meaning of the term, this may not at first make obvious sense – what is particularly 'moral' about torturing a group of tribesmen to death? It pertains to the influence of the Scottish School of moral philosophy, emerging in the eighteenth century and still influential in the nineteenth, where the moral sense is equated with the imagination as the mechanism of empathy.[680]

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[678] Haggard, *She*, p.175.
[679] Haggard, *She*, (2006), p.170.
[680] See George P. Landow, 'Emotionalist Moral Philosophy: Sympathy and the Moral Theory that Overthrew Kings', *The Victorian Web: Literature, history, & culture in the age of Victoria*, <http://www.victorianweb.org/philosophy/phil4.html > [accessed 23 September 2017]. As Landow observes, 'The Scottish school of emotionalist moral philosophers – Adam Smith (better known now for his economics), Dugald Stewart, and Thomas Reid – identified the *moral sense* with the imagination,

Haggard's own personal conceptualisation of the imagination extends way beyond the level of interpersonal communication as one of the most important of human faculties, and it is fundamental to his apologetics on romance fiction. Nowhere does he systematically theorise about it in any nuanced, structural way, but clearly he viewed it as in some way a conveyor of truth - rather than simply as a faculty for producing fantasy fiction. In his autobiography, he remarks that: 'It is curious how often imagination is verified by fact – perhaps [...] because the lines in which it must work are narrow and after all based on fact, perhaps because it does possess some spiritual insight of its own.'[681] In this regard, consider the following two passages:

> What is imagination? Is it not the connecting link between us and our former and future state, the scent of heaven yet clinging to our souls, and recalling memories of our home. Imagination, what would our higher life be without it? It is what the mind is to the body, it is the soul's *thought*.[682]

> Imagination is a power which comes from we know not where. Perhaps it is existent but ungrasped truth, a gap in the curtain of the unseen which sometimes presses so nearly upon us. [...] It is the hidden power of the spirit which connects the visible and the invisible: which hears the still small voice calling from the infinite.[683]

These excerpts expatiate the core elements of Haggard's personal philosophy, or more accurately, theology of the imagination. The former with its 'connecting link between us and our former and future state' and the 'scent of heaven yet clinging to our souls, and recalling memories of home' links the imagination to Platonic metempsychosis and anamnesis. The latter quotation combines two biblical references in one profoundly Romantic voice. Haggard's 'curtain of the unseen' alludes to Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians: 'While we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen *are*

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whose job it is to make us feel the effects upon others of our actions. In other words, the sympathetic imagination, as it was called, provides the psychological mechanism of the Golden Rule: we do not steal from others because our imagination projects us into their vantage point (into their minds) and we thus experience how it would feel to be a victim.' By the 'moral faculty' then, this school fostered the notion of empathy, that morality depended on being able to put one's self 'in the other person's shoes', and Ayesha strikes fear by having the tribesman empathise with the tortured. It could be described as a forerunner of the modern 'Theory of Mind' concept - hence the equation with 'imagination'.

[681] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, II, p.95.

[682] Haggard, *Dawn*, p.354.

[683] Berresford Ellis, *H. Rider Haggard*, p.11.

temporal; but things which are not seen *are* eternal.'[684] His 'still small voice' is from the First Book of Kings where Elijah encounters the Divinity in the wilderness:

> And, behold the LORD passed by, and a great and strong wind rent the mountains and break in pieces the rocks before the LORD; *but* the LORD *was* not in the wind: and after the wind an earthquake; *but* the LORD *was* not in the earthquake:
>
> And after the earthquake a fire; but the LORD was not in the fire: and after the fire a still small voice.[685]

It is only when we expand the allusions into the full biblical verses that we can attempt to apprehend Haggard's meaning. The 'curtain of the unseen' again evokes the idea of hidden Nature - the 'Veil of Isis' in a different guise. This notion of the imagination as a spiritual, noetic organ receptive to concealed truth is fundamental to Haggardian romance. It is this, and this alone, which can become conscious of the topologies of the future of which, in the words of Isaiah Berlin, 'the mere calculating intellect and analytical capacity of the natural scientist or the politician, or any other earthbound empiricist, has no conception.'[686] For Haggard, the 'still small voice calling from the infinite' indicates the source to which his spiritual striving is directed. Often in his writings where he denied, at least at the time, that he had been inspired by particular sources – notably the complex of ideas encompassing Great Zimbabwe, diamonds, Phoenician colonialists and the writing of *King Solomon's Mines* - he deferred the connections to the imagination.

If we are to consider the New Romance as being in contiguity with the Romantic Movement, the theories of the imagination are of paramount importance. An exploration of the theories of the English Romantic poets reveals the differences between them to be quite marked.[687] For our

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[684] II Corinthians 4.18.

[685] I Kings 19.11-12.

[686] Wouter J. Hanegraaff quotes Berlin's essay 'The Counter-Enlightenment' in *New Age Religion and Western Culture: Esotericism in the Mirror of Secular Thought* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996), p.415.

[687] From a literary perspective, the conceptualisation of the imagination was not presented in any discrete or uniform way amongst the English Romantic poets.[687] The differences in approach were often quite marked. If we were to provide a brutally truncated synopsis, we could say that for William Blake, imagination is all-encompassing, and seen as an aspect of divine mind; for Keats, the imagination undergoes a metamorphosis into a species of sexual alchemy which results in a transformation in ecstasy. William Wordsworth holds a more rationalist perspective: in some sense imagination is 'Reason in her most exalted mood,' and thus to an extent imagination must conform to the 'rational'. For Wordsworth, the ability of the child to create worlds persists into the adult; Wordsworth's world has a soul, the *anima mundi* – a Living Nature, which we may relate to Haggard's Isis; this he sees as being lifted up in

purposes, the closest approximation to Haggard's view is that of Coleridge. Coleridge's scientific speculation on the imagination is more structured and theoretical than many of the other English Romantics. He distinguishes between a primary imagination, a secondary imagination, and the 'fancy'. In the *Biographia Literaria*, Coleridge writes:

> The IMAGINATION then, I consider either as primary, or secondary. The primary imagination I hold to be the living Power and prime Agent of all human Perception, and as a repetition in the finite mind of the eternal act of creation in the infinite I am. [688]

The primary imagination as a function which links the human and the divine is evident. The secondary imagination is conceptualised in a more nebulous manner, but is essentially 'an echo of the former co-existing with the conscious will'; it is the same as the former only to a lesser degree: 'It dissolves, diffuses, dissipates, in order to recreate; or where this process is rendered impossible, yet still at all events it struggles to idealize and to unify.'[689] The imagination unifies ideas and by this 'esemplastic' power it moulds them into completely new ones rather than their simple aggregation.[690] It involves the transformation of the sense perception arising from the 'dead', material world. The primary imagination then has a visionary and inspirational quality as distinct from the secondary imagination. The 'fancy' is merely pure fantasy:

> FANCY, on the contrary, has no other counters to play with, but fixities and definites. The Fancy is indeed no other than a mode of Memory emancipated from the order of time and space; while it is blended with, and modified by that empirical phenomenon of the will, which we express by the word CHOICE. But

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communion with man. Shelley's view is that reason is demoted to a mere instrument for reality: for him, nature is used to create beings with a superior degree of reality by the faculty of imagination. See Cecil Maurice Bowra, *The Romantic Imagination* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp.1-24. For a more extended, contemporary history of philosophical discourse on the nature of the imagination, see Alexander M. Schlutz, *Mind's World: Imagination and Subjectivity from Descartes to Romanticism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009).

[688] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Chapter XIII: 'On the Imagination, or Esemplastic Power', in *Biographia Literaria*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907), I, pp.195-202 (p.202).

[689] Ibid., p.202.

[690] Coleridge was accused by J.F. Ferrier of plagiarizing from Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling's term *Ineinsbuildung* indicating the interpenetration of opposites, rather than coining it himself. Carver argues however that it is a Greek version of the Late Latin-derived term 'coadunative', the sense of which he had used prior to either of Schelling's works which feature the term. See P.L. Carver 'The Evolution of the Term "Esemplastic"', *The Modern Language Review*, 3, 24 (1929), 329-31.

> equally with the ordinary memory the Fancy must receive all its materials ready made from the law of association.[691]

Coleridge's primary imagination is a close approximation to Haggard's 'Still small voice calling from the Infinite.'

A Theology of the Imagination

This notion of a visionary aspect to the imagination links Haggard again with Edward Bulwer-Lytton. In his essay *On the Normal Clairvoyance of the Imagination*,[692] Bulwer outlines his view of the imaginative faculty as contrasted with the more florid productions of the occultism of the period, including mesmerism and somnambulic trance. He says of the clairvoyance resulting from the induction of mesmeric trance:

> When we deny, as a thing too preternatural, too transcendent for human attainment, this very limited and very precarious, unimprovable, unprofitable specialty of certain morbid constitutions, does it never strike us that there is something much more marvelous [sic.] in that normal clairvoyance which imagination bestows upon healthful brains?[693]

This normal faculty he says is a commonplace in poets and novelists, even third and fourth rate ones who can 'see through other organs than their eyes'. Clairvoyance is 'the badge of all their tribe. They can describe scenes they have never witnessed more faithfully than the native who has lived amid those scenes from his cradle.'[694] However, the faculty is not confined to the world of wordsmiths and artists. Scientists also have this faculty: 'To imagine the things they have never seen, and to imagine them accurately, constitutes the poetry of philosophers, as it constitutes the philosophy of poets.'[695] He then illustrates this 'poetry of philosophers' with the example of Kant who described Westminster Bridge to a listener in such minute detail that he was asked how many years he had lived in London, although he had never been.[696] From this description, it does appear that Bulwer-Lytton genuinely viewed imagination as a species of normalised clairvoyance rather than in an 'as if' sense.

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[691] Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, I, p.202.
[692] Edward Bulwer-Lytton, 'On the Normal Clairvoyance of the Imagination', in *Caxtoniana: A Series of Essays on Life, Literature, and Manners* (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1863).
[693] Ibid., p.35.
[694] Ibid., p.38.
[695] Ibid., p.39.
[696] Ibid., pp.39-40.

Bulwer-Lytton, Blavatsky and Haggard: A Triangle of Art

The importance of the imaginative faculty as something more than creative fantasy was common to the thought of Bulwer-Lytton, Haggard, and Helena Blavatsky, and in this section, we consider their mutual influence and imbricated ideas. That the literary influences on these historical actors owes more than a little to the academic circles of comparative religion and anthropology is evinced by their sources as well as who the works were inscribed to. Rider Haggard dedicated *She* to Andrew Lang. Bulwer-Lytton dedicated *The Coming Race* to Friedrich Max Müller, whose name appeared in at least eighty different locations in the index of Blavatsky's *Isis Unveiled.* [697]

Like Haggard, Blavatsky was influenced by Bulwer-Lytton. She quotes Bulwer's fiction a total of eighteen times during the course of volume I of *Isis Unveiled* - which is notable as being the volume entitled 'Science'. On each occasion, the passages are incorporated into the text as though she were citing revealed occult lore rather than Romantic fiction. Though she said in a diary entry as early as 1851[698] that she had had contact with a Mahatma, in reality her reliance on Bulwer was so great that it drove S. B. Liljegren to remark that 'the only "master" we can make out before the publication of *Isis Unveiled* is actually Bulwer-Lytton, and, as a matter of fact, she needed none other.'[699] Though Haggard never mentions her by name, it is clear that he was exposed to and used Theosophical ideas; in the earlier part of his career he simply equated these with Buddhism, but by the time of *Love Eternal* (1918), as we shall see, he was distinguishing the two.

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[697] See Isaac Lubelsky, 'Friedrich Max Müller vs. Madame Blavatsky: A Chronicle of a (Very) Strange Relationship' in Julie Chajes and Boaz Huss, eds, *Theosophical Appropriations: Esotericism, Kabbalah and the Transformation of Traditions* (Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, 2016), 73-91 (p.80). (Footnote). In spite of Blavatsky's reliance on and general praise of Professor Müller, this was famously not reciprocated; he was exuberantly patronising when he called her a 'clever, wild, and excitable girl' and criticised Theosophy in the strongest terms. He wrote his own volume deliberately entitled 'Theosophy', and in the preface, gave his reasons for doing so: 'I ought, perhaps, to explain why, to the title of *Psychological Religion,* originally chosen for this my final course of Gifford Lectures, I have added that of *Theosophy*. It seemed to me this venerable name, so well known among early Christian thinkers, as expressing the highest knowledge of God within the reach of the human mind, has of late been so greatly misappropriated that it was high time to restore it to its proper function. It should be known once for all that one may call oneself a theosophist, without being suspected of believing in spirit-rappings, table-turnings, or any other occult sciences and black arts.' See F. Max Müller, *Theosophy or Psychological Religion* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1893), p. xvi.

[698] S.B. Liljegren, *Bulwer-Lytton's Novels and Isis Unveiled*, Essays and Studies on English Language and Literature,18 (Upsala: A.-B. Lundequistka Bokhandeln, 1957), p.55.

[699] Ibid., p.55.

Much as she had done with Bulwer-Lytton, Blavatsky derived from Haggard's writing evidence of occult teaching, basing her assertion on what she saw as Haggard's purported clairvoyant ability. We can examine these two quotes from the perspective of the clairvoyant imagination. The first is from the journal *Lucifer*:

> Mysticism, Magic, Sorcery, Spiritualism, Theosophy, Mesmerism, or, as it is now called, Hypnotism, all the various branches in short of the Occult side of nature, are becoming predominant in every kind of literature […]. The key-note for mystic and theosophic literature was Marian Crawford's *Mr. Isaacs*. It was followed by his *Zoroaster*. Then followed *The Romance of Two Worlds*, by Marie Corelli; R. Louis Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde; The Fallen Idol* by Anstey*; King Solomon's Mines* and the thrice famous *She*, by Rider Haggard.[700]

And the second from *The Secret Doctrine*:

> Has the rising novelist, Mr. Rider Haggard, also had a prophetic or rather a retrospective clairvoyant dream before he wrote "SHE"? [Ayesha] seems to attempt a synopsis of certain letters of a MASTER quoted in "Esoteric Buddhism." For, she says, "Time after time have nations, ay, and rich and strong nations, learned in the arts, been, and passed away, and been forgotten, so that no memory of them remains. This (the nation of Kor) is but one of several; for time eats up the work of man unless, indeed, he digs in caves like the people of Kor, and *then mayhap the sea swallows them, or the earthquake shakes them in*. […] Here the clever novelist seems to repeat the history of all the now degraded and down-fallen races of humanity.[701]

In the *Lucifer* passage, Blavatsky is clearly indicating that the authors that she has grouped together form part of a movement for promulgating the rise of occult science. She lists them in order of publication, indicating that Marian Crawford's *Mr Isaacs* was the 'keynote for mystic and theosophic literature' followed by the others. Blavatsky clearly views the 'thrice-famous' *She* as a work of Theosophical literature. In the second quote, she makes Haggard party to the same Trans-Himalayan Wisdom Tradition as propounded by the Tibetan Masters which A.P. Sinnett wrote about in *Esoteric Buddhism*.

It was at the very beginning of Haggard's authorial career with his first novel *Dawn* (1884) that the influence of Bulwer-Lytton's esotericism would become apparent. Although he was not a 'Rosicrucian' - any more

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[700] H.P. Blavatsky, 'The Signs of the Times', *Lucifer* (London: Theosophical Publishing Company, 1887), 1, 2, p.83.
[701] Blavatsky, *The Secret Doctrine*, II, p.317.

than Zanoni himself is a Rosicrucian or *Zanoni* itself a ‘Rosicrucian’ novel - the influence of Bulwer-Lytton on Haggard and Blavatsky is complicated by the fact that his fictional work referenced his own serious studies of the literature, and of what would now be termed Western esotericism or Hermetic Philosophy.[702] He was a notable Germanist and classical scholar in his own right, and his work contains many references to important figures in the above-mentioned history. For example, Bulwer mentions the Neoplatonic philosopher Iamblichus four times in *Zanoni;* he uses one particular quote twice, though he gives a different translation on the second occasion which also includes magnetism (he gives a reference the second time):

> There is a principle of the soul, superior to all nature, through which we are capable of surpassing the order and systems of the world. When the soul is elevated to natures better than itself, THEN it is entirely separated from subordinate natures, exchanges this for another life, and, deserting the order of things with which it was connected, links and mingles itself with another.[703]

The second translation reads as follows:

> There is a principle of the soul superior to all external nature, and through this principle we are capable of surpassing the order and systems of the world, and participating in the immortal life and the energy of the Sublime Celestials. When the soul is elevated to natures above itself, it deserts the order to which it is awhile compelled, and by a religious magnetism is attracted to another and a loftier, with which it blends and mingles.[704]

Aside from Iamblichus, Bulwer mentions Chaldean ideas, Pythagoras, Proclus, Gnosticism, Cagliostro, Agrippa, Martinez de Pasqually, and

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[702] See Gilbert’s important paper on the alleged connections between Bulwer and the Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia: R.A. Gilbert, ‘‘The Supposed Rosicrucian Society’: Bulwer-Lytton and the S.R.I.A’ in *Ésotérisme, Gnoses & Imaginaire Symbolique: Mélanges offerts á Antoine Faivre*, Gnostica, 3, ed. by Richard Cardon and others (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), pp.389-402.

[703] Bulwer-Lytton, *Zanoni*, II, p.31. The quote is from Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis.* The second time he uses the quote he gives the reference as ‘From Iamblichus, "On the Mysteries," c. vii, sect. 7.’ A contemporaneous English translation is Thomas Taylor’s first published in 1820. Bulwer presumably said ‘circa’ as he had only half-remembered the citation which is chapter vii of Section 8. See Thomas Taylor, *Iamblichus on The Mysteries of the Egyptians, Chaldeans and Assyrians*, 2nd edn (London: Bertram Dobell, 1895), pp.309-10. The two translations are both quite different to the Taylor version – even allowing for the inclusion of ‘magnetism’ - and are likely to be Bulwer-Lytton’s own. (Gk.: *ἔστι καὶ ἑτέρα τῆς ψχῆς ἀρχὴ κρείττων πάσης φύσεως καὶ γνώσεως, καθ’ ἣν καὶ θεοῖς ἑνοῦσθαι δυνάμεθα καὶ τῆς κοσμικῆς τάξεως ὑπερέχειν, ἀιδίου τε ζωῆς καὶ τῶν ὑπερουπανίων θεῶν τῆς ἐνεργείας μετέχειν. Κατὰ δὴ ταύτην οἷοί τέ ἐσμεν καὶ ἑαυτοὺς λύειν.*) For a modern translation, see *Iamblichus*, *On the Mysteries*, trans by Emma C. Clarke, John M. Dillon and Jackson P. Hershbell (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), p.323.

[704] Bulwer-Lytton, *Zanoni*, II, p.51.

Louis Claude de Saint Martin.[705] This is important because, whilst it may seem curious at first sight that Blavatsky cited the fiction of Bulwer-Lytton as esoteric lore, given the nature of the Romantic imagination in combination with his esoteric studies, she could be seen as justified in doing so. This then can be understood as the 'truth' of the 'Metaphysical novel' as Bulwer would have it. It also means that Haggard was party to this esoteric literature indirectly via Bulwer-Lytton, aside from the evidence of his own reading.

The Occult lore of Zanoni, Dawn *and* She: *Natural Supernaturalism*

The influence of Bulwer-Lytton's fiction on Haggard's own is extensive. Aside from the content, they have a somewhat byzantine prose-style in common: *Zanoni* is not to everyone's taste, and at times Bulwer-Lytton has a narrative voice which sounds like it has been gargling with lavender. Nonetheless, its themes are important. We have already examined those that Haggard derived from *Zanoni* and *Kosem Kesamim* in the creation of *She.* Here we consider specifically how their noetic organ of imagination describes occult knowledge itself.

The central motif of note which links Haggard's novel *Dawn* (1884) with *Zanoni* is the relationship between magician and disciple. The ancient magician Mejnour once took on Zanoni as his disciple and now takes on Glyndon. Glyndon must renounce his love for Viola (who is also the beloved of Zanoni) in order that he may devote himself to occult studies. In the same way, in *Dawn,* the occultist Lady Bellamy tells Angela:

> For years I have been a student of a lore almost forgotten in this country – a lore which once fully acquired will put the powers that lie hid in Nature at the command of its possessor, that will even enable him to look beyond Nature, and perhaps, so far as the duration of existence is concerned, for a while to triumph over it.[706]

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[705] For a penetrating analysis of the esoteric content of *Zanoni,* see Robert Lee Wolff, *Strange Stories: Explorations in Victorian Fiction – the Occult and the Neurotic* (Boston: Gambit Incorporated, 1971), pp.203-32. The 'Introduction' to *Zanoni* describes how the romance is structured as a progression through the list of Platonic *furores* - as described in the *Phaedrus* - reaching its apotheosis with Love (Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *Zanoni*, I, pp. x-xi.) The order of the 'manias' in *Zanoni* is musical, 'telestic or mystic', prophetic, and finally erotic. Wolff notes that this is a different order from the passage in the *Phaedrus* - prophetic, telestic, poetic (as governed by the Muses and equivalent to music) and love - and he argues that Bulwer-Lytton's source was most likely a recent translation of the scholiast Hermias' commentary on the *Phaedrus* by Thomas Taylor which gives the order followed in *Zanoni.* See Wolff, *Strange Stories*, pp.160-02.

[706] Haggard, *Dawn*, p.351.

Angela must sacrifice her physical love and pledge 'Allegiance whole, not strained to suit desire' to her path. As with Glyndon in Zanoni who must pass the veiled guardian of the Abyss, the terrible Dweller of the Threshold, so Angela is one who might 'unveil the Medusa-headed truth'.[707] Lady Bellamy suggests that Angela may – for a certain period – overcome death: '"You will do well if you choose the knowledge; for, before you die – if, indeed, you do not in the end, for a certain period, overcome even death – you will be more of an angel than a woman."'[708] Again, the preternatural extension of earthly existence provided by this occult knowledge, and which is present in *Zanoni* and would appear again in *She*. Zanoni eventually relinquishes his demi-immortal state and dies for love of Viola (he goes to the guillotine in her place). Angela on the other hand decides not to give up her lover to begin with, and – much as Horace Holly would later reject Ayesha's offer of physical immortality – she says:

> "No, Lady Bellamy, no, I have chosen. You offer, after years of devotion, to make me *almost like an angel.* The temptation is very great, and it fascinates me. But I hope, if I can succeed in living a good life, to become altogether an angel when I die." [709]

The influence of Bulwer-Lytton on both Blavatsky and Haggard are quite striking. By way of a confirmation of the parallelism of their thought, consider the following three excerpts, where Blavatsky, Haggard and Bulwer-Lytton respectively all express identical occultist views on magic as representative of as yet unknown hidden laws of Nature:

> We believe in no Magic which transcends the scope and capacity of the human mind, nor in "miracle," whether divine or diabolical, if such imply a transgression of the laws of nature instituted from eternity. Nevertheless, we accept [...] that the human heart has not yet fully uttered itself, and that we have never attained or even understood the extent of its powers.[710]

> Fear not Holly, I shall use no magic. Have I not told thee that there is no such thing as magic, though there is such a thing as understanding and applying the forces which are in Nature? [711]

> All that we profess to do is this; to find out the secrets of the human frame, to know why the parts ossify and the blood stagnates, and to apply anatomical

[707] Ibid., p.324.
[708] Ibid., p.352.
[709] Ibid., p.352.
[710] Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled* , I, p. v.
[711] Haggard, *She*, p.194.

> preventations to the effects of the time. This is not magic: it is the art of medicine rightly understood.[712]

However, there is an older source for this perspective and it is to be found in Thomas Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* (1836) - the 'Taylor Re-tailored'- in which Carlyle both expounds upon and satirises German idealism. The idea of the magical or miraculous is elucidated in terms of the 'occult' laws of Nature which have remained concealed. In Chapter VIII entitled 'Natural Supernaturalism', Professor Diogenes Teufelsdröckh[713] expounds 'The Philosophy of Clothes':[714]

> 'Deep has been, and is, the significance of Miracles,' thus quietly begins the Professor; 'far deeper perhaps than we imagine. Meanwhile, the question of questions were: What specifically is a Miracle?'[715]

For Teufelsdröckh, miracles are 'far deeper perhaps than we can imagine', implying the Romantic view that as a faculty of apprehension of the Infinite, ultimately the imagination can only ever have a limited view. Furthermore, Teufelsdröckh teases that to his 'unscientific' horse, the paying of two pence to open a turnpike (toll road/ gate) is a 'miracle'. He thus sees the supernatural latent in the natural and quotidian. He continues

> '"But is not a real Miracle simply a violation of the Laws of Nature?" ask several. Whom I answer by this new question: Where are the Laws of Nature?'[716]

The Professor then explains the limitations of the scientists' awareness of Nature and, deploying a Kantian perspective, the limitations of the laws that *they* create. He asks:

> 'Have any deepest scientific individuals yet dived down to the foundations of the Universe, and gauged everything there? Did the Maker take them into His counsel; that they read His ground plan of the incomprehensible ALL; and can say, This stands marked therein, and no more than this? Alas, not in anywise!'[717]

He concludes that the Book of Nature 'is a Volume written in celestial hieroglyphs, in the true Sacred-writing; of which even the Prophets are happy that they can read here a line and there a line'.[718] Carlyle's Natural

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[712] Bulwer-Lytton, *Zanoni*, I, p.216.
[713] i.e. In Greek/German, literally 'God-born Devil-dung.'
[714] Satirising the world of appearances in German Idealism.
[715] Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus: The Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdröckh in Three Books* (London: Chapman and Hall Ltd., 1897), p.203.
[716] Ibid., p.203.
[717] Ibid., p.204.
[718] Ibid., pp.205-06.

Supernaturalism defies being categorised as a Romantic or Occult world view. Haggard employs both the Romantic and the occult: he folds the Romantic quest of his characters back into the 'disenchanted' world view. The miraculous results from 'occult' laws of Nature, but they are put in place by Divinity. The imagination may provide clues but not definitive answers. Carlyle suggests that such laws will remain hidden from scientists: 'Did the Maker take them into His counsel?'

The more occult aspect of *Sartor Resartus* was thus one progenitor for what in the last quarter of the nineteenth century coalesced into Helena Petrovna Blavatsky's 'Occult Science' or more broadly 'Theosophy', in which Isis was unveiled and these hidden laws revealed. It is to the third and final Part of the thesis, and Rider Haggard's relationship with this Theosophical current and adjacent emergent academic disciplines that we now turn.

III. ISIS UNVEILED: Theosophy: From *Theosophia Antiqua* to Religious Pluralism

Overview

The final Part of the thesis concerns Haggard's relation to theosophy in general and Theosophy in particular. By convention Theosophy with a capital 'T' refers to the canon of the Theosophical Society founded by Henry Steel Olcott and the famous Helena Petrovna Blavatsky in 1875.[719] The term theosophy referring to 'divine wisdom', the transcendental wisdom beyond human *philosophia* has an ancient lineage. It appears notably for our purposes in the epistles of St Paul though not as one word, and in various combinations of *theos* and *sophia*.[720] Its appearance as the single word *θεοσοφία* ('theosophia') is generally accredited to the Neoplatonic philosopher Porphyry.[721] The contiguity of ideas from this *theosophia antiqua* also informs the Christian theosophies of the mystic Jakob Boehme[722] in the context of German pietism, and Emanuel Swedenborg, whose influence has already been explored.

The following chapters will examine Haggards reception of Theosophy and the reception of Haggardian Romance within Theosophical circles. I shall broaden the compass of Theosophy to consider its interface with anthropology and ethnology. In this regard we consider some of the important antecedents to Theosophical esoteric ethnology and its racial constructs.

We have been concerned in this account with the historicity of Bible narratives. In this context, they are vitally important to an understanding of the origins of Victorian racial anthropology. Central to this development is

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[719] See Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment* (Albany, NY: SUNY, 1994), p. xii.

[720] The two references mentioning the 'wisdom of God' specifically are: (i) I Corinthians 2.7: 'But we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery (*θεοῦ σοφίαν ἐν μυστηρίῳ*), *even* the hidden *wisdom*, which God ordained before the world unto our glory.' (ii) I Corinthians 1.23-4: 'But we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumblingblock, and unto the Greeks foolishness; But unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God (*χριστὸν θεοῦ δύναμιν καὶ θεοῦ σοφίαν*).'

[721] See Jean-Louis Siémons, *Theosophia: in Neo-Platonic and Christian Literature (2nd to 6th Century A.D.)* (London: Theosophical History Centre, 1988), p.5.

[722] Boehme's work had a profound influence on German Idealism, notably Hegel. For an overview of Boehme's Christian theosophy see Robin Waterfield, ed., *Jacob Boehme*, Western Esoteric Masters Series (Berkley, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2001).

the history of the so-called Hamitic Hypothesis.[723] This was formulated from the original biblical anthropology, with humanity being descended from the sons of Noah after the Deluge. The three sons Ham, Shem and Japheth giving rise to the Hamitic, S(h)emitic and Japhetic races, which then diffused through Africa, Asia and Europe respectively. The vagaries of the Hamitic Hypothesis and the historical development of the notion of 'race' are traced by Michael F. Robinson in *The Lost White Tribe* (2016).[724] It has its origin with the Bible story of the curse of Ham, who along with his descendants were cursed because he saw his father naked.[725] This became the curse of Ham and his *black* descendants; subsequently this was modified to emphasise the curse of Canaan (Ham's son), thus allowing for the persistence of the notion of Haggard's Ancient Egyptians as white and culturally advanced, long after it had ceased to be used to justify the Atlantic slave trade.[726] It is apparent how, divorced from its scriptural roots, the language of Noahic anthropology would fall into confusion and eventual disuse, such that all that remains today is 'Semitic' referring to language, with 'anti-Semitic' indicating a prejudice toward Jewish peoples. Japhetic and Hamitic have disappeared from common parlance. This discussion is relevant to our study as the theory of the diffusion of the Phoenician Hamites is directly connected as we shall see with Haggard's anthropology, with his creation of the Lost World genre, and his 'lost white races' in Africa.

Central to these final chapters is the emergence of comparative religion, and religious studies as an academic discipline separating from theology. Especially important in this regard, as comparativism took Christianity as its template, is a consideration of the Victorians' reconstructed Buddhism. In addition, I shall further consider how the notions of divine wisdom and secret doctrine are related to the importance of the imagination as a faculty of the seer, and thus the truth of the 'metaphysical' novel.

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[723] For an historical overview, see Edith R. Sanders, 'The Hamitic Hypothesis; Its Origin and Functions in Time Perspective', *The Journal of African History*, 4, 10 (1969), 521-32.

[724] Michael F. Robinson, *The Lost White Tribe: Explorers, Scientists and the Theory that Changed a Continent* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

[725] Genesis 9.22.

[726] Further elaborations of the idea of racial difference included Friedrich Blumenbach's craniometric, aesthetic 'Caucasian' and William Jones' 'Hamites.' Jones thought of course that the people of 'Phenice' were Hamites, but in Max Müller's development of a philological Aryanism, the Europeans would become *Japhetic* and the Phoenician language *Semitic*. See Michael F. Robinson, *The Lost White Tribe,* passim.

Chapter 13. GRAVEN IMAGES: VICTORIAN CONSTRUCTIONS OF BUDDHISM

> There's a one-eyed yellow idol to the north of Kathmandu,
> There's a little marble cross below the town,
> There's a broken-hearted woman tends the grave of Mad Carew,
> And the yellow god forever gazes down.[727]

These couplets from the famous monologue *The Green Eye of the Yellow God* by J. Milton Hayes written in 1911 are fleeting and curious after-images of a music-hall Victoriana refusing to fade into the past. There are two useful resonances here with Haggard's work. Firstly, like Egypt, Nepal was never a part of the British Empire, but Hayes appears to have surmised that it was, which is exemplary of how blurred the boundaries of Empire were in the public imagination. Secondly, it approximates a cross and an idol, Christianity and Buddhism, which is the aspect of Haggard's thought considered in this chapter. More specifically, I argue for an understanding of the various discursive constructions of Buddhism, and how this was carried out along 'party lines' i.e. according to whether the commentator adopted a liberal or orthodox perspective. I shall use three excerpts, the first two from Haggard's romance *Ayesha*, and the third from his autobiography to illustrate his engagement with this construction process. I shall use these sequentially as points of access to a more extended exposition of the implications of this engagement in terms of religious comparativism and the attempted accommodation of Buddhist to Christian doctrines.

When Haggard brought Ayesha back in the sequel to *She*, *Ayesha: The Return of She*, it is significant that her 'rebirth' should take place in the mountain fastnesses of Tibet. As an aside, there are a number of reasons for Haggard's choice of Tibet as his mystical *temenos.* Firstly, Tibet still had its cachet as a forbidden place where few Europeans had yet to travel. Secondly, Haggard's Anglo-Catholic sensibility likely attracted him to

[727] J. Milton Hayes, *The Green Eye of The Yellow God* (London: Reynolds & Co., 1911).

Tibetan Buddhist praxis, and lastly, Haggard was in the business of selling books. Perceval Landon's *Lhasa* [728] was published in the same year as *Ayesha* (1905), and in the years immediately prior to this there had been the notoriously futile British Younghusband Expedition to Tibet, which meant that the plateau was prominent in the public imagination.[729]

Ayesha finds Leo Vincey and Holly again in search of 'She-Who-Must-Be-Obeyed' in Central Asia. He describes how they spent time in a Lamasery and studied the *Kandjur*, i.e. he provides a specific named Tibetan Buddhist 'scripture'.[730] The two adventurers are in residence as Englishmen studying Buddhism. Haggard also makes an express comparison between Tibetan Buddhism and the Christian faith:

> So, we walked in the Path [...] and assisted in the ruined temple and studied the *Kandjur*, or "Translation of the Words" of Buddha, which is their bible and a very long one, and generally showed that "our minds were open." Also we expounded to them the doctrines of our own faith, and greatly delighted were they to find so many points of similarity between it and theirs.[731]

At the outset Haggard refers to the Buddhist 'Noble Eightfold Path.' It is significant that he mentions a specific Buddhist text. The issue of text was foregrounded in the emergent discipline of comparative religion, both because of the emphasis on biblical historicism which had gone before and Friedrich Max Müller's philological approach to religion (see below). The process of the construction of Buddhism based on its text Phillip C.

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[728] Perceval Landon, *Lhasa: An Account of the Country and People of Central Tibet and of the Progress of the Mission sent there by the English Government in the Year 1903-4*, 2vols (London: Hurst and Blackett, Ltd., 1905).

[729] The British Expedition into Tibet between December 1903 and September 1904 was led by Sir Francis Edward Younghusband (1863-1942). Haggard usually wrote his books a year in advance: *Ayesha* was published in 1905, probably to coincide with the interest in Tibet generated by the above-mentioned expedition. On the Younghusband Expedition, see Patrick French, *Younghusband: The Last Great Imperial Adventurer* (London: Penguin Group, 2011), pp.183-252. For a view of travel in Tibet in the late nineteenth century, see Mary A. Procida, 'A Tale Begun in Other Days: British Travellers in Tibet in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Social History*, 30, 1 (1996), 185-208.

[730] This constitutes a vast canon of Buddhist literature. More commonly the 'Kangyur' or 'Kanjur', meaning as Haggard points out the 'Translation of the Word' of the Buddha, is the 'Word of the Buddha' (*Buddhavacana*) of the Tibetan 'canon' (the use of the term canon itself implies the Christian comparativist history). It is accompanied by the later *Tengyur* or *Tanjur* ('Translation of the Treatises') a series of commentaries, amongst other literature. However, the following reference is the only one I was able to locate with Haggard's particular spelling of 'Kandjur': William Woodville Rockhill, 'Tibetan Buddhist Birth-Stories: Extracts and Translations from the Kandjur', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 38, (1897), 1-14.

[731] Haggard, *Ayesha,* p.41.

Almond describes as *textual reification*,[732] as a result of which, 'European scholars asserted the precedence of their textualised Buddhism over the indigenous practices of actual Buddhists in Asia.' [733] Haggard further emphasises the importance of text to the orientalist scholar and comparativist by saying that a library in the Lamasery contained a strange collection of volumes among which 'were to be found Buddhistic, Sivaistic and Shamanistic writings that we had never before seen or heard of, together with the lives of a multitude of Bodhisatvas, or distinguished saints, written in various tongues'.[734]

A home-grown religious ethos thus dictated that 'European scholars, predisposed by the ingrained Protestant belief that true religion is word and book-based, constructed through translation and analysis of the Buddhist canon an idealized textual Buddhism.'[735] Originally this Buddhism could have said to be in an Oriental 'out there', but by the appropriation, collection and translation of its past, its primary location became as an object in the West. In essence, Western Buddhologists progressively established the Buddhism of Northern Asia as a textual object. It became 'progressively less a living religion of the present found in China, Mongolia, etc. and more a religion of the past bound by its own textuality'.[736]

This textualization and historicisation of Buddhism by Western academicians resulted in a series of discourses. These included a discourse of 'prior is essential': the older Pāli texts were considered original and definitive. An important corollary to this is the formation by the prominent orientalist T.W. Rhys Davids of the Pāli Text Society in 1881 and the publication of its Journal. It says the following in its 'Prospectus':

> The Society has been started in order to render accessible to students the rich stores of the earliest Buddhist literature now lying unedited and practically

[732] Phillip C. Almond, *The British Discovery of Buddhism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.25.

[733] Franklin, *The Lotus and the Lion*, p.5.
[734] Haggard, *Ayesha*, p.42.
[735] Franklin, *The Lotus and the Lion*, p.5.
[736] Almond, *The British Discovery of Buddhism*, p.25.

> unused in the various MSS scattered throughout the University and other Public Libraries of Europe.[737]

Associated with the idea of 'prior is essential', such Pāli texts were considered pure and the Sanskrit corrupt. Strikingly, the Prospectus continues: 'They have preserved for us a record, quite uncontaminated by filtration through any European mind, of the every-day beliefs and customs of a people nearly related to ourselves.'[738] Having denied any previous contamination, the author (presumably Rhys Davids as Editor) continues with an explicit comparison with Christianity:

> They are our best authorities for the early history of that interesting system of religion so nearly allied to some of the latest speculations among ourselves […]. The sacred books of the early Buddhists have preserved to us the sole record of the only religious movement in the world's history which bears any close resemblance to early Christianity.[739]

By implication, in terms of praxis, the *Theravāda* schools were the essential, pure form of Buddhism whilst the *Mahāyāna* Buddhists were considered decadent. As with Egypt, there was the schematization of a *religio duplex* – in this instance one religion for the sophisticated, elite logicians (atheistic and philosophical), and one for the masses (overtly theistic and religious). This amounts to an esoteric/exoteric formulation, though it may come as a surprise given modern commonplace esoteric assumptions that - to Western Buddhologists using this formulation - Tibet with its demonologies and tantra was considered exoteric.

What is more significant for my argument however is that Haggard has chosen a specific *Tibetan* Buddhist text, and compares Tibetan with Christian doctrine and finds similarity. Haggard applies an opposing narrative in choosing to see Tibetan *Mahāyāna* as the school of choice. As Almond has argued:

> Victorian interpretations of Buddhism, whether of its founder, its doctrines, its ethics, its social politics, or its truth and value, in constructing Buddhism, reveal the world in which such constructing took place. [...] Discourse about Buddhism

[737] T.W. Rhys Davids, ed., *Journal of the Pali Text Society* (London: Oxford University Press, 1882), p. vii.
[738] Ibid., p. vii.
[739] Ibid., p. viii.

> provides [...] a mirror in which [is] reflected an image not only of the Orient, but of the Victorian world also.[740]

The Victorians created a 'Buddhism' which was very much in their own image. In Haggard's case he likely saw the trappings of High Church Anglicanism. Certainly, there had already been direct comparisons of Tibetan Buddhism to Catholicism: as the American Unitarian James Freeman Clarke wrote: 'In Thibet the Grand Lamas wear a miter, dalmatica, and cope, and pronounce a benediction on the laity by extending the right hand over their heads. The Dalai-Lama resembles the Pope, and is regarded as the head of the Church. The worship of relics is very ancient among the Buddhists, and so are pilgrimages to sacred places.'[741] It is significant in this regard that one of the earliest works on Tibetan Buddhism, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism* by L. Austine Waddell (1895) has as its frontispiece a ritualistically crowned lama bearing the caption 'The Eucharist of Buddhism.'[742]

Doctrinal Approximations and Hybridity

The points of approximation and similarity then varied according to whether the assimilator was focussing on the perceived philosophical, and secularising Southern Buddhism or the sacerdotal and sacramental praxis of North Asia. It also depended on where the commentator was positioned on the Broad Church-High Church spectrum. In the process of accommodating a Dharmic religion to an Abrahamic faith, there were certain concepts which could be assimilated to their own religious structures and others which simply had to be side-lined.

With regard to these religious structures, the third excerpt, from Haggard's autobiography, serves as an introduction to an exposition on some further important aspects of, and pitfalls in, the comparison of Buddhism and Christianity. Haggard makes the following observations:

> All, or very nearly all, of the beautiful rules and maxims of the Buddha are to be found in the teaching of our Lord, but there is this difference between the faiths

[740] Almond, *The British Discovery of Buddhism*, p.6.
[741] James Freeman Clarke, 'Affinities of Buddhism and Christianity', *The North American Review*, 318, 136 (1883), 467-77 (p.467).
[742] L. Austine Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism: With its Mystic Cults, Symbolism and Mythology and in its Relation to Indian Buddhism* (London: W.H. Allen & Co., Ltd., 1895).

> they preached. Whereas that of Buddha, as I understand it, is a religion of Death, holding up cessation of mundane lives and ultimate extinction as the great reward of virtue, Christianity is a religion of Life, of continued individual being, full, glorious, sinless and eternal, to be won by those who choose to accept the revelation of its Founder. Who then can hesitate between the two? Who wishes to be absorbed into the awful peace of Nothingness?[743]

As described previously, Victorian Egyptology had its own agendas notably in the search for evidence of biblical narratives in Egypt. As discussed, there was a Christianising tendency, comparing Osiris to Christ. In a similar fashion, and as Haggard does above, the life and teachings of Siddhartha Gautama were compared with those of Jesus Christ, though not always favourably. On occasion there were fears expressed amongst Christian clerics that Buddhism might subsume Christianity, especially in terms of the rapidly increasing number of converts in the last quarter of the century, and the fact that Buddhist teaching antedated that of Christ by five hundred years. This bolstered the paranoia with regard to China as an imperial threat and the morbid fantasies of alterity and the 'Yellow Peril'. As late as 1912, Haggard himself pointedly expressed his fear of the West being invaded and overrun by the East: 'A destruction [...] with a vision (for those who can see) of the East once more flowing in all over the West and possessing it and lo! The toil of Ages gone.'[744]

In the third excerpt above, Haggard holds to an annihilationist view of *nirvāṇa*, and he was not alone. Some took a very negative view of Buddhist doctrine as a whole. Jules Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire encapsulates the negative outlook on perceived Buddhist pessimism. In his *Le Bouddha et sa religion* (1860), appearing in English in 1895, he wrote: 'Taking but a one-sided view of man's condition upon earth, looking chiefly at his miseries and sufferings, the Buddha does not try to revert to his origin, and to derive it from a higher source.'[745] He goes on to say

> His beliefs carry him no further than to suppose that the present life is a continuation of past existences, of which man is now bearing the fatal penalty. He believes in transmigration: herein lies his first dogma and first error.[746]

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[743] Haggard, *The Days of My* Life, II, pp.237-38.
[744] Haggard to Theodore Roosevelt, Ditchingham 14/7/1912, Norfolk, Norwich Records Office, MC 33/1.
[745] Jules Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, *The Buddha and his Religion*, trans. by Laura Ensor (London: George Routledge and Sons, Limited, 1895), p.12.
[746] Ibid., pp.12-13.

How might man achieve eternal salvation according to the Buddha? 'Only in one way – by attaining Nirvāna, that is annihilation.' For Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, this is 'a hideous system; but it is a perfectly consistent one. In the whole of Buddhism, from beginning to end, there is not a trace of the idea of God.'[747] The annihilationist view of *nirvāṇa* was often held in complete disconnect from the Buddhist doctrine of *anātta* i.e. the absence of anything to annihilate.

Such perspectives led Robert Bluck to observe that the 'understanding of Buddhist *teaching* was often confused and inaccurate, concentrating on the supposed pessimism of suffering: rebirth seemed alien to many Victorians, and the notion of *anātta* (not-self) seemed incomprehensible'.[748] For example, in describing the doctrine of 'transmigration',[749] it is of note that Rhys Davids could write that, given the absence of a soul in Buddhism, it had to find a means of connecting one life to the next, and so 'it resorts to the desperate expedient of a mystery – one of the four acknowledged mysteries in Buddhism (which are also the four points in which it is most certainly wrong) – the doctrine namely of *karma*'.[750] Thus, although Haggard had seen many similarities between the teachings of Buddha and Christ, a number of key teachings of Buddhism were considered unassimilable by many. These were seen as antithetical to Victorian religious dogma and therefore 'utterly heretical, blasphemous, horrifying, and so could not be expressed within Victorian discourse except as denial or trauma'.[751]

[747] Ibid., p13.
[748] Robert Bluck, *British Buddhism: Teachings, practice and development* (Oxford: Routledge, 2006), p.5.
[749] Davids uses this as synonymous with reincarnation.
[750] T.W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism: being A Sketch of the Life and teachings of Gautama, The Buddha,* revised edn (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1910), pp.100-1. Rhys Davids provides a footnote for the 'four mysteries': 'These are - 1. The effects of *karma.* 2. The supernatural powers attained by *iddhi.* 3. The size age and first cause of the *kosmos* (*loka*). 4. The omniscience, &c., of *the Buddha.*' (p.101). Rhys Davids' use of the Pāli term *iddhi* is curious as the *iddhi* (more commonly the Sanskrit *siddhi* in contemporary Buddhism and yogic practice) itself is usually referred to as a supernatural power attained by concentration and meditation. Strictly speaking, in lieu of a reborn soul, Buddhism holds to the principle of *paṭiccasamuppāda* i.e. 'dependent origination'. In this process it is the *karma* which persists as the constellated necessity of a rebirth.

[751] Franklin, *The Lotus and the Lion*, p.23.

We may summarise these elements as follows:

(i) Atheism; the absence of a creator deity

(ii) The abandonment of a reward in heaven for continuous reincarnation without continuous identity

(iii) The perceived 'annihilation' of *nirvāṇa*

(iv) The Buddhist "no-self" doctrine.

For the commentators articulating these ideas, Man is cast into a world that he doesn't understand and in the absence of Providence is isolated and must rely upon his own resources. The Rector T. Sterling Berry provided a similarly negative view of the Four Noble Truths: 'In drearier words even than the Book of Ecclesiastes contains, the life of man is described.' [752] Curiously, it may be recalled that Ecclesiastes was one of Haggard's favourite biblical sources.

Much misunderstanding also surrounded the Buddhist version of reincarnation. Sterling Berry compared it with the Brahmanic, and Greek - namely Pythagorean - metempsychosis, which were 'intelligible' because they dealt with the rebirth of a soul and the possibility of the remembrance of previous existence: 'The doctrine of Metempsychosis, as taught by the Brāhmans or by Pythagoras, is perfectly intelligible. It is a shrewd theory to account for the inequalities of human life and destiny.'[753] He asserts that the complexities and inconsistencies of the theory resulted in many of Gautama's followers drifting back to the metempsychosis of the Brahmans.[754] He makes a commonplace assertion comparing *karma* to the Law of Heredity, but also the Law of Retribution: '"Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap."'[755]

As will become apparent however, more liberal doctrinal manoeuvres were possible to allow a degree of accommodation, albeit by a modification or substitution of the original Buddhistic ideas. The confusion generated by this collision of ideas could only be compounded by evolutionary theory: 'Darwinian evolutionary theory, comparative religion, and the first major

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[752] T. Sterling Berry, *Christianity and Buddhism: A Comparison and a Contrast* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1890), p.74.
[753] Ibid., pp.74-75.
[754] Ibid., p.78.
[755] Ibid., p.78.

object of its study, Buddhism, entered British public consciousness at roughly the same time, contributing separately and conjointly to the ongoing crisis of faith within the Church of England especially.'[756] Thus there was an intermeshing of the ideas of comparative religion with the public understanding of Buddhism and evolutionary theory. A fertile ground, one might observe at this juncture, for the emergence of Theosophy. It is of particular note that

> the British construction of Buddhism emphasized the parallels between scientific law, especially as described by evolutionary theory, and the Dharma, often translated as "Law," or between natural causality and the causal necessity of karma, or between the evolution of species and the progressive evolution that many Westerners assumed occurred between lives in the cycle of reincarnation.[757]

Buddhism was effectively collapsed into Darwinism and both were reinterpreted in the process. This notion of progressive spiritual evolution is not a feature of Buddhism: the endless cycle of return is forced by the necessary causality of karmic 'debt' and mistakes made in past lives. It is *not* in order to become a better or more 'spiritually' evolved person. However, this notion antedates Darwinian evolutionism: it has its origins, as Hanegraaff avers, in eighteenth century notions of social progressivism and the associated idea of a cyclical ascendant metempsychosis where the soul undergoes development and acquisition of grace after death.[758] Thus the association of spiritual evolutionism had arisen considerably earlier in the German Romantic conceptualisation of *Seelenwanderung*, notably as presented and discussed in the dialogues or 'conversations' (*Gespräche*) of the German Romantic scholars Johann Georg Schlosser and Johann

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[756] Franklin, *The Lotus and the Lion*, p.26.

[757] Ibid., p.27.

[758] Wouter J. Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, p.473. As Hanegraaff writes, 'The association between evolution and reincarnation becomes understandable if we investigate the *western* roots of what is (imprecisely, as I argued) called "reincarnation" in occultist and New Age contexts. We then discover that these roots are the *same* as those of modern evolutionism: theosophical "reincarnationism" *and* evolutionism both have their origins in the "temporalization of the Great Chain of Being" during the 18th century.' (p.472): The 'Great Chain of Being' was the hierarchy of the Cosmos prominent in the religiosity of the Middle Ages based on Platonic thought. The concept of the temporalization of the Chain of Being, where the rigid hierarchy is drawn out of eternity into time and thus undergoes a deliquescence engendering movement between its levels is derived from Lovejoy. See Arthur O. Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936), pp.242-87.

Gottfried Herder, and their mutual responsa.[759] As Julie Chajes remarks: 'Hanegraaff notes that the similarity between ascendant metempsychosis and reincarnation meant it was unsurprising the two had frequently been confused.'[760] With increasing exposure to Indian religions, the Western notion of metempsychosis (Platonic/Early Christian), emphasising the transformation of the soul and human perfectibility became amalgamated with Asian reincarnation in the nineteenth century, even though the latter by contrast emphasised human failings and the eternal cycle of the return of the soul, in Hindu doctrine, to its physical entrapment in matter.

Admittedly, as we discuss further in Chapter 16, there are a number of terms with precise meanings which are used as though they were synonyms of reincarnation. However, I would argue that there has also been a process of appropriation which involved a *deliberate* modification and accommodation of reincarnationism to Christian doctrine via the spiritual evolutionism of metempsychosis. With these syncretic problems in mind, Franklin notes that: 'The descriptions of doctrines such as karma and reincarnation then enlist terms from familiar Victorian discourses – self-help, for example – to make those doctrines seem a reasonable and not unpalatable alternative to the moral economy of sin/redemption or hell/heaven.'[761] The Victorian comparativists effectively adopted a modified Hindu reincarnation which is soul-driven, reflecting their own and earlier ideas of social progressivism.

Haggard approximates to this Hindu position. He cannot understand how a single lifetime could lead to a Final Judgement for all eternity. He refuses credence to such a notion; he suggests intriguingly that the Final Judgement might follow a succession of many lives, stating in his autobiography that 'the faith I follow declares it.'[762] In a sense he is correct, in that the Early Christian fathers, notably Origen and Justin Martyr did hold to a belief in Pre-Existence which was associated with metempsychosis (see below). Indeed, Haggard goes on to say that over a great period of many existences, 'selected according to the elective fitness of the *ego*, matters and

[759] See Lieselotte E. Kurth-Voigt, *Continued Existence, Reincarnation, and The Power of Sympathy in Classical Weimar*, Studies in German Literature, Linguistics and Culture (Rochester NY: Camden House, 1999), pp.111-46. Kurth-Voigt translates *Seelenwanderung* as 'Transmigration' which I shall use with a different meaning in Chapter 16.
[760] Chajes, 'Reincarnation in H.P. Blavatsky's *The Secret Doctrine*', p.71.
[761] Franklin, *The Lotus and the Lion*, p.43.
[762] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, II, p.243.

opportunities would equalise themselves, and that *ego* would follow the path it selected to its inevitable end'.[763] Thus, although he approximates to the Hindu position - achieving *Mokṣa* (salvation) after many lifetimes - he is saying that reincarnation is a part of Christian doctrine.

Of particular note, and explored later in relation to Haggard's novels, is the conflation and equation by the Victorians of the moral economies of karma/reincarnation and sin/redemption. Rhys Davids averred that 'Buddhism is convinced that if a man reaps sorrow, disappointment, pain, he himself, and no other, must at some time have sown folly, error, sin.'[764] In the reality of canonical Buddhism there is no concept of sin, no God to sin against, and no redemption to seek. As Walpola Rahula explains:

> According to the Buddha's teaching, doubt (*vicikiccha*) is one of the five Hindrances (*nivarana*) to the clear understanding of Truth and to spiritual progress (or for that matter to any progress). Doubt, however, is not a 'sin', because there are no articles of faith in Buddhism. In fact there is no 'sin' in Buddhism, as sin is understood in some religions. The root of all evil is ignorance (*avijja*) and false views (*micchd ditthi*).[765]

Karma more accurately equates with 'necessity'. Nevertheless, the Victorians performed this assimilation, and it is one reason why at the heart of the late Victorian hybrid religions - and Haggard's religio-philosophical *pronunciamenti* in particular - there are deep seated inconsistencies. In the previous quote, Rhys Davids gave a hint as to how this assimilation was done, when he mentioned the comparison of Buddhism with early Christianity. The key here is *early* Christianity. As Peter Hinchliff has remarked of Robert Gray, Bishop of Cape Town, and could equally be said of Haggard, he may 'have had a rather romantic idea of the Church of the first four centuries with its synods and councils. The Tractarians had appealed from the established Church of England of the nineteenth century to the Church of the early Fathers'.[766] With this in mind, and before we can further explicate the mechanisms of the 'Counter-invasion' of Buddhism, we need to engage in a brief excursus to consider the main patristic theories of the origin of the soul.

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[763] Ibid., p.243.
[764] Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p.103.
[765] Walpola Rahula, *What The Buddha Taught*, 2nd edn (New York, NY: Grove Press, 1974), p.3.
[766] Peter Hinchliff, *The Anglican Church in South Africa: An account of the history and development of the Church of the Province of South Africa* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1963), p.49.

Patristic Theories of Soul Origin

There are three main theories of the origin of the soul: The Doctrine of Pre-Existence, The Doctrine of Creationism, and The Doctrine of Traduction ('Traducianism').[767] In Alexandrian patristic theology, the *Doctrine of Pre-Existence* holds that all human souls were created at the beginning of creation as angelic spirits. They all sinned except for one which remained pure and was in Jesus Christ, and subsisted, prior to his human birth, in union with the Second Person of the Godhead. As a result, mankind 'in consequence of their apostasy were transferred to material bodies. This existence is thus only a disciplinary process, on the completion of which the soul, having passed if necessarily through many bodily lives, will be restored to its original condition.'[768] The supporters of this doctrine were found as early as the 2nd century, among them being Origen and Justin Martyr, and it is associated with metempsychosis and anamnesis representing a Platonizing influence. It was condemned by the Council of Constantinople in 540 AD.[769] It is for this reason that Haggard could assert that reincarnation did not go against his faith. Ayesha's soul is, as we have seen in Pre-Existence in the 'Halls of Isis' at the beginning of *Wisdom's Daughter.*

Creationism was a prevalent theory amongst the Eastern fathers including Jerome and Hilary. According to this theory, each individual soul is created by God *ex nihilo* at the time of birth – or whenever else existence is considered to begin. The physical part of the individual is derived by creation and propagation in continuity with the creation of the first man. This also means that 'the spiritual part is a new divine act and must therefore be pure, and so evil must have its seat in the body only, that is in matter.'[770]

Traducianism was generally accepted in the West, and in the East by Gregory of Nyssa.[771] Tertullian in particular gave forceful support. This theory states that: 'The first man bore within him the germ of all mankind;

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[767] J.F. Bethune-Baker, *An Introduction to the Early History of Christian Doctrine to the time of the Council of Chalcedon* (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1942), pp.302-05.
[768] Ibid., p.302.
[769] Ibid., p.303.
[770] Ibid., p.303.
[771] Lat.: *tradux*; vine branch; shoot for propagation.

his soul was the fountain-head of all souls.'[772] The body is derived from the body of the parents, and the soul is derived from the soul of the parents. In this way the *vitium originis*, the vice of origin as the taint of Adam, is transmitted to all Humankind as a tendency to evil. Hence in Tertullian's famous maxim, *tradux animae, tradux peccati*: the propagation of the soul means the propagation of sin.[773]

It is this Traducian aspect of Christian soul-theory which is particularly useful in considering the re-presentation of the concept of *karma* as being in some way akin to the *hereditary* transfer of sin. It is significant in this regard that Archibald Scott in his *Buddhism and Christianity: A Parallel and Contrast* (1890) should argue specifically for the analogous nature of the law of heredity and *karma*, whilst emphasising the differences in terms of Christian superiority.[774]

We have already seen that in Buddhism there is no notion of sin or deity to transgress against. Nonetheless, in the Victorian period, karmic debt was equated with sin, and reincarnation thus was understood as serving a soteriological function. The contrast between Buddhism and Christian soteriology is further in evidence in their approaches to the role of 'desire' in this context. In the moral economy of Christianity, desire is *good.* If desire is present, it can be repressed; this repression is good because it causes suffering to the individual. This is of value as the individual is undergoing penance for their sins and indeed for Original sin in a post-lapsarian world. In Buddhism, desire is *bad.* Extinguish desire and suffering in this world of appearances is ended.[775] The Victorian scholars of comparative religion effectively bypassed this antinomy.

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[772] Bethune-Baker, *An Introduction to the Early History of Christian Doctrine to the time of the Council of Chalcedon*, p.303.
[773] Ibid., p.303.
[774] See Lecture IV, 'The Dharma of Buddha: The Gospel of Christ', in Archibald Scott, *Buddhism and Christianity: A Parallel and Contrast* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1890), pp.192-252. Scott is talking about sinful rather than genetic inheritance.
[775] Monier Monier-Williams was aware of this contrasting view of desire, and made a similar observation. See Monier Monier-Williams, *Buddhism, in its Connexion with Brāhmanism and Hindūism, and in its Contrast with Christianity* (London: John Murray, 1889), p.145.

Divide et Impera? Comparison and Dialogue

> Let us take the old saying, *Divide et impera*, and translate it somewhat freely by "Classify and conquer."

With this famous line, Friedrich Max Müller very neatly summarised the personal ethos of his comparativism.[776] As Chidester has pointed out, this was more than merely a rhetorical flourish, and for the man who was outspoken in the support of his adopted country, it is imperialist by design, signalling 'the promotion of a science of religion that generated global knowledge and power'.[777] This was after all the man who in 1882 had translated 'God Save the Queen' into Sanskrit.[778]

By contrast, what Haggard emphasises in all the excerpts considered above is religious dialogue. There can be little doubt that the originary motivation of comparative religion as a subject was to allow the colonial overlords and administrators to communicate better with the colonized peoples, and to aid the missionising process: as Almond puts it 'to gather knowledge in order to control'.[779] Nevertheless, there were to be important and perhaps unforeseen cultural sequelae to this project:

> In constructing Buddhism in their own image, the Victorians were at the same time making their self-image subject to reconstruction by other races, cultures, and religions. The very nature of colonial contact opened Britain to [...] a "counter-invasion" of the West by the East, and the resulting engagement with Oriental culture profoundly changed British culture. [780]

Rather than the colonizers completely dominating another group of people, the meeting of people resulted in an interface, a front of dialogic exchange and 'the relationship between colonizer and colonized within which the boundary difference separating two nations, races, cultures, or religions becomes the connection of identity joining the two.'[781] This in turn

[776] Friedrich Max Müller, *Introduction to the Science of Religion*, Collected Works of F. Max Müller (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1899), p.68.
[777] David Chidester, '"Classify and conquer": Friedrich Max Müller, indigenous religious traditions, and imperial comparative religion', in *Beyond Primitivism: Indigenous Religious Traditions and Modernity*, ed. by Jacob K. Olupona (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), pp.71-88, (p.75).
[778] Ibid., p.74.
[779] Almond, *The British Discovery of Buddhism*, p.6.
[780] Franklin, *The Lotus and the Lion*, p.7.
[781] Ibid., p.8. Franklin further notes: 'The original nineteenth-century meaning of "hybrid" was a genetic cross-breeding, as in "Kipling's use of the term 'mule' to describe English-university-trained Indians," and with the unavoidable reference to miscegenation.' (pp.8-9). Here Franklin cites Shompa Lahiri, *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian Encounters, Race and Identity, 1880-1930* (London: Frank Cass, 2000), p.99.

potentiated a 'hybridity' of religious structures. The concept of hybridity is originally derived from the social sciences via the anthropology of religion and through the theme of 'syncretism'. It lacks any meaning without an *a priori* assumption of difference i.e. pure religious forms with sacred origins and fixed boundaries:

> Different sacred origins come into conflict, and into the dialogue that invites hybridization, when two religions come into contact. Contact leads to a "translation" between the two religions – how is Buddha like Jesus? how is nirvana like heaven? for instance – and this "desacralizes the transparent assumptions of cultural supremacy." [782]

As has already been shown, Haggard's romances provide considerable evidence of a religious dialogic process. Franklin notes the example of the interaction of Victorian Anglicanism with Sinhalese Theravāda Buddhism:

> Founders of Theosophy H.P. Blavatsky and H.S. Olcott became among the first Westerners to publicly take layman's Buddhist vows while on a visit to Ceylon in 1880. They already had mixed elements of Buddhism into their new "hybrid religion," a subcategory of syncretism historically and culturally unique to late-Victorian Britain.[783]

The theory of the cultural counter-invasion assumes a dialogue of hybridity and focuses on the effect of the colonized upon the colonizer. The British 'discovery' of Buddhism connotes at the same time the beginning of the discovery by Buddhists of Britain. Clearly, as was seen with the appeal to Egyptian religious structures, there wasn't a single uniform 'Christian' response to Buddhism. In the literature of the period which compared and contrasted Buddhism with Christianity, there could be heard the voices of 'Methodists that treat the doctrines of *karma* and reincarnation as potentially valid, essays by Catholics that condemn Buddhist materialism, articles by lay Anglicans that praise the Buddhist ethical system, and pieces by university-based Anglicans who denounce Buddhism as atheistic nihilism.'[784] It is more than likely that these responses, if we consider the doctrinal conflicts during the period, notably with reference to *Essays and Reviews*, 'had less to do with denomination than with position on the scale of latitudinarian to evangelical, pluralistic to fundamentalist, or, in twenty-

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[782] Franklin, *The Lotus and the Lion*, p.9. Franklin cites Homi K. Bhaba, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), p.228.
[783] Franklin, *The Lotus and the Lion*, p.9.
[784] Ibid., p.16.

first century terms, liberal to conservative'.[785] This suggests that the more religiously pluralistic the commentator, the more sympathetic to Buddhism. For example, Archibald Scott focussed on Buddhism as an ethical system to make an overt comparison between Buddhism and what is apparent as the ethos of *Essays and Reviews*:

> Buddhism was the first system in which morality was substituted for religion. […] Anticipating, therefore, theories of life broached now-a-days as if they were new discoveries, its endeavour to dissociate the human from the supernatural, and to substitute the ethical for the religious, deserves very earnest study.[786]

However, it is clear from my analysis that there is a division in how 'Buddhism' is construed by the English Church which is determined both by the constructions of Theravāda and Mahāyāna schools, *and* the conservative orthodox/liberal reform spectrum. Thus, from a Broad Church liberal perspective, Theravāda Buddhism is perceived and lauded as more akin to a system of ethics, divorced from supernaturalism and more readily aligned with scientific discourse, whereas Mahāyāna Buddhism could be seen as retaining the taints of supernaturalism. At the Anglo-Catholic end of the spectrum, Theravāda is seen as divorced from the miraculous and consigned to dry ethics and an impersonal mechanistic cosmos, whereas Mahāyāna contains all the possibilities for an experience of supernatural religion. We have seen that the ritualistic and sacerdotal Mahāyāna and notably Tibetan Buddhism held the creative attention of Rider Haggard.

Buddha and Christ

As we have also seen, for Haggard, 'All, or very nearly all, of the beautiful rules and maxims of the Buddha are to be found in the teaching of our Lord.' However, it was the apparent similarities between the person of Christ and that of Buddha which afforded the best opportunities for Western comparison. The three vaunted similarities were, firstly, Buddhism as resembling Protestantism as a reform movement; secondly, the life and personality of Siddhartha Gautama, and thirdly, the system of humanitarian ethics. Some argued that the Buddha had broken away from the

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[785] Ibid., p.16.
[786] Archibald Scott, *Buddhism and Christianity: A Parallel and a Contrast* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1890), p.222.

Brahmanical hierocracy in the same way that Christ had broken away from the Hebrew Elders, or Martin Luther launching Protestantism - or indeed Anglicanism emerging from Catholicism. We might also add, in the same way that they would view Akhenaten as breaking away from the priesthood of Amun Ra. The comparison with the life of Christ was decried by some: Monier Monier-Williams, professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, was one such commentator. In his *Buddhism, in its Connexion with Brāhmanism and Hindūism, and in its Contrast with Christianity* (1889), the contents for Lecture XVIII, the direction of Monier-Williams' argument is already evident: 'Historic life of the Christ contrasted with legendary biography of the Buddha. Christ God-sent. The Buddha self-sent.'[787] Monier-Williams asserts that, compared to the 'great historic personality' that is Christ, the Buddha's biography is mixed up with 'such monstrous legends, absurd figments and extravagant fables' that sifting through these to find anything worthy of the 'dignified brevity of the biography of Christ, would be an idle task'.[788] This emphasis on the historicity of Gospel stories of Christ's life compared to Buddha is important in terms of the critical ethos stemming from *Essays and Reviews.* The Rev. R. Spence Hardy is clear about his ambition that by means of his enquiry 'the supremacy of Christianity will be the more firmly established, and a clearer insight will be gained into the dogmas said to have been taught by Sákya Muni.'[789] His particular historical critique lies with the apparent fanciful nature of Buddhist cosmology – notably putting the florid quality of the stories from the Pentateuch to one side. According to Spence Hardy, in the Buddhist Scriptures known as the *Tripiṭaka*:

> As to science, it may be enough to say, that they gravely speak of a mountain in the centre of the earth, Maha Meru, more than a million miles high; of a sea, eight hundred thousand miles deep; and of fishes more than ten thousand miles in length.[790]

In any case, it was by means of the reiterative discursive trope of priestly decadence and heroic reformer that Buddhism managed in some camps to become part of a Victorian anti-Catholic discourse:

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[787] Monier Monier-Williams, *Buddhism, in its Connexion with Brāhmanism and Hindūism, and in its Contrast with Christianity* (London: John Murray, 1889), p. xxviii.
[788] Ibid., p.553.
[789] Robert Spence Hardy, *Christianity and Buddhism Compared* (Colombo: Wesleyan Mission Press, 1874), p.1.
[790] Ibid., p.13.

> As Pali texts came to be seen as the most authentic, Theravāda Buddhism was assumed to be the original and purest form with the Mahāyāna often viewed as superstitious idolatry or a 'priestly corruption of the original simplicity.'[...] Buddhist monasticism was widely misunderstood, and superficial resemblances to Catholicism were used to denigrate both traditions.[791]

Inevitably, whilst these perceived similarities to Christianity were appealing to some, these self-same qualities also heightened its potential threat as a rival to Christianity. The direction of influence – as with monotheism between the Israelites and the Egyptians - was questioned. Earlier, in the 1830s, apparent similarities between Christianity and Buddhism had seen the emergence of the idea that the Buddhists taking the religion into Tibet had been influenced by settlements of Nestorian Christians in Tartary.[792] However, the historical antiquity of Buddhism relative to Christianity meant that the reverse interpretation was possible, implying that Christ may himself have been a chela of the wise men from the East. By the 1880s, this idea came to prominence in the writing of Arthur Lillie and Ernest de Bunsen.[793] Major-General Dawsonne M. Strong provided a more positive appraisal, similarly seeing analogies between Buddhism and Christianity. His work, as compared to some of the other academics and theologians cited, is the *fin-de-siècle* equivalent of a contemporary popular 'occulture' book, and he is prepared to see a florid collection of 'symphonic' - if loose - connections, finding the Palestinian Essenes as 'spurious Buddhists'; vague connections between Gnostics and Buddhists in Alexandria, and a Trinity in Buddhism.[794]

Haggard's Logos Theology: Friedrich Max Müller and Religionswissenschaft

We have previously touched on the evolutionary and fulfilment aspects of Haggard's religious schema, beginning with 'primitive' people: 'I look upon religion (from that of the lowest savage up to that of the most advanced Christian) as a ladder stretching from earth to heaven.'[795] His

[791] Bluck, *British Buddhism*, p.6.
[792] Almond, *The British Discovery of Buddhism*, p. 126.
[793] Ibid., p.127.
[794] Dawsonne M. Strong, *The Metaphysic of Christianity and Buddhism: A Symphony* (London: Watts & Co., 1899). See in particular the comparison of Jesus and 'Gotama' in Chapter 1, pp.1-32.
[795] Haggard, *The Cloak That I Left*, p.276.

comparativism thus sees Christianity as the ultimate goal, with Christ as the cynosure, although his logos theology sees elements of good in all: rudimentary in modern ‘savages’; pre-figured in Egyptian ‘original monotheism’, and partially developed in Buddhism. Haggard provides us a point of access to briefly discuss one of the chief architects of this approach to comparativism in the nineteenth century – Friedrich Max Müller, who is by default an important figure in the Imperial Occult, and whose work we shall return to.

Friedrich Max Müller (1823-1900), comparative philologist and anthropologist coined the term *Religionswissenschaft* – the ‘Science of Religion’ – to describe his emergent project of a discipline of Comparative Religion. As the founding editor of the famous *Sacred Books of the East* series of volumes, he is considered by many as the father of the discipline, though many of his theories have long since been rendered obsolete. His use of the term ‘science’ is problematic (it often is - but more so in Müller’s case): one has to take into account his German Romantic heritage, his later education, and his predisposition toward the perspectives of what we have previously identified as logos theology, and which we shall briefly explore.

Max Müller was open to the idea, appealing as he was to early Christian Fathers such as St Augustine, that truth could be found in all religions. The concept that he employed to explain how the different religions could point to this common underlying truth was that of the *Λόγος*. Translated (simply) [796] from the Greek as ‘word’ or ‘reason’, the concept of *Logos* had an important place ‘in Christian theology – most notably in the preface to St John’s Gospel [‘In the beginning was the Word’], which Müller appears to have regarded as encapsulating the Christian revelation.’[797]

Whilst studying in Paris as a younger man under the orientalist scholar Eugène Burnouf, ‘Müller was exposed to the belief that the Neoplatonic concept of the *Logos* lay at the heart of Christianity and that Christianity as a consequence owed more to Greek philosophy than Judaism.’[798] Burnouf had traced a philosophical lineage back to a theoretical group of people the

[796] In New Testament Koine it actually has a long list of quite disparate meanings.
[797] Gwilym Beckerlegge, ‘Professor Friedrich Max Müller and the Missionary Cause’, in *Religion in Victorian Britain*, 5 vols (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988-1997), V: *Culture and Empire* (1997), p.205.
[798] Ibid., p.206.

'Aryans' or 'Indo-Europeans', famously subsequently adopted by Max Müller as a central element of his proto-linguistics. In terms of comparative religion, he built on these ideas and 'came to embrace a view of religious history that identified a thread running from the early portions of the Vedic texts of ancient India through Hellenistic Christian philosophy to Immanuel Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781).'[799] For Müller, this confirmed his view of divine Providence at work in the religious history of the world as a whole and not just confined to Judaeo-Christian Revelation. There were a number of interesting sequelae to this idea, notably the notion - in which he echoed his compatriot Schelling - that, in effect, Christianity had existed in ancient religion long before it was called thus, and long before Christ. In his own words: 'Every religion, even the most imperfect and degraded, has something that ought to be sacred to us, for there is in all religions a secret yearning after the true, though unknown God.'[800] Here again there is the reference to the Pauline 'Unknown God' as deployed by Haggard in the context of logos theology: the heathen is worshipping the Christian God even though he is unaware of the fact. As an application of his logos theology, Haggard would have seen certain virtues in Buddhism even though as we have seen on occasion he saw it as nihilistic. Naturally, however, the 'Unknown God' aspect does not apply in this instance. To conclude, whilst Buddhist ideas were articulated in the public domain in general and in the occult milieu in particular, it is to Egypt that we return for a consideration of where they eventually settled.

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[799] Ibid., p.206.
[800] Ibid., p.207.

Chapter 14. EGYPTIAN HERMES IN ENGLAND

As we saw in Part I, Haggard wrote a number of Egyptian romances which were replete with Egyptological references and esoteric speculation. His last Egyptian romance published in the year of his death was *Queen of the Dawn.* In this chapter we explore how this romance illustrates his ongoing engagement with the occult milieu whilst simultaneously exposing his religious sensibilities and fealty with the hierarchy, supernaturalism, ritual, and sacerdotalism of Anglo-Catholicism.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century was characterised by the emergence of a number of societies and paramasonic orders with an occultist affiliation. The latter were characterised by an initiatic system of grades drawn from continental High-Grade Chivalric Freemasonry.[801] These groups often announced their philosophical and magical interests with the 'Hermetic' appellation, and in title and ritualistic content were markedly Egyptosophical, but with a praxis featuring Buddhist tantra and visualization techniques. Thus, amongst many examples there were The Hermetic Society, founded in 1885, The Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn founded in 1888, and The Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor, apparently founded in 1870, but not becoming public until 1884. The ritual base of the Golden Dawn is markedly Egyptianised, the rituals themselves being written by S.L. MacGregor Mathers.[802] Marco Pasi has emphasised the foundation of such societies as an 'occidentalist' reaction to Blavatsky's apparently orientalist Theosophical Society.[803] However, in

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[801] See Chapter 7: 'High-Grade Freemasonry and Illuminism in the Eighteenth Century', in Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke, *The Western Esoteric Traditions: A Historical Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp.131-53.

[802] For an overview of the rituals and history of The Brotherhood of Luxor, see Joscelyn Godwin et al., *The Hermetic Brotherhood of Luxor: Initiatic and Historical Documents of an Order of Practical Occultism* (York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1995). For an overview of the rituals and practices of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, see Israel Regardie, *The Golden Dawn* (Woodbury, MN: Llewellyn Publications, 1993). For a history of the Order, see Ellic Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn.*

[803] Marco Pasi, 'La Notion de Magie dans le Courant Occultiste en Angleterre (1875-1947)', *École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuses, Annuaire*, 112 (2003-04), 439-41. Pasi writes that he situates these groups 'in the context of a "hermetic reaction", that is to say "occidentalist", which opposes the "orientalist" vision of the esoteric tradition developed during the same period by the Theosophical Society'. ('Ces groupes se situent dans le contexte d'une "réaction hermétique", c'est-à-dire "occidentaliste", qui s'oppose à la vision "orientaliste" de la tradition ésotérique développée à la même époque par la Société Théosophique.') (p.40.)

this chapter I shall argue that there are other more pressing influences arising from the divisions in the Anglican Communion, and for which there is evidence in Haggard's literature.

The mid-century Broad Church attack on supernaturalism had resulted in an intensification in the impetus towards a revival in Anglo-Catholic ritualism and, as Anthony Fuller has convincingly argued, there was a notable link between Anglo-Catholic Clergy and membership of the Golden Dawn.[804] Haggard provides evidence of at least a favourable attitude toward Anglo-Catholicism though, as ever, the evidence is ambiguous. He wrote to his wife on 19 October 1924 that 'Lilias and Mrs Pope went to some strange service (of the Anglo-Catholic variety) at Hedenham where a "fiery cross" was received by motor and taken on somewhere else by the Clergyman (of some other) Parish clad in the most gorgeous vestments which were held up by acolytes.'[805] In addition, following a trip to Milan Cathedral he would expressly compare the priests to ceremonial magicians, performing ritual as though they were 'the officers of some gorgeous, magical incantation', concluding: 'Great is the Church of Rome, who knows so well how to touch our nature on its mystic side and through it reach the heart.'[806]

The idea of a secret order of enlightened mystics, guiding the spiritual development of the human race, was pioneered in the late eighteenth century by Karl von Eckartshausen (1752-1803) in his book *The Cloud Upon the Sanctuary*, translated by Madame Isabelle de Steiger and published in six parts in the journal *The Unknown World* (1895).[807] It is therefore not surprising, in view of his pronounced occult interests, that in *Queen of the Dawn*, Haggard should present his readers with an order reflecting those of the time, although the Golden Dawn itself had largely fragmented by 1925.[808] Not surprisingly, he called it 'The Order of the

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804 Anthony Charles Fuller, 'Anglo-Catholic Clergy and the Golden Dawn'.
805 Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MC 32/39/82.
806 Haggard, *A Winter Pilgrimage*, p.11.
807 See Karl von Eckartshausen *The Cloud upon the Sanctuary*, trans. by Isabelle de Steiger (Berwick, ME: Ibis Press, 2003).

808 As aforementioned, Haggard would have known of the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn as he moved in its occult circle. By the time of the publication of *Queen of the Dawn* in 1925, the Order had fragmented into a number of secondary Orders, a process which began in the early 1900s. These included the 'Stella Matutina' of Dr R.W. Felkin; the 'Alpha et Omega' led by John William Brodie-Innes and Macgregor Mathers, and the 'Isis-Urania' Temple led by A.E. Waite amongst others; various epigones

Dawn.' Haggard first mentions it early in *Queen of the Dawn*. It is effectively a multiracial, confraterno-sorority; it paraphrases the orders of its time, and is quasi-Theosophical in its ethos (see below). It is 'a secret brotherhood called the Order of the Dawn, which has its home by the pyramids that stand near to Memphis'.[809] The Order admits all races: the 'giant' Ethiopian bodyguard Ru is admitted as a neophyte:

> Hearken, Ru the Ethiopian. You are a gallant man and a true-hearted. [...] Therefore I number you among our Brotherhood into whose company hitherto no black man has ever entered. Afterwards you shall be instructed in its simpler rites and take the lesser oaths. Yet know, O Ru that if you betray the smallest secrets or work harm to any of the servants of the Dawn, you will die, thus," and leaning forward he whispered fiercely in the negro's ear.[810]

The young princess Nefra, one day to be the queen of the title, is instructed by the members of the Order in schools, alongside the other girls and boys who, the reader is told were 'born of the wedded brothers and sisters' of the Order.[811] Nefra's tutor, Tau, however, teaches her many 'secret things':

> He taught her the Babylonian tongue and writing, or knowledge of the stars and planets, or the mysteries of religion, showing her that all the gods of all the priests were but symbols of the attributes of an unseen Power, a Spirit that ruled everything and was everywhere, even in her own heart. He taught her that the flesh was but the earthly covering of the soul and that between flesh and soul there reigned eternal war. He taught her that she lived here upon the earth to fulfil the purposes of this almighty Spirit that created her, to whom in a day to come she must return, perchance to be sent out again to this or other worlds.[812]

The Order of the Dawn, then, include Babylonian astrology in their esoteric curriculum. There are clearly a number of other allusions in this passage. Firstly, Nefra's tutor is called 'Tau'; the 'Tau Cross' is the 'T'-shaped cross of St Anthony which is a common symbol found in Freemasonic symbolism, on occasion located within a triangle. Secondly, Tau teaches her about all the gods representing one omnipresent Spirit, again promulgating the idea of an esoteric original monotheism of initiates that

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continued until 1978. There are modern groups which claim a historical lineage. See Ellic Howe, *The Magicians of the Golden Dawn,* passim.

[809] Haggard, *Queen of the Dawn*, p.19.

[810] Ibid., pp.53-54.

[811] Ibid., p.61.

[812] Ibid., p.62.

we have discussed in earlier chapters. Thirdly, we have Haggard's perpetual philosophical and Pauline maxim of the eternal war of the flesh and the Spirit, and finally the doctrine of a return to the 'Spirit', and reincarnation which may be extraterrestrial.

The brotherhood is international. They have been summoned to Memphis to witness the crowning of Nefra as Queen of Egypt:

> Brethren and Elders of the holy, ancient, and mighty Order of the Dawn [...]. You are summoned here from every nome and city in Egypt, from Tyre, from Babylon and Nineveh, from Cyprus and from Syria, and from many another land beyond the sea; you are the chosen delegates of our Brotherhood in those towns and countries, among which it dwells to kindle light in the hearts of men and to instruct them in the laws of Truth and Gentleness, to overthrow oppressors by all righteous means and to bind the world together in the service of that Spirit whom we worship, who, enthroned on high, makes all gods its ministers.[813]

Khian, Nefra's beloved, is also taught the philosophy: 'In its outlines it was simple, that the existence of one great Spirit, of whose attributes all the gods were ministers.' [814] But in addition:

> Yet there were other parts of this doctrine which were not so plain and easy, for these had to do with the methods by which the Spirit could be approached of those who still dwelt upon the earth, with forms of prayer and hidden rites also, that would bring the Worshipped into communion with the worshipper.[815]

This does sound like techniques of practical occultism, in the language of the cloister, dealing also with antemortem gnostic communion. It is worthwhile having reviewed these elements of the philosophy and praxis of Haggard's Order of the Dawn, to compare them with the stated objectives of Blavatsky's Theosophical Society:

1. To form a nucleus of the universal brotherhood of humanity without distinction of race, creed, sex, caste or colour
2. To encourage the study of comparative religion, philosophy and science.

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[813] Ibid., p.107.

[814] Ibid., p.129.

[815] Ibid., p.129.

3. To investigate the unexplained laws of nature and the powers latent in man.[816]

In the preface to *Isis Unveiled*, Blavatsky says that 'Men and parties, sects and schools are but the mere ephemera of the world's day. TRUTH, high-seated upon its rock of adamant, is alone eternal and supreme.' [817] We have previously seen the importance of Truth as the Saitic Isis in Haggard's work, and the Order of the Dawn appears to emphasise the logos theology in Haggard's writing: the commonality of an element of truth.

As participants in this common principle, the 'Brotherhood' are 'everywhere', though hidden. They admit men and women who marry. They are multiracial, as aforementioned. They study the Mysteries of religion and seek to 'kindle light in the hearts of men' in the pursuit of spiritual Truth. They are hierarchical, having a 'Council' and 'Elders' similar to the paramasonic groups of the period.[818] High-ranking members have the ability to communicate with other individuals at a distance by means of 'Sending of the Soul'. This implies a species of 'astral projection' though is presented more as a form of telepathic communication, and Haggard does not mention which element of the 'soul' is involved. Khian makes his first attempt:

> He would try, who had been taught the secrets of the "Sending of the Soul" as it was, though he had never practised them before.
>
> Try he did according to the appointed form and with the appointed prayers as well as he could remember them. […] Again and he said [them] in his heart, fixing the eyes of his mind upon Roy and Nefra till he grew faint with the soul struggle and, even in that bitter place, the sweat burst upon him. Then of a sudden a strange calm fell on him to whom it seemed that these arrows of thought had found their mark, yes, that his warnings had been heard and understood. [819]

In addition, the members undergo initiation, have code words and signs. The following exchange at a meal has a more than vaguely Eucharistic connotation:

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[816] H.P. Blavatsky, *The Key to Theosophy* (London: The Theosophical Publishing Company, Limited, 1889), p.39.
[817] Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled*, I, p.vi.
[818] Haggard, *Queen of the Dawn*, p.108.

[819] Ibid., pp.173-74.

> "Will you not eat, Priest of the Dawn?" he asked again meaningly.
>
> "In hope of the Food Eternal I eat bread. In hope of the Water of Life I drink wine."
>
> Then Khian was sure, for in these very words those of the Order of the Dawn were accustomed to consecrate their meat.[820]

The reference to the bread and wine of the Eucharist is significant as it suggests that in Ancient Egypt – here set in the 2nd Intermediate Period 1650 years before Christ – there are ideas pertaining to Christianity, which attests to Haggard's preparationist perspective. It is also significant that he alludes to this as, as we have previously noted, Haggard took an Anglo-Catholic stance on the sacraments. The question of Roman Catholic transubstantiation versus the Anglo-Catholic Real Objective Presence of Christ in the Eucharist and the 'gorgeousness' of ritual vestments were in Haggard's day real issues of contention (and remain so).[821]

The discussion above reveals that arguments such as that of Katz's which vaunt Haggard's racist and imperialist agendas, submit an uncomplicated argument. The Order admits men and women, and notably, a black Ethiopian bodyguard. Haggard portrays a 'Great White Brotherhood' which exhibits racial and gender inclusivity.[822]

In conclusion, it is apparent from the comparison of the 'Order of the Dawn' with the late-Victorian occult societies with whom Haggard was certainly familiar that he is essentially translocating an Egyptianising nineteenth-century occult order back into the historical locus of ancient Egypt itself: perhaps it is more a case of a 'Victorian Hermes in Egypt'. There are certainly elements redolent of the Theosophical society's dicta, and of the masonic-Rosicrucian tradition as an international society. From the perspective of the attempts in the second half of the nineteenth century at the revival of High Church Anglican theory and praxis which had been challenged by the Broad Church lobby, *Queen of the Dawn* illustrates the common trajectory of occultism and Anglo-Catholicism reflected in

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[820] Ibid., p.174.

[821] See W.J. Sparrow Simpson, *The History of The Anglo-Catholic Revival from 1845* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1932), notably 'Privy Council judgements on the Eucharist', pp.55-66 and Chapter 5, 'Eucharistic Vestments', pp.83-104.

[822] The term 'Great White Brotherhood' is first used explicitly by Charles Leadbeater in his book *The Masters and the Path,* which was published in 1925 - the year of Haggard's death.

Haggard's late work. It is Haggard's specific engagement with occultism in its various guises and notably in the form of Theosophy which is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 15. OCCULT SCIENCE

> More than thirty years ago two atoms of the eternal Energy sped forth from the heart of it which we call God, and incarnated themselves in the human shapes that were destined to hold them for a while, as vases hold perfumes, or goblets wine, or as sparks of everlasting radium inhabit the bowels of rock. Perhaps these two atoms, or essences, or monads indestructible, did but repeat an adventure, or many, many adventures. Perhaps again and again they had proceeded from that Home august and imperishable on certain mornings of the days of Time, to return thither at noon or nightfall, laden with the fruits of gained experience.[823]

This overtly Theosophical passage from the opening of Haggard's *Love Eternal* is used by way of an introduction to some of the ideas considered in this chapter. Before proceeding to an in-depth analysis of Haggard's engagement with Theosophy, we consider some of the author's early involvement with the séance room.

Experiments of Youth: Spiritualism or Spiritism?

A reading of *The Days of My Life* confirms that, in his younger days, Rider Haggard attended spiritualist séances. These included those at the house of one Lady Poullet ('Lady Paulet' in Haggard's account).[824] In this circle he also encountered the famous spiritualist Lady Caithness. This is extremely significant as it 'puts the group Haggard frequented at the centre of the new occult and Theosophist movements of the 1870s and 1880s'.[825] Maria de Mariategui, Lady Caithness, Duchesse de Medina Pomar (1842-1895), a woman of enormous wealth was

> The friend and ally of Madame Blavatsky by whom she was quoted in *The Secret Doctrine* as an authority on Gnostic and Hermetic documents and by whom she was also "given a charter" [...] to establish a Theosophist lodge in France. Lady Caithness was also the chief supporter and ally of Anna Kingsford (1846-1888), second only to Madame Blavatsky in the occult revival, and the prophetess of Esoteric Christianity.[826]

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[823] Haggard, *Love Eternal*, p.1.
[824] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, I, p.37.
[825] John D. Coates, 'The "Spiritual Quest" in Rider Haggard's *She* and *Ayesha*', *Cahiers Victoriens et Édouardiens*, 57 (2003), 33-54 (pp.38-39).
[826] Ibid., p.39.

It is significant that Haggard should fall under the sway of Lady Caithness, who was the author of *Old Truths in a New Light* [827] - a mélange of Catholicism, her own brand of spiritualism, and Theosophy. She was 'an ardent spiritualist and admirer of Allan Kardec',[828] the pen name of Hippolyte Léon Denizard Rivail (1804-1869). Kardec was a prominent French spiritualist, and in his *Le Livre des Esprits* (1856) he took a markedly different approach to that of the British and American spiritualists, coining the term 'spiritism'. As Alex Owen remarks, 'Kardec's "spiritisme" supported the idea of reincarnation and it was not difficult for Lady Caithness to embrace Theosophy […] as part of the pantheon of her beliefs.'[829] This is significant in terms of the development of the young Haggard's belief system; reincarnation was anathema to British spiritualists, but as we have seen, this was to become a prominent if not dominant theme in his thought and literature.

Haggard himself acknowledges the significance of his attendance at these meetings, and he records in some detail the phenomena of spirit manifestation that he witnessed.[830] He writes that over the years he continued to speculate as to the possible illusory nature of the manifestations. Importantly, he says that he does not believe that it was trickery, but equally he does not believe it had anything to do with the spirits of the departed. He takes the occultist stance, echoing Helena Blavatsky: '[I am] inclined to think that certain forces with which we are at present unacquainted were set loose that produced phenomena which, perhaps, had their real origin in our own minds, but nevertheless were true phenomena.'[831]

Haggard describes the procedure of the séance. He records one occasion where the medium, a Mr Edwards, was restrained by two of his colleagues. This restraining of the medium, often literally by tying them up or placing them in a wooden compartment, was a familiar procedure of these meetings. Whilst decrying scientific methodology, they nevertheless

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[827] Countess of Caithness, *Old Truths in a New Light: Or, An Earnest Endeavour to Reconcile Material Science with Spiritual Science, and with Scripture* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1876).
[828] Alex Owen, *The Place of Enchantment: British Occultism and the Culture of the Modern* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), p.44.
[829] Ibid., p.44.
[830] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, I, pp.37-41.
[831] Ibid., p.39.

carried out the meetings under 'test conditions' seeking 'proof' of the spirit-induced phenomena. Haggard describes how a massive table 'began to skip like a lamb',[832] how a fan was broken and repaired, and how chairs were stacked one upon the other until they reached the ceiling. He ponders how all this might have happened, but then falls back on his hypothesis that 'some existent but unknown force was let loose which produced these phenomena.'[833] Haggard concludes that young people should not be involved in such experiments and, noting the development of psychism, opines that these should be left to the 'researches of wise scientists like Sir Oliver Lodge'.[834] Spiritualism should be the province of the expert scientific investigator alone, and as far as Haggard was concerned should remain a closed door to most, 'for beyond it they will find only what is harmful and unwholesome. Since those days nearly forty years ago I have never attended a seance, nor do I mean ever to do so more.'[835] With this statement, Haggard appears to draw a line under his experience with Spiritualism. Lilias Haggard would later write that in her father's household 'Spiritualism was taboo.'[836] In later years, however, he would write to Lilias with a more jocund cynicism. In a letter dated 6 May 1916, written whilst sailing to Freemantle, Australia, he recounts that on board there was a certain Sir Henry Parker and two of his daughters 'with whom Mr Corbett [Haggard's travelling companion] works a planchette in the evening. They asked of it when Peace would be delivered and it replied sapiently, "When the War is Over"!'[837]

The influence of his séance days is relatively subtle compared with the prevalence of Theosophical ideas. Nevertheless, it is in evidence in elements of his fiction. For example, in *She*, there is a use of imagery which is very reminiscent of the tableaux of the séance room. Ayesha is presented veiled in gauzy material, with the play of her eyes detected behind it: in the photographs of the period, mediums and spirits are frequently shown draped with muslin and sheer materials.[838]

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[832] Ibid., p.39.
[833] Ibid., p.41.
[834] Ibid., p.41.
[835] Ibid., p.41.
[836] Haggard, *The Cloak That I Left*, p.16.
[837] Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MC 32/40/1.
[838] See original photographs of the séance room in Baron von Schrenck Notzing, *Phenomena of Materialisation: A Contribution to the Investigation of Mediumistic Teleplastics,* trans. by E.E. Fournier d'Albe (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1923), passim.

Theosophical Allusions

Many of the experiences described above would later form the substance of Haggard's *roman á clef*, the semiautobiographical *Love Eternal* (1918), where Haggard appears as the protagonist Godfrey Knight. In what follows, I shall consider how Haggard's novel fictionalizes his experiences of the proto-Theosophical and Spiritualist milieu he was party to prior to his departure for South Africa in 1875. *Love Eternal* provides a discursive account of many of the Spiritualist and Theosophical ideas circulating at the time, but also includes characters who appear to be based on the leading members of the circles which Haggard frequented.

Although it remains undocumented as to whether Haggard ever met Madame Blavatsky, he must have known of her, and it would appear that she features in *Love Eternal* as the malign presence of the medium and mesmerist Madame Riennes. Helena Blavatsky was physically very reminiscent of the description of Madame Riennes - other than the 'black eyes'.[839] She was half Russian and half German, and associated with the American Colonel Henry Steel Olcott (1832-1907) with whom she founded the Theosophical Society at New York in 1875. Madame Riennes is half Russian and half French, and associates with the American Colonel Josiah Smith.[840] Haggard has deliberately changed details, but it seems pretty obvious to whom he is alluding. In addition, although Rienne is a city in Belgium, it would appear that Haggard is satirising Blavatsky with a play on words: 'Riennes' playing on the French for 'nothing' – *rien*, i.e. 'Madame Nothing'.

In the novel, the reader is told that, during the course of a dinner, the conversation 'drifted into a debate which Godfrey did not understand, on the increase of spirituality among the "initiated" of the earth.' Colonel Josiah Smith appeared to 'associate with remarkable persons whom he called "Masters," who dwelt in the remote places of the world, [and] alleged that such increase was great.'[841] In contrast, a certain Professor

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[839] Haggard, *Love Eternal*, p.79.
[840] Ibid., pp.80-01.
[841] Ibid., pp.80-01.

Petersen, also present at dinner, associates with 'German intellectuals' who are busy denying all forms of spirituality. Here Haggard is alluding directly to continental historicism and German biblical criticism. However, according to Lady Ogilvy - Godfrey's friend and benefactor- such individuals 'seek the company of their kindred "Elementals", although they do not know it, and soon those elementals will have the mastery of them and break them to pieces, as the lions did the maligners of Daniel'.[842]

Furthermore, the young Godfrey is drawn into acting as a medium for the group. From the above account this appears to have been based on Haggard's experience of spiritualist séances, though he did not practice mediumship in the end. Godfrey makes contact with a spirit called Eleanor, who pursues him, and he is frequently disturbed by her presence at night. Miss Ogilvy tries to reassure him:

> "You shouldn't be frightened of her," she said. "She is really a delightful spirit, and declares that she knew you very intimately indeed, when you were an early Egyptian, also much before that on the lost continent, which is called Atlantis, to say nothing of deep friendships which have existed between you in other planets."[843]

Here the Theosophical references include extraterrestrial reincarnation and Atlantis (see below). Further references arise when the narrator notes that Madame Riennes and her cabal were members of a 'semi-secret society' and were concerned mainly with 'spiritual problems, reincarnations, Karmas (it took him a long time to understand what a Karma is), astral shapes, mediumship, telepathic influences, celestial guides, and the rest.'[844] Alongside these more general allusions, Haggard articulates specifically Theosophical ideas some of which we shall now examine.

Haggard's Reception of Theosophy

Throughout his work, both in correspondence and in his fictional oeuvre, Haggard uses a number of terms and ideas explicitly derived from Theosophy. We shall now briefly consider some of the more commonplace Theosophical concepts.

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[842] Ibid., p.81.
[843] Ibid., p.95.
[844] Ibid., p.90.

Monads

As shown in the introductory quote from *Love Eternal*, Haggard mentions 'monads' in the first paragraph of the novel. The term 'monad' has an ancient lineage deriving from Ancient Greek philosophy in the context of Pythagorean cosmogony where it refers to the Absolute, the divinity in unity. It has been used by various prominent figures linked to esoteric discourse including Giordano Bruno and John Dee, and it famously appears in the philosophy of Gottfried Leibniz in his *La Monadologie* (1714), where it refers to fundamental metaphysical elements of substances. From the evidence of the citation, Haggard uses it in the sense in which it is used by Blavatsky in *The Secret Doctrine* (1888), where she makes the following comment:

> As the spiritual Monad is One, Universal, Boundless and Impartite, whose rays, nevertheless, form what we, in our ignorance, call the "Individual Monads" of men, so the Mineral Monad -- being at the opposite point of the circle -- is also One -- and from it proceed the countless physical atoms, which Science is beginning to regard as individualized.[845]

Monads are essentially similar to the Gnostic idea of a 'divine spark' and all form part of the Theosophical 'Unity.' They form a finite number which are reincarnated. It should be noted that in the starting quote, Haggard uses 'atom' as it was used in common parlance in the period to refer to 'soul', whereas Blavatsky appears to be using its more modern scientific usage.

Devachan

Haggard mentions the concept of 'Devachan' a number of times in *Ayesha*. Holly asks the abbot of the lamasery what happens when the community dies out as they have ceased to recruit new brethren: '"And then," the abbot answered, "nothing. We have acquired much merit; we have been blest with many revelations and after the repose we have earned in Devachan, our lots in future existences will be easier."'[846] Haggard wrote *Ayesha* in 1905 and at this stage he had yet to distinguish between Tibetan Buddhism and Blavatsky's 'Transhimalayan wisdom tradition' as presented by the Theosophical Society. Devachan is a neologism coined by Blavatsky who misconstrued the etymology and created a specifically Theosophical term:

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[845] Blavatsky, *The Secret Doctrine*, I, pp.177-78.
[846] Haggard, *Ayesha*, p.40.

she confused the first syllable with the Sanskrit 'Deva' and added 'chen'.[847] *Dewachen* is a Tibetan Buddhist concept, but Haggard employs 'Devachan' as received through the prism of Blavatsky.[848] The following definition of Devachan is taken from Blavatsky's *The Theosophical Glossary*:

> The "dwelling of the gods." A state intermediate between two earth-lives, into which the EGO (Atmâ-Buddhi-Manas, or the Trinity made One) enters, after its separation from Kâma Rupa, and the disintegration of the principles lower on earth.[849]

Blavatsky presents her unique conceptualisation of Devachan as being akin to a Roman Catholic purgatory, where the soul sojourns and is purified before proceeding to Heaven. Haggard similarly aligns it with an equivalent Anglican 'Intermediate Period' and adapts the concept of 'felicity' acquired during this stage i.e. that there may be a spiritual development of the discarnate soul before proceeding on to the After Life-proper. In this case, Haggard deploys it as an interval for spiritual development between lifetimes, 'so that our lots in future existences will be easier'.

Mahatmas

Haggard also employs the term 'Mahatma.' In Blavatskyan Theosophy, the Mahatmas or 'Masters' were superior beings who apparently lived in Tibet and whose thoughts and ideas Madame Blavatsky 'channelled' when writing her literature. In the 'dream novel' *The Mahatma and the Hare* (1911), much of the novel takes place in a vision of the afterlife. In the opening lines, the narrator iterates the problems of the notion of a Mahatma. As he says, few people have met a Mahatma, or at least not recognised them as such; 'Not many people know even who or what a Mahatma is. The majority of those who chance to have heard the title are apt to confuse it with another, that of Mad Hatter.'[850] He goes on to say that

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[847] Mike Dickman, Tibetan Translator, personal communication.

[848] *Dewachen* refers to a 'nirvanic field' which is simultaneously a place and a state of mind, and can be experienced during life. See Chetsang Rinpoche, 'Amitabha Buddha and the Pureland of Dewachen', <http://www.purifymind.com/AmitabhaDewachen.htm> [accessed 24 October 2017].

[849] H.P. Blavatsky, *The Theosophical Glossary* (London: The Theosophical Publishing Society, 1892), p.98.

[850] H. Rider Haggard, *The Mahatma and The Hare* (Rahway, N.J.: Henry Holt and Company, 1911), p.3.

'the truth is that an incredulous Western World puts no faith in Mahatmas [...] which give an address in Thibet at which no letters are delivered.'[851] In *The Days of My Life*, Haggard again cynically describes the inaccessibility of the Mahatmas 'whose address it seems impossible to discover'.[852] In *The Mahatma and the Hare* the protagonist and narrator describes a strange and mysterious individual called Jorsen who he thinks may have been a 'Mahatma'. Jorsen contacts the protagonist by means of some nameless, wordless, quasi-telepathic apperception and in this manner summons him to meet him: 'Suddenly I receive an impression in my mind that I am to go to a certain place at a certain hour, and there I shall find Jorsen.'[853]

Similarly noted, in her case for her clairvoyant ability, Ayesha herself has been cast by Haggard as a 'Master' or adept: 'In […] *Ayesha: the return of 'She',* Ayesha's role as an adept is continually emphasised, not least by her mastery of the most celebrated of occult practices – namely alchemy.'[854] I have already mentioned the philosophical dialogues of Holly and Ayesha. Robert Fraser remarks that Holly investigates her well-stocked mind, the contents of which 'admittedly, possess a late nineteenth century ring, redolent as they are of a sort of heightened Theosophy. Indeed, for much of the time, Ayesha conducts herself like Madame Blavatsky as she might have been acted by Sarah Bernhardt.'[855]

As Burdett has argued, the importance of Tibet as a centre for occult philosophy and praxis had been widely promulgated, 'both through the notoriety of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and by Alfred Sinnett's influential books, *The Occult World* and *Esoteric Buddhism*, published in the early 1880s'.[856] These latter works describe Sinnett's relations with Blavatsky and her interaction with these 'Masters'. In 1880, one Koot Hoomi, a Master of the 'Great White Brotherhood' (a secret order of illuminated individuals in Tibet by whom Blavatsky had avowedly been initiated) described a 'Thibet' untainted by the vices of modern civilisation, 'the last

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[851] Ibid., p.4.
[852] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, II, p.251.
[853] Haggard, *The Mahatma and the Hare*, p.5. Given Haggard's assertion of his Danish ancestry and the mystical implications, this is probably his close approximation to the Danish patronymic 'Jørgensen', a very common surname in Denmark.
[854] Burdett, 'Romance, reincarnation and Rider Haggard', p.227.
[855] Robert Fraser, *Victorian Quest Romance: Stevenson, Haggard, Kipling and Conan Doyle* (Plymouth: Northcote House Publishers, 1998), p.43.
[856] Burdett, 'Romance, reincarnation and Rider Haggard', p.220.

corner of the globe not so entirely corrupted as to preclude the mingling together of the two atmospheres – the physical and the spiritual'.[857]

Though Tibet itself may have remained untainted, the imperial context inevitably impacted on the notion of a 'Master'. As Gauri Viswanathan points out - in the context of British India - from the colonialist's perspective, the term 'Master' becomes curiously problematic. The reception of Indian spirituality required intermediaries who, as spiritual initiates, led their colonialist pupils as guides to the knowledge they desired, and thus 'proprietorship of the occult was split unevenly between spiritual teacher and Anglo-Indian disciple'.[858] In this way the very word *master* acquired an ironic twist:

> In the colonial situation it was inevitably conjoined to hierarchical relationships. Yet in the practice of the occult the relations of domination and subordination were necessarily inverted, and masters were those who guided initiates into unseen phenomena, which remained the uncolonized space resisting the bureaucratic compulsions of colonial management [859]

Thus the 'astral world' was reconstituted as the ground for a redefinition of colonial relationships: 'That adepts and their European initiates do not necessarily share a common definition shows the extent to which astral matters still continued to function as the last frontier, open to exploration but resistant to false appropriation.'[860] As I have emphasised in this account the Imperial Occult alters the dynamic of coloniser and colonised.

Psychometry and the Clairvoyant Imagination

Haggard was not only familiar with the technique of *psychometry*, but uses the term and - via his young protagonist- demonstrates the procedure in *Love Eternal* (1918).[861] We have already discussed the idea of the imagination as serving a higher clairvoyant function providing access to superior knowledge, but here we consider it in its specifically Theosophical setting. The young protagonist Godfrey carries out the *psychometry* of a

[857] Ibid., p.221.
[858] Gauri Viswanathan, 'The Ordinary Business of Occultism', p.3.
[859] Ibid., p.3.
[860] Ibid., p.4.
[861] Haggard, *Love Eternal*, p. 86.

Gnostic gemstone, under the supervision Madame Riennes.[862] The process involved focussing on the object and summoning up images of its past owners, in this case seemingly an Arab and a Crusader knight: 'Then followed picture upon picture in all of which the talisman appeared in the hands of sundry of its owners.'[863] He concludes at the end that 'that kind of nonsense often comes into my head when I touch old things' which he has been told is 'because I have too much imagination'. His mentor Miss Ogilvy replies, 'Imagination! Ah! what is imagination?'[864]

In the context of this Theosophical imagination, Hanegraaff has traced the origins of psychometry in the work of Joseph Rodes Buchanan (1814–1899) from his early papers of 1849 to his *Manual of Psychometry* (1885), and its further development by the husband and wife team Professor William Denton (1823–1883) and Elizabeth M. Foote Denton (dates unknown) in their book *The Soul of Things: Psychometric Researches and Discoveries* (1863).[865] He notes that the subsequent Theosophists were keen to distinguish psychometry - the *active* clairvoyant imagination - from the *passive* visions induced in somnambulic/mesmeric, and spiritualist and mediumistic trance.[866] *Love Eternal* has both; after Godfrey has carried out the psychometric procedure, Madame Riennes puts him into a trance, and he is unaware of his subsequent visions, which are recorded by Madame Riennes' colleague.[867]

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[862] Ibid., pp.84-85.
[863] Ibid., p.90.
[864] Ibid., pp.93-94.
[865] Hanegraaff, 'The Theosophical Imagination', pp. 15-24. Hanegraaff traces the development of the ideas of psychometry, clairvoyant imagination, the astral light and the evolution of Blavatsky's metaphysics. The equation of the *Akaṣa* with the Astral Light was replaced later by the notion of the former being a 'superior' knowledge, with the astral record accessed by psychometry as being considered inferior and prone to confabulation and illusion. As Hanegraaff points out, 'scientific clairvoyance was based upon the ability, inherent in the *individual* human soul, of receiving and perceiving these images in what Éliphas Lévi called the *diaphane*: the personal imagination. But whereas Lévi was a full-blooded Romantic with few reservations about emphasizing the role of the imagination, such an emphasis would have been more or less suicidal for English-speaking occultists operating in a climate dominated by scientific positivism.' (p. 27). Blavatsky in particular was keen to emphasize that her vision was of 'higher knowledge' not mere figments of her imagination. (Note: According to Blavatsky, the 'Âkâsa' is 'The subtle supersensuous spiritual essence which pervades all space; the primordial substance erroneously identified with Ether. But it is to Ether what Spirit is to Matter.' From a considerably longer entry in Blavatsky, *The Theosophical Glossary*, p. 13.
[866] Hanegraaff, 'The Theosophical Imagination', p.15.
[867] Haggard, *Love Eternal*, pp. 86-87.

Reincarnation and Cyclical Ascendant Metempsychosis: The Terrestrial and Extraterrestrial

As we shall explore in some depth in the next chapter, the theme of reincarnation is dominant in many of Haggard's novels, and appears repeatedly in his autobiography and correspondence. In *The Days of My Life* he writes that a friend who was a 'mystic of the first water' told him that he had lived before. One lifetime was as an Egyptian in the time of Pepi II, another as a minor pharaoh himself, and another as a 'Norseman of the seventh century, who was one of the first to sail to the Nile'. [868] All of these are of course reflections of his personal fealties and dynastic preoccupations. In the section of his autobiography entitled 'A Note on Religion', Haggard delivers an apologia for his faith, which includes his belief in reincarnation, though tellingly he retains a reserved ambivalence – 'it is utterly insusceptible of proof – like everything else that has to do with the spirit'.[869] Significantly, he denies that it conflicts with his Christian faith: he believes in the Resurrection of Christ, but transposes this into the *reincarnation* of mankind: 'For my part, I believe [...] that He did rise, [...] and that what He, born of woman, did, we shall do also.'[870] He then goes on to say:

> Indeed this may be a convenient place to state my private opinion (it is no more, though I cannot find that it conflicts with the doctrines of Christianity; see, for instance, the passage in which our Lord refers to Elijah as having returned to Earth in the person of John the Baptist), to the effect that we, or at any rate that some of us, already have individually gone through this process of coming into active Being and departing out of Being more than once – perhaps very often indeed – though not necessarily in this world with which we are acquainted .[871]

This pursuit of evidence of reincarnation in Scripture and esoteric interpretations of it is very much a Theosophical enterprise, notably in the work of James Morgan Pryse (1859-1942).[872] Haggard himself on occasion, as above, explicitly comments on the scriptural evidence. For example, he says of the rationalistic Isobel of *Love Eternal* when she is

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[868] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, I, p.254.

[869] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, II, p.241.
[870] Ibid., p.241.
[871] Ibid., p.241. Two relevant passages are Mathew 11.10-14 and Mathew 17. 10-13.
[872] See J. Pryse, *Reincarnation in The New Testament* (New York, NY: Theosophical Society Publishing Department, 1904). Pryse's first chapter in this volume is entitled 'Elijah's Return to Earth.'

explicitly in discussion with Godfrey about reincarnation, that she was not old enough to understand that the true meaning of Scripture 'must be discovered, not in the letter but in the spirit, that is in the esoteric meaning of the sayings as to receiving the Kingdom of Heaven like a child and the necessity of being born again.'[873] Haggard seems to take the view that this refers to actual rebirth rather than mystical palingenesis.

We have already seen some of the complexities of the equation of ascendant metempsychosis with reincarnation. The idea of metempsychosis with rebirth on other planes of existence was further complicated in the post-Copernican world when such 'planes' became associated with other *planets.* Rebirth on other planets is considered in *Love Eternal* as a specifically Theosophical notion ('theosophical bosh'). However, as Hanegraaff has pointed out, it was certainly not peculiar to Blavatsky and has a significant history in Western philosophical discourse in general and esotericism in particular. For example, it is also found in the writings of Oetinger, Jung-Stilling, Lavater, and even Goethe.[874] Significantly it is found in Swedenborg, who describes his visionary journeys to other planets,[875] and in Kant's *Allgemeine Naturgesichte und Theorie des Himmels* (1755) ('Universal Natural History and Theory of the Heavens').[876] We have already given evidence that Haggard read the latter two authors.

To summarise, in the Victorian re-construction of reincarnation, Greek (or Early Christian) metempsychosis with its perfectibility of the human soul is substituted for a Hindu karmic return to imprisonment in matter and the world of appearances (*Māyā*); thus, repeated lifetimes in this context imply spiritual evolutionism. The historical relationship of metempsychosis to reincarnation is, as we have seen, intricate, and this is evident in Helena Blavatsky's writing where, as Julie Chajes has elucidated, she shifted her emphasis from metempsychosis in *Isis Unveiled* to reincarnationism in *The Secret Doctrine,* though she always insisted, somewhat disingenuously, that

[873] Haggard, *Love Eternal*, p.36.
[874] Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture,* p.475.
[875] Ibid., p.475.
[876] Immanuel Kant, 'Universal natural history and theory of the heavens or essay on the constitution and the mechanical origin of the whole universe according to Newtonian principles', in *Natural Science*, ed. by Eric Watkins, trans. by Lewis White Beck and others, Cambridge Works of Immanuel Kant in Translation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp.182-308. As Hanegraaff mentions it is also present in the oeuvre of Allan Kardec. See Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western culture*, p.475. Haggard may have been exposed to Kardec via Lady Caithness.

her views had remained consistent.[877] As Fraser notes: ‘If human beings represented a refinement on the brute, so occultists increasingly argued, might not such perfectibility be perpetuated after death, transporting the soul to higher and higher states of self-realization?’[878] In Haggard’s *She*, Ayesha represents the personification of a human desire for continuity rather than perfectibility; she is ‘the apotheosis of this wish, representing an intensification and prolongation of human energy: emotional, mental and sexual.’[879] Nevertheless, her spiritual evolution is mapped out during the course of the Ayesha series, perhaps in spite of the personality she presents in the first romance.

Paulinism in Blavatsky and Haggard

To conclude this section, we consider a commonality of ideas rather than Haggard’s direct reception of Theosophy. We shall have more to say on Blavatsky and Haggard’s common sources of influence, but here we focus on their descriptions of triune and septenary constitutions of man. Helena Blavatsky in her earlier work *Isis Unveiled* had deployed the Pauline trichotomy[880] of man i.e. body, soul, spirit, as found in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians: ‘And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly; and I pray God your whole spirit [*πνεῦμα*] and soul [*ψυχὴ*] and body [*σῶμα*] be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.’[881] In her later work however, Blavatsky moved to the use of what she called the

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[877] Chajes, ‘Reincarnation in H.P. Blavatsky’s *The Secret Doctrine*’, pp.66-67.
[878] Fraser, *Victorian Quest Romance*, p.43.
[879] Ibid., p.44.
[880] Blavatsky comments: ‘In the writings of Paul, the entity of man is divided into a trine – flesh, psychical existence or soul, and the overshadowing and at the same time interior entity or SPIRIT.’ (Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled*, II, p.281.) On Blavatsky’s Paulinism and the use of the New Testament versus Neoplatonic models, see Christopher A. Plaisance, ‘The Transvaluation of “Soul” and “Spirit”, passim. In spite of this ‘triune’ nature of man it is of note that throughout the Pauline corpus, rather than spirit, soul and body, the apostle emphasises the flesh and the Spirit - as does Haggard. As Ernest DeWitt Burton writes: ‘One of the marked peculiarities of the New Testament vocabulary which is especially characteristic of Paul is the frequency of the words *πνεῦμα* and *σάρξ*, especially the former. *Ψυχή* is indeed not infrequent, but while the others rise into a prominence which they have in no other literature that we have examined, *ψυχή*, which almost everywhere has been far more frequent than either of the other words, is now much less frequent than either. The apostle Paul's use of *πνεῦμα* is plainly kindred with, and beyond doubt directly or indirectly influenced by, the Old Testament usage.’ See Ernest DeWitt Burton, *Spirit, Soul, and Flesh: The Usage of Πνεῦμα, Ψυχή, and Σάρξ in Greek Writings and Translated Works from the Earliest Period to 224 A.D.; and of Their Equivalents* רוּחַ, נֶפֶשׁ, *and* בָּשָׂר *in the Hebrew Old Testament*, Historical and Linguistic Studies, 23 (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1918), pp.186-87. DeWitt Burton also speculates on the possibility of Paul’s exposure to the Greek Magical Papyri, because of the prevalence there of the phrase *πνεῦμα ’άγιον* (‘Holy Spirit’). (p.187.)
[881] 1 Thessalonians 5.23.

Saptaparṇa (Sk.: ‘seven-leaved (plant)’), a septenary constitution which Julie Hall has argued convincingly that - in spite of the Sanskrit terminology - has its origin with Theosophy.[882] As Hall points out, amongst a number of other possible influences, in *The Secret Doctrine*, Blavatsky cites the lecture of 1887 by Gerald Massey *The Seven Souls of Man and their Culmination in Christ*, [883] in which he compares the seven Egyptian soul moieties with the ‘Indian’ version in Sanskrit terminology given in A.P. Sinnett’s *Esoteric Buddhism.*[884] Interestingly, Rider Haggard also subsequently pondered the septenary constitution of Ancient Egyptian Psychology, and directly compared it with the Pauline version. We have already discussed his preoccupation with the Ka and soul-theory. Although he frequently emphasises Paul’s opposition of the flesh to the Spirit, in the opening passage to the prequel to *She*, *She and Allan*, he expressly mentions the triune division through his alter ego, Allan Quatermain:

> I believe it was the old Egyptians, a very wise people, probably indeed much wiser than we know, for in the leisure of their ample centuries they had time to think out things, who declared that each individual personality is made up of six or seven different elements, although the Bible only allows us three, namely, body, soul, and spirit. The body that man or woman wore, if I understand their theory aright which perhaps I, an ignorant person, do not, was but a kind of sack or fleshly covering containing these different principles.[885]

He further mentions that the body could be compared to a house in which ‘they lived from time to time but seldom all together.’[886]

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[882] See Julie Hall, ‘The *Saptaparṇa*: The Meaning and Origins of the Theosophical Septenary Constitution of Man’, *Theosophical History*, 4, 13 (2007), 5-38. Having drawn evidence of possible influence from Neoplatonic, Vedantic and Kabbalistic sources, amongst others, Hall concludes: ‘However, what is conspicuous by its absence in the sources discussed above is any existing septenary schemata. Therefore, it appears that the *saptaparṇa* originated with Theosophy despite its debt to Western esoteric and Eastern traditions.’ (p. 22.)

[883] The influence of fulfilment theology is more than suggestive, albeit in Massey’s fabulously syncretic quasi-gnostic Christianity. See Gerald Massey, ‘The Seven Souls of Man and their Culmination in Christ’, in *Gordon Massey’s Published Lectures* <http://gerald-massey.org.uk/massey/dpr_09_seven_souls.htm> [accessed 21 November 2017].

[884] Hall, ‘The *Saptaparṇa*’, p.12.

[885] Haggard, *She and Allan*, p.13.

[886] Ibid., p.13.

The Theosophical Reception of Haggard

Haggard's absorption of Theosophical ideas in turn meant that his literature was noticed and discussed, lauded and critiqued in a number of the contemporaneous Theosophical and occult periodicals, and monographs published by members of the Theosophical Society. As we have seen, Helena Blavatsky herself mentions him at least twice - in the journal *Lucifer* and in *The Secret Doctrine*, published respectively in the year *She* was published in book form in 1887 and in the following year. We can now examine the quote from *The Secret Doctrine* again in a new light. It is perhaps surprising to learn that Blavatsky ascribes a clairvoyant ability to Haggard. She is under the impression that his ideas are derived from a *common source* to those of the Theosophist Alfred Percy Sinnett: she refers specifically to the destruction of the ancient civilisation of the city of Kôr, and quotes from *She* as evidence:

> Has the rising novelist, Mr. Rider Haggard, also had a prophetic or rather a retrospective clairvoyant dream before he wrote "SHE"? [Ayesha] seems to attempt a synopsis of certain letters of a MASTER quoted in "Esoteric Buddhism." For, she says, "Time after time have nations, ay, and rich and strong nations, learned in the arts, been, and passed away, and been forgotten, so that no memory of them remains. This (the nation of Kor) is but one of several; for time eats up the work of man unless, indeed, he digs in caves like the people of Kor, and *then mayhap the sea swallows them, or the earthquake shakes them in.* […] Here the clever novelist seems to repeat the history of all the now degraded and down-fallen races of humanity.

The passage Blavatsky refers to is in Sinnett's *Esoteric Buddhism* (1883) in the fourth chapter entitled 'The World Periods': 'The approach of every new obscuration is always signalled by cataclysms of either fire or water [...] the Atlanteans [...] were destroyed by water.'[887] It is also noteworthy in this context that Blavatsky ascribes to Haggard knowledge that Sinnett derived from a 'Master', and that she feels this was obtained by some mystical apprehension or even anamnesis – rather than from simply reading Sinnett's book. Sinnett himself critiques Haggard on a number of occasions, though he is not as uniformly complimentary as Blavatsky.

For example, in his essay 'Our Future in This World' published in *Occult Essays*,[888] Sinnett provides a commentary on a multi-authored article which had appeared in the *London Magazine* in 1904 on the subject of

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[887] Sinnett, *Esoteric Buddhism*, p.61.
[888] A. P. Sinnett, *Occult Essays*, (London: The Theosophical Publishing Society, 1905), pp.44-50.

reincarnation: 'Have we Lived on Earth before? Shall we Live on Earth Again?'. Haggard was one of four authors attempting to answer the question. We shall have cause to return to the article that Sinnett is critiquing in some detail in a later section, but here we can limit ourselves to Sinnett's comments. In this essay Sinnett states that Haggard's exposition on Buddhism is 'not very incorrectly stated', which suggests that it is not too far away from his own understanding – and thus a reflection of Theosophical teaching rather than Buddhist thought. He repeats his contention that the authors who have been brought together by the *London Magazine* are simply not qualified to comment on reincarnation either by education or experience. He remarks disapprovingly that:

> By degrees, it is to be hoped, people who want to understand the teaching will get into the habit of making their enquiries in the right quarters, and will neither invite lawyers to teach them astronomy nor chemists to analyse the charms of Wagner's music, nor expect that a prominent place in the pages of *Who's Who* must necessarily entitle the persons thus distinguished to interpret the Mysteries of Nature.[889]

The understanding being that A.P. Sinnett's were those 'right quarters', where he had lifted the Veil as assuredly as Helena Blavatsky had. In his essay 'Occultism in Fiction' for *Broad Reviews* in October 1905, Sinnett's critical eye falls on E. F. Benson's *The Image in the Sand* and Rider Haggard's *Ayesha: The Return of She,* both published earlier that year.[890] Sinnett's contention is that they are both based on occult ideas and philosophy, but that they are distortions of these. He states that the authors had the opportunity to do better by genuine students of occult science. He suggests also that his personal experience has shown him evidence of occult law which is contrary to what the authors promulgate. He says of these books that

> They are not merely flavoured with, they are wholly constructed of occult materials, they will be read all over the world by millions of whom only a small minority will be in a position to criticise them by comparison with the serious occult books in default of which they could never have been written, and thus they are open to a rather burdensome charge in spite of their manifold charms. They caricature natural truths which it is profoundly important that the growing mankind of this world should understand correctly. They mislead the multitude,

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[889] Ibid., p.50.
[890] Sinnett calls him 'G.F. Benson.' His first name was Edward.

> and to a certain extent impede the progress of those great developments of human thought, which it is the purpose of real occult writers to promote. This is the less pardonable, in so far as it is to the real occult writers that they are manifestly indebted for the plots and conceptions of which they have made so questionable a use. [891]

Focussing on Haggard's *Ayesha*, Sinnett says that it makes no pretence at all to what is occultly 'possible' because 'the heroine is just as completely outside the realms of natural possibility as the *dramatis persona* of " Cinderella" or " Jack the Giant Killer".' He acknowledges that 'the general structure of the story, both in its first and second part [i.e. *She* and *Ayesha*] is built upon occult teaching concerning reincarnation. And this leads one rather to regret that the true principles of reincarnation should have been strained to give a theoretical vraisemblance to the reappearance of "She".'[892] He then goes on to give a misreading of *Ayesha* excluding the transmigration of Ayesha's soul to the body of the ancient Tibetan priestess at the moment of her apparent demise (as written) in the Flame of Life – but this need not concern us here. What is important to note is that Sinnett asserts that Haggard's writing is actually based on occult teaching, but that he sees it as distorted compared to his own 'true', experiential and Theosophical schemata.

Sinnett himself was not immune to the law of *karma* and was taken to task for these opinions in a follow up 'review of reviews' in *The Occult Review* of December 1905. The Editor, Ralph Shirley, summarises Sinnett's arguments and then remarks that he is 'that well-known student of Occult Science [who] bewails the tendency of modern fictional writers to indulge in psychological plots and occult incidents in violation of the principles of both psychology and occultism'. He notes that Haggard is listed amongst the chief offenders: 'Rider Haggard started the new method among modern romancists— though to be sure there were Scott and Bulwer Lytton some years ahead of him.'[893] Shirley then quotes 'Mr Sinnett's plaint' in the original article:

> They fasten on some single idea suggested by that teaching (Occultism) and then let their own untrained imagination surround it with an environment of

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[891] A.P. Sinnett, 'Occultism in Fiction', *Broad Views*, 22,4 (1905), 372-79 (p.373).
[892] Ibid., p.377.
[893] Ralph Shirley, ed., 'Reviews: Periodical Literature', *The Occult Review*, 12, 2, (1905), 327-28 (p.327).

> circumstance that is an outrage on the real natural possibilities of the central conception.[894]

However, as Shirley points out, Sinnett does not expatiate sufficiently in support of his criticism:

> What these "real natural possibilities" are, and what authority there may be for regarding them as real, Mr. Sinnett does not pause to show, and when in the same sense he speaks of "the real Occultist" as the last person in the world to desire " to retain a monopoly of the subjects with which he deals" we are lost for want of a clearer definition of the exact quality of person referred to.[895]

He concludes that the Theosophist himself should be prepared to suffer the justified rejoinders of the authors concerned:

> It is obvious, however, that the novelists might take any of Mr. Sinnett's more serious works on Occultism pure and simple, and retort that he is the most sinful romancist among them all, and for anything that he would feel justified in showing by way of proof to the contrary, they would be well within their rights.[896]

The question of who is and who isn't a 'sinful romancist' ties in neatly with the argument of the previous chapter on the importance of the noetic organ of imagination in Romantic and New Romantic thought. We recall that Blavatsky relied heavily on the occult lore that she discovered in the pages of Bulwer-Lytton's romances when she wrote *Isis Unveiled.*

Sinnett also discussed Rider Haggard's letter to the *Times* in which Haggard had described an apparent mental connection between himself and the family pet dog, which had occurred whilst Haggard was asleep, and in the hours following the animal being struck by a train – the communication being construed by Haggard as a post-mortem telepathic connection. This alone is important enough in terms of the change in terminology from that of Spiritualism to that of the Society for Psychic Research and psychism. In another of his collected essays entitled 'The Future Life of Animals', Sinnett is more concerned with the nature of non-human post-mortem experience:

> Attention has been specially turned to the problem by Mr Rider Haggard's experience in connection with the tragic death of his favourite dog, an

[894] Ibid., p.327.
[895] Ibid., p.327.
[896] Ibid., p.327.

> experience which the conventional reader of his letter to the *Times* may have thought strange and remarkable, but which, in truth, from the point of view of a somewhat higher knowledge, is merely an incident falling into its place in a considerable body of similar experiences with which students of super-physical phenomena are aware. In Mr Haggard's case he had a vision in his sleep of the painful conditions under which his dog was killed, and later investigation showed that the vision corresponded with the facts.[897]

Before launching into a detailed discussion of spiritual evolution and the astral existence of animals, Sinnett concludes that: 'The vision was evidently the product of the story which the dog himself some hours after his physical death contrived to tell his master, to whom he had naturally returned in his new condition.'[898]

Haggard is also mentioned in *The Theosophical Review* of January 1905, edited by Annie Besant and G.R.S. Mead. Here, we have another review of the multi-authored article 'Have We Lived on Earth Before? Shall We Live On Earth Again?' from *The London Magazine:*

> In the *London Magazine* we read what four great minds think on the questions: "Have we lived on earth before? Shall we live on earth again?" Dr. Russell Wallace [sic.] give[s] a negative answer to those vital questions with most happy and complete assurance. The light of science - of physical science - has been shed on the whole history of man, past and to come! Mr. Rider Haggard reviews the answers given by three great schools of thought, Materialism, Christianity and Buddhism. He finds no need for man to accept the negative answer of Materialism and good reason for rejecting it, while be finds still better reason why Christianity, in unison with Buddhism, should give an emphatic affirmative. Mr. W. T. Stead gives a qualified affirmative, and Dr. Clifford believes vaguely that man will live again.[899]

Haggard's literature is mentioned again by Besant in *The Theosophist* in 1909. Besant has this to say - quoting Haggard (though she doesn't give her source):

> One always likes to note signs of the permeation of theosophical thought in the sayings and writings of people of note in the world literature: here is Mr. Rider Haggard on telepathy and reincarnation: "Everyone is quite familiar with the remarkable phenomena of telepathy. The doubters call it coincidence; but,

[897] A.P. Sinnett, *Occult Essays*, (London: The Theosophical Publishing Society, 1905), pp.97-111 (p.97).
[898] Ibid., p.98.
[899] A. Besant and G. R. S. Mead, eds, 'From Many Lands', *The Theosophical Review,* 209, 35 (1905), 451-56 (pp.454-55).

> whatever it is, it is often so wonderful that it seems to come from a world above, or, rather, beyond the little sphere in which we live. I am of opinion that all the people in this world to-day— at least a large majority of them— have been on this globe before, and will probably be here again after they have passed through the mysterious condition which we now term death." This is not surprising in the author of *She*, but it is satisfactory to find so definite a belief expressed. The fact is that Mr. Haggard's own stories have been by no means a negligible factor in saturating the minds of readers of a certain type with ideas of the occult, and Miss Marie Correlli [sic.], in spite of her extravagances, has been another propagandist, though no doubt an unconscious one, of notions which, when later encountered in more definite form, in the publications of the Theosophical Publishing Society, have been assimilated the more readily in that they vibrated on a chord not unfamiliar.[900]

Haggard receives the following two mentions from the Theosophist and biblical archaeologist J.O. Kinnaman, who credits him for his fertile imagination and then criticises him for it:

> When Archaeology has really been reduced to a science, we shall find that theory after theory, hypothesis after hypothesis, will have to be abandoned, and facts more startling than the most fertile imaginings of a Rider Haggard or a Jules Verne will have to be substituted.[901]

And subsequently:

> Archaeologists take one ruin and construct an entire civilization. Anthropologists take one footprint, or one femur, or one jaw-bone, and reconstruct a whole race. We speak of Rider Haggard as a man of rare genius as regards imagination, but he is as a child in comparison with some of our accredited scientists. There is still too much imagination, too much of the romantic among some of our writers; not all, but some give way to vivid flights.[902]

To conclude, another contributor to *The Theosophical Path* picks up on the important leitmotif of the *Liebestod* in Haggardian romance and links it to the Theosophical concept of ‘cycles’ discussed previously:

> What then is this ‘Death’? […] Bereavement is no more a finality than the close of a cycle […]. Was it a recognition of this that led Rider Haggard, in his

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[900] Annie Besant, ed., ‘Theosophy in Many Lands’, *The Theosophist*, 4, 30 (1909), 374-78 (p.375).
[901] J.O. Kinnaman, ‘Whence? Whither? Interrogation-Points in Anthropology’, *The Theosophical Path*, 4,8 (1914), 257-65 (p.264).
[902] J.O. Kinnaman, ‘Homogeneous Civilisation’, *The Theosophical Path*, 5, 8 (1915), 319-28 (p.319).

> favourite romance of *Eric Brighteyes*, to consummate the wedlock of his hero and heroine in – Death, as the only possible solution of so great a drama? [903]

Contemporary Dialogues: the Aporia of Science and Religion: 'Have We Lived On Earth Before? Shall We Live on Earth Again?'

The following discussion attempts an explication of a coterie of ideas surrounding the central concept of reincarnation. Firstly, we shall return for a closer examination of these ideas as they appear in the important but neglected multi-authored article *Have We Lived on Earth Before? Shall We Live on Earth Again?* The latter appeared in *The London Magazine* in 1904.[904]Apart from being an important example of how Haggard was at the forefront of public discussions of the subject during the period with other prominent members of the intelligentsia, it also contains the fullest exposition extant of his personal thoughts on the issue - outside of his fiction and private correspondence. Subtitled 'What Great Minds Think on the Subject of Re-Incarnation,' the article consists of four consecutive extended and separate answers to the titular question which are provided by Dr Alfred Russel Wallace, H. Rider Haggard, William T. Stead, and the Rev. John Clifford. I shall discuss all four, considering Haggard last and in some detail. We begin with Wallace.

Alfred Russel Wallace (1823–1913) was a British naturalist, anthropologist, biologist, and spiritualist. Although his ideas are now overshadowed by Darwinian evolutionary theory, he was a contemporary of Darwin and simultaneously developed the theory of evolution through natural selection. He has been described as an 'evolutionary theist'.[905] It is perhaps unsurprising that as to the reality of reincarnation he answers in the negative, and from an empiricist and positivistic perspective, with what he describes as a 'near approach to certainty'.[906] He first qualifies the question by asserting that he will answer it as relating solely to human beings and their physical lives - as opposed to any 'spiritual or incorporeal state'[907] -

[903] T. Henry, 'Resurrection', *The Theosophical Path*, 6, 18 (1920), 536-39 (p.537).
[904] Wallace, Alfred T. Russel, H. Rider Haggard, William T. Stead, and John Clifford, 'Have We Lived on Earth Before? Shall We Live on Earth Again?: What Great Minds Think on the Subject of Re-Incarnation', *London Magazine,* 1904, pp.401-08.
[905] For a contemporary view of Wallace's thought, see Martin Fichman, *An Elusive Victorian: The Evolution of Alfred T Russel Wallace*, 2nd edn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
[906] Wallace and others, 'Have We Lived on Earth Before?', p.401.
[907] Ibid., p.401.

by means of which he alludes to his own spiritualist belief system. His opening argument sets out to make the theory of reincarnation sound improbable in terms of the early pre-history of mankind. He mentions the Theosophical concept of Devachan (see above) and argues that when numbers of mankind were small, there would have been a large population of souls waiting to be reborn in the former spiritual locus as there were not enough bodies to be reincarnated into! Following this, Wallace's principal argument is by means of reducing the notion of reincarnation to two main 'laws' of heredity as was described during the period. Firstly, that human beings follow their ancestors' traits by the inheritance of 'germ-plasm'.[908] Good stock and bad stock are accordingly passed down by inheritance. Secondly, however, inheritance tends toward a 'regression to mediocrity', such that genii seldom give rise to the same and there is usually a drift to the median. Similarly, he argues that in spite of many generations, human beings have not advanced in terms of intelligence or morality since the time of 'Socrates or Plato or the author of the Maha-barata'.[909] He finishes by disavowing the very thought of reincarnation as a 'grotesque nightmare' given the current state of the world:

> For I cannot conceive myself that any fully-developed soul could benefit from being plunged again into the midst of the deplorable and degrading conditions now prevailing; whether in the mansion or slum; among the sensual rich or the starving poor; into the desperate struggles for wealth or for bare food; subject to the physical and moral tortures of its workhouse and prisons.[910]

In other words, he very much takes the view of the physical world as a 'hell on earth' which should be abandoned by the spirit. Given his spiritualist beliefs his vehement dismissal is unsurprising. However, the argument by reduction of reincarnation to physical heredity seems incongruent as he does not elaborate on why he thinks it should follow such a lineage. It is interesting that the reincarnation that Wallace actually dismisses is the Romantic construction of reincarnation as a process of spiritual evolution rather than rebirth through karmic necessity, and he denies that the physical realm is a place where any such advance can be undertaken.

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[908] This was of course nearly half a century before Crick and Watson discovered the DNA double helix and formulated their famous hypothesis.
[909] Wallace and others, 'Have We Lived on Earth Before?', p.403.
[910] Ibid., p.403.

Our second author is William Thomas Stead (1849 – 1912). Stead was an English newspaper editor, sometime editor of *The Pall Mall Gazette* [911] and the *Review of Reviews*, and was something of a pioneer of investigative journalism. As Roger Luckhurst has remarked, Stead was one of 'the greatest influences on the spread of supernatural theories very late in the century.' In addition, he was an 'ardent believer in new communication technologies, which included everything from new printing presses and telephones in the office to communicating with the dead', and interviewing politicians by telepathic means.[912] As Luckhurst continues,

> Between 1893 and 1897 he published *Borderland*, perhaps the most eccentric journal of the century, in which news about ghosts, spirit séances, astrological predictions, psychical research findings, book reviews on anything occult, and news of breakthroughs in physics and chemistry were mixed together in a potent cocktail of weirdness.[913]

Nevertheless, on this occasion he elects not to engage in any serious philosophical or theological debate. Rather, he provides the reader with a wry, not to say mildly derisory view of reincarnation - telling a string of vaguely amusing anecdotes concerning Theosophical celebrities and some friends' speculation on his own past lives. His main emphasis is that no two assertions are the same, the implication being that they are all suspect:

> Dr. Anna Kingsford, it is well known, thought that she was Plato in a previous incarnation […]. Mrs Annie Besant is certain that she knows her previous incarnation. […]. I know [Cecil] Rhodes always struck me as being an incarnation of one of the old Roman emperors […]. There are two friends of mine who assure me that I was known to them in my previous incarnation […]. One places the date at two hundred, the other at two hundred and fifty years ago, and, of course, both clash with Mrs Besant who makes the interval thirteen hundred years between incarnations.[914]

Stead concludes by saying that to state the impossibility of reincarnation given the context would be foolish, and finishes with a speculative 'perhaps', but says simply that he doesn't know.

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[911] During his time holding this role he was involved in an extended dispute with Haggard following a series of accusations of plagiarism against the author.

[912] Roger Luckhurst, 'The Victorian Supernatural', *Discovering Literature: Romantics and Victorians: British Library* (2014) <https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/the-victorian-supernatural#> [accessed 18 February 2018] (para. subtitled 'W.T. Stead').

[913] Ibid. From the same paragraph.

[914] Wallace and others, 'Have we Lived on Earth Before?', pp.406-07.

John Clifford (1836–1923) was a British Nonconformist minister and politician, who became famous as an advocate of 'passive resistance' to the Education Act of 1902. His advocacy of the concept of passive resistance was to have a profound effect upon one Mohandas Karamchand later 'Mahatma' Gandhi in his struggle for an independent India.

Whilst first stating that such a subject is not open to investigation by logical or laboratory means, Clifford describes the idea of reincarnation as 'a fleeting fancy, a wayward imagination, a will-o'-the-wisp'.[915] He also mentions Plato, alluding to the Platonic/Neoplatonic conceptualisation of prior knowledge/existence and amnesis/anamnesis of previous lives.[916] He finds evidence of this in the work of William Wordsworth whom he quotes in support of his argument as saying that it is 'far too shadowy a notion to be recommended to faith as more than an element in our instincts of immortality'.[917] Nevertheless, he acquiesces that it is significant that the poet writes:

> Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting;
>
> The soul that rises with us our life's star,
>
> Hath had elsewhere its setting,
>
> And cometh from afar.
>
> Not in entire forgetfulness,
>
> And not in utter nakedness,
>
> But trailing clouds of glory do we come
>
> From God, Who is our home.[918]

Clifford interprets this as an attempt at apprehending the relationship of the human soul to an immanent deity, but states that in this context we are all doomed to be agnostics. He concludes firmly within the fold of Christian eschatology, eschewing the pointlessly speculative and falling back on

[915] Ibid., p.407.
[916] There is a shift in the meaning of *anamnesis* i.e. 'remembering' (lit. 'unforgetting') between Platonic and Neoplatonic perspectives from an epistemological to an ontological one. In the former it denotes a recollection of forgotten knowledge and in the latter this shifts to a remembrance of previous existence, and in the philosophy of Plotinus *in extensio* a remembering by the soul of its origin from the divine Unity, the One. On the return to the One, see O'Meara, *Plotinus,* pp.103-04.
[917] Wallace and others, 'Have We Lived on Earth before?', p.407.
[918] Ibid., p.407. The quote is from Wordsworth's *Ode: Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood* (1807 – Reworked 1815).

faith. He considers multiple lives to be of little import in the last analysis and exhorts his readers to rejoice in the life yet to come: 'God's in His heaven, all's right with the world.'[919]

Finally, we consider Haggard's answer. Of the four, it is by far the most systematic with - for Haggard - considerable clarity. He opens with a general philosophical preamble, bemoaning the lot of human beings who have no memory of epochs past or foresight of those yet to come, and must struggle to use reason and intuition, and obtain such knowledge that 'by slow and painful effort we can wring from the secret heart of Nature'.[920] Haggard lists three viewpoints which he examines in turn: the Christian, the 'Buddhist' (which as we shall see is – and as is not uncommon for Haggard - actually the Theosophical viewpoint) and that of the Materialist. Tellingly, he informs us at the outset that 'of the two that I propose to touch on first the teachings do not appear to me to be altogether incompatible'.[921]

Haggard initially anchors the assertion of his Anglican confession by telling the reader that the Christian faith is the most important and advanced though not the most widely accepted. He outlines the creation of Adam in Genesis, his Fall through woman and subsequent redemption through the Sacrifice of Jesus Christ.[922] Thus, Man may rise again and, even surpassing his Edenic parents, ascend to the 'white peaks of a blessed immortality or – should he reject it and its laws – […] fall into the depths of the second death'.[923] To Haggard it seems that one lifetime is too short a term to make the decision to reject sin and accept salvation – on average approximating to 30 years excluding sleep!

Haggard mentions inheritance as being a potent driving force for sin, for which, it is implied, a human being is not entirely responsible: we have already discussed this Traducian aspect of Christian soul-theory and its alignment with *karma*, so it is interesting to see where Haggard takes his

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[919] Wallace and others, 'Have We Lived on Earth before?', p.408. Quoting Robert Browning, *Pippa Passes* (1841).
[920] Wallace and others, 'Have We Lived on Earth before?', p.403.
[921] Ibid., p.403.
[922] It is of note, and exemplary of Haggard's inconsistencies, that whilst here he refers to Genesis, we saw that previously in 'The Visions of Harmachis' he had presented visions of dinosaurs and an anthropoidal ape-like past.
[923] Wallace and others, 'Have We Lived on Earth before', p.404.

argument next. He says: 'Further, predestination comes into the matter'[924] and cites Romans 8. 29-30.

This statement is significant for a number of reasons. Firstly, 'predestination' is a term which Haggard seldom uses - Fate and Providence tending to predominate in his literature. Secondly, the passage of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans is important as an example of Pauline typology, and is here placed by Haggard in the context of a discussion on reincarnation:

> For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren.
>
> Moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them he also glorified.[925]

These texts are two principal sources of Pauline typological hermeneutics, the Old Testament prophets and patriarchs being seen as pre-figurations of Christ.[926] Hence type and antitype are discussed in the context of birth and rebirth. This is considered in more detail in the next chapter.

Haggard completes his section on the Christian perspective with the question of the irrevocability of the decision for the dwelling of the soul in heaven or hell throughout eternity, and how this is disproportionate and unfair given the short time on earth given over to this decision being made. The issue of eternal damnation for the soul – more especially from a Calvinist perspective if this were considered irremediable from the very beginning - had been a theological point of contention since the very beginnings of the critical attention paid to scripture in particular and Christian dogma in general, and notably as we have discussed since the publication of *Essays and Reviews*. It is clear that Haggard is setting up the question of how alternative views may bolster the faith, prior to moving on to a discussion of the 'Buddhist' perspective. His section on what he considers to be Buddhism is quite densely packed with ideas. It opens as follows:

> The second school numbers among its adherents the followers of Buddha – I believe about one quarter of the human race – and a small band of independent

[924] Ibid., p.404.
[925] Romans 8.29-30.
[926] Other sources are I Corinthians 10.6 and I Corinthians 10.11.

> thinkers. These maintain and implicitly believe that the individual nomad [sic.], or ego, or entity, or *kharma* [sic.], came forth in the beginning from some life-force or centre, the exact nature of which, so far as I have been able to discover, they are careful not to define. With long intervals of rest in a spiritual state or condition called devachan – to pass over the earlier stages, which seem to include vegetable and even mineral manifestations – this identical ego animates a bewildering succession of physical forms, not all of them human, until at length after millions of years, it works its way back to the life-source from which it sprang.[927]

This passage is analysed as follows: firstly, I would suggest that the 'small band of independent thinkers' refers especially to the Theosophists and the Theosophical Society. Most of the ideas that follow in the passage are not Buddhist but Theosophical. I suspect that there has been a typographical error, and that the print should read *monad* rather than 'nomad' – this would make more sense; the former is a rare word and it is easy to see how this could have happened. In addition, as we have seen, Haggard has used the term monad elsewhere. The emanation of individuals from a Unity is gnostic in terms of a divine 'spark' which then becomes imprisoned in matter, but it can also refer to the Emanationist philosophy of the Neoplatonic philosopher Plotinus. *Karma* is certainly a Buddhist doctrine, but here Haggard refers to it as a synonym for the human entity itself. Certainly, in Buddhist theory it denotes a constellation of karmic necessity and influences which generates rebirth – but there is no identity, no ego or metaphysical singularity which is passed on from physical individual to individual. Haggard then mentions the 'Buddhist' idea of 'devachan' which as we have seen is specifically Theosophical. *Vegetable* or *mineral* existence is also Theosophically allusive, and the return to source can be considered to have similar correspondences in Hindu and Neoplatonic thought (i.e. the Plotinian *epistrophe*), both adopted as part of the Theosophical canon.

Haggard betrays his reading of Theosophical material - and to a certain extent its construction of Buddhism - by saying that the details of this creed 'at any rate as they reach our Western understanding are extremely nebulous and perplexing'.[928] He then goes on to speculate on the Theosophical Masters, hidden away in the mountain fastnesses of 'Thibet'

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[927] Wallace and others, 'Have We Lived on Earth before?', p.404.
[928] Ibid., p.404.

and queries why they will not relinquish the knowledge which the world is so in need of. Nevertheless, out of the 'mystic welter' of details, Haggard says, the interested investigator may derive the two following 'Great Ideas':

> These I take to be the two chief of them:
>
> 1. That the individual spark of fire divine – for the sake of convenience missing out all the subdivisions of the entity, let us call it the soul – remains distinctly individual until its course is run through a multitude of manifestations on this or other worlds.
> 2. That in the course of those manifestations or separated earthly lives it forms its own character and shapes its own destiny, re-incarnating itself from time to time in suitable fleshly tabernacles, and growing gradually better and better, or worse and worse, until it reaches the end which it has in fact deliberately selected after ten thousand opportunities of turning into another path if so it willed.[929]

Again, in the main these are Theosophical ideas, though Haggard's individual sparks flying off from the 'fire divine' is again suggestive of G.R.S. Mead's speculative Gnosis of Fire. Again, he mentions the Theosophical notion of successive reincarnations on other globes than the Earth.

The final 'great school' that Haggard discusses is that of scientific materialism. At the outset he says that this school credits itself with having discovered everything – which amounts to nothing in terms of human spirituality. That life is but a product of 'sun and moisture', that we are born of a series of 'soulless brutes'. That life finishes with death, and that there is no God, 'naught but a blind law which expresses itself in the cruelties of Nature'.[930] Haggard says that all of this apparent materialistic nihilism is indeed an 'uncheerful creed' and he cites St Paul by saying that - if this be true - 'we are of all men most miserable.'[931] Faced with the infinite capacity for exquisite suffering, the desire to be great and good were it not for the tyrannies of the flesh, and the mistaken belief that this

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[929] Ibid., p.405.
[930] Ibid., p.405.
[931] I Corinthians 15. 19: 'If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable.' That is, if the faith in a risen Christ is misplaced.

might indeed be possible, Haggard says it would be better if we had not been born. However, he refuses to believe that this is the case. Fortunately, he writes, some thinkers have considered these problems to the best of their ability and

> In their consciousness, instinct, reason and revelation join forces against the menace of this hideous consummation, this appalling catastrophe which, with the physical being, is to swallow up sensibility, moral aspirations and spiritual achievement.[932]

What might be the solution in the search for 'Truth'? Haggard suggests that the Christian may fall back on his faith accepting the negatives as they arise, or they might consider the possibilities of the complementarity of the Buddhist doctrines with Christianity. The following passage is key to his syncretic approach:

> Can they find in them anything that negatives the possibility of the development of the human soul, of its ripening towards good or evil through a series of terrestrial existences? Again, is there aught in this development theory absolutely inconsistent with the appearance upon earth of a divinely-natured Teacher and Redeemer, whose mission it was to reveal to men the methods whereby they might turn the opportunities of those existences, which, in their turn may be, after all, but one existence, to their ultimate profit, and to impress them that at the end of these opportunities comes irrevocable judgement.[933]

This is highly significant. Haggard combines the divergent soteriology and eschatology of Christianity with Buddhist doctrine by folding cyclical rebirth into a schema of linear time, and by making the apparent multiple incarnations the subdivisions of a single extended existence for one individual, acted on by an overarching Providence. Jesus may still teach - though reading between the lines it is the Dharma that is his kerygma - and the endpoint will still be the Christian eschaton and Final Judgement. How is this possible? By rolling Christian doctrine backwards from the Anglican 'Intermediate Period' (the Protestant version of Purgatory) to an ascendant cyclical metempsychosis in its Early Christian form, and equating it to Asian reincarnation. Haggard goes on to query whether the opportunities for spiritual advancement during those lifetimes may in some obscure way

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[932] Ibid., p.405.
[933] Ibid., p.405.

be dependent upon Jesus' self-sacrifice. He then writes that if the issues of complementarity which we have discussed might be resolved:

> Then it would be possible to reconcile the Christian dogma with that of the gradual development of the spirit of man, chiefly by his own exertions and uninfluenced by predestination (except in the sense aforeknowledge), caprice or accident, since given time and opportunity enough, innate tendency and the law of averages must prevail.
>
> Such a solution would certainly appeal to the reason of our race, for how noble would be the religion which must result![934]

These are important passages, because they show that Haggard was in favour of the possibilities of a hybrid new religion, and in terms of his opposition to predestination it makes the arguments for him promulgating a ‘fatalism of empire’ weaker. Before concluding, Haggard describes the felicity of this scheme, but simultaneously invokes a species of early Christian Gnosticism rather than Buddhism, and this becomes quite apparent in his terminology, including divine ‘sparks’, a profound dualism, and again the Chaldean or Heraclitean Flame of Life, so central to Haggard’s religious schema and a thematic fulcrum in *She*. In this mighty scheme

> Whereunder the torches lit on high, the sparks emitted from the central Flame of being, animated each of them by the dual principles of good and evil inherent in their essence, were given not one brief life, but many lives, and much opportunity to expurgate that evil, and at last return to the source whence they sprang, purged of all dross – pure, immortal![935]

For Haggard, such a scheme would explain all the wild incongruities and apparent injustices in the world. Then we would learn that there was no such thing as accident or coincidence but the manifestation of a pattern in the karmic ‘garment’ that we have woven for ourselves: our own design, but nevertheless ‘blessed and inspired from above’.[936] He concludes by answering the question that it is possible and indeed probable that we have lived on Earth before and shall do so again, but ‘More it is impossible to say in the present stage of our knowledge and enlightenment.’[937]

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[934] Ibid., p.406.
[935] Ibid., p.406.
[936] Ibid., p.406.
[937] Ibid., p.406.

We have seen how Haggard outlined his thoughts on reincarnation in a journalistic article, but he also presented these ideas in his romances. In the following I shall provide a brief synopsis of this issue using the examples of the dialogues between Godfrey and Isobel in *Love Eternal* (1918), and a tripartite dialogue between condemned men musing on life after death in *Queen of the Dawn* (1925).

In *Love Eternal* Godfrey and Isobel are made by Haggard to represent the voices of the intuitive, Romantic and Theosophical in debate with the Darwinist and scientific rationalist respectively. Intriguingly, in this later novel it would appear that by 1918, Haggard has actually learned to differentiate between the Buddhistic and the 'theosophical'. Earlier in the novel, Isobel who will later become the other half of the 'Love Eternal' is engaging in a debate with Godfrey on the possibility of life and living on other planets:

> "It's all nonsense," said Isobel. "If only you'll study the rocks and biology, and Darwin's *Origin of Species*, and lots of other things, you will see how man came to develop on this planet. He is just an accident of Nature, that's all." [...]
>
> "I don't know," he answered. "Sometimes," here his voice became dreamy as it had a way of doing, "I think that we pass on, all of us, from star to star. At least I know I often feel as if I had done so."
>
> "You mean from planet to planet, Godfrey; stars are hot places, you know. You should not swallow all that theosophical bosh which is based on nothing."[938]

Of particular note is that Haggard has Isobel voice the common vogue for the compatibility of a scientific rationalist and Darwinist perspective with Buddhism (as opposed to Christianity):

> If [your father] still wants you to go into the Church I advise you to study the Thirty-nine Articles. I read them all through yesterday, and how anybody can swear to them in this year of grace I'm sure I don't know. [...] By the way, did you ever read anything about Buddhism? I've got a book on it which I think rather fine. At any rate, it is a great idea, though I think I should find it difficult to follow 'the Way.'[939]

Haggard's direct reference to the *Thirty-Nine Articles* as the embodiment of Anglican Orthodoxy is significant as an indicator of how he intended his romance to be a vehicle for serious religious and philosophical discourse.

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[938] Haggard, *Love Eternal*, p.35.
[939] Ibid., p.96.

To conclude we should note that, several years later in the Egyptian romance *Queen of the Dawn* published at the end of his life in 1925, the three view-points of materialist annihilation, reincarnation, and death and redemption - discussed in his article in *The London Magazine* way back in 1904 - reappear in fiction in the voices of the three condemned prisoners debating the afterlife that we considered before:

> One of them believed in the underworld and redemption through Osiris; one rejected the gods as fables and expected nothing save eternal sleep; while the third held that he would be re-born upon the earth and rewarded for all he had endured by a new and happier life.[940]

However, it is not simply Haggard revisiting an old journalistic discussion in fiction. In terms of his Romantic influences, this can be seen as a reappearance of the *Gespräche*, the ‘conversations’ written by Herder and Schlosser on reincarnation that we previously mentioned. The next chapter is concerned with a more extended exposition of reincarnationism.

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[940] Haggard, *Queen of the Dawn*, p.170. Here the redeemer shifts from Christ to Osiris as before.

Chapter 16. REINCARNATION AND RELATED CONCEPTS

In the literature of the Victorian and early Edwardian period, several words were used synonymously with reincarnation. Although these terms are conceptually distinct, historically their meanings may have changed. In the following chapter I shall attempt to desynonymise some of them, examining their use in the 'Ayesha Series' of Haggard romances, broadening our compass where necessary. In *The Lotus and the Lion: Buddhism and the British Empire* (2008), J. Jeffrey Franklin has identified a series of these related concepts in *She*, which I shall now explore and expand upon. I have used the meanings of these terms as given by Franklin.[941]

(i) *Metempsychosis*: Often used as a synonym of 'transmigration'. Although the Victorians perceived early on that the Egyptians believed in reincarnation, as we have already seen, this was not the case. An alternative term to be considered in this context is 'metensomatosis' - as the body is also changed as the soul develops [942]

(ii) *Hindu Reincarnation*. In Hindu reincarnation, there is a belief in the soul and its continuation in other life times. There is a continuity of identity with the possibility of remembering of previous existences. There is a notion of continuing spiritual development from lifetime to lifetime, with the eventual dissolving of the soul in the Atman at the moment of salvation or *Mokṣa*. In the famous last line of *The Light of Asia*, Sir Edwin Arnold's epic poem on the life of Siddhartha Gautama the Buddha, he describes *nirvāṇa* with the metaphor 'The Dewdrop

[941] Franklin, *The Lotus and the Lion*, pp.105-06.
[942] See Norman C., McClelland, *Encyclopedia of Reincarnation and Karma* (Jefferson NC: McFarland & Company Inc., 2010), p.172.

slips into the shining sea,'[943] which is a Hindu rather than Buddhist idea.

(iii) *Buddhist Reincarnation*. There is no soul in Buddhism to drive reincarnation. It is only *karma* that survives. Often this is portrayed as a flame moving from candle to candle. There is no soul to evolve spiritually and there is no continuation of identity or memory.

(iv) *Resurrection*. The physical death and resurrection of the body as in the Christian tradition.

(v) *Immortality*. The soul continues for eternity in the afterlife. There may or may not be an 'intermediate period' after which the soul continues without further spiritual development for Eternity.

(vi) *Transmigration*. This denotes the soul leaving the body. This may also imply an 'out-of-body' experience with the soul returning to the body. It may refer to travel to another world other than heaven in a 'vision quest'. It may also refer to possession states e.g. spirit-possession of the medium during the séance.

(vii) *Demi-immortality*: By this term Franklin describes a perpetual existence of the soul though not necessarily in the same body.

(viii) *Inheritance.* Here there is an implication of a karmic-type phenomenon whereby, for example, the 'sins of the father' are visited upon the son by some form of atavism or genetic inheritance.

To these I shall add:

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[943] Edwin Arnold, *The Light of Asia or The Great Renunciation: Being the Life and Teaching of Gautama as told in Verse by an Indian Buddhist* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd, 1890), p.252.

(ix) *Biblical Typology and Typological Hermeneutics*. These concepts are discussed alongside their relationship with the Anglican 'Intermediate State'.

(x) *The Doctrine of Pre-Existence*: The idea of a spiritual Pre-Existence of Christ and subsequently men prior to physical incarnation.

(xi) *The German Romantic concept of* Sympathie: the 'innate affinities' that individuals have that have been lovers or friends in a past life.

In the Ayesha Series many of the above concepts are interwoven by Haggard and are difficult to demarcate, notably with regard to the character of Leo Vincey. It is clear from the outset that Leo's case is rather complex. Firstly, the reader discovers that he is the direct lineal descendant of Kallikrates. Holly examines the 'Sherd of Amenartas', which on one side contains the signatures of all his ancestors from Kallikrates down, almost all of whom ended with 'Vindex' or 'Avenger.' This Latin name eventually became De Vincey and finally Vincey. As Holly remarks: 'It is very curious to observe how the idea of revenge, inspired by an Egyptian before the time of Christ, is thus, as it were, embalmed in an English family name.'[944] Secondly, during the course of *She*, we discover that he is Kallikrates *reborn*. Ayesha proves this to him by showing him the perfectly preserved corpse of Kallikrates, within whose sepulchre she has slept for the last two thousand years, and with whom he is identical:

> "Behold now, let the dead and living meet! [...] Therefore, have no fear, Kallikrates, when thou – living, and but lately born – shalt look upon thine own departed self, who breathed and died long ago. I do but turn one page in thy Book of Being, and show thee what is writ thereon.
>
> *Behold!"* [945]

Ayesha's case is also complex. Although loosely called an 'immortal queen' by several commentators, she is not in fact immortal. By bathing in the Flame of Life her life is preternaturally, but not supernaturally

[944] Haggard, *She*, p.37.
[945] Ibid., p.237

extended. Ayesha is emphatic about the continuity of multiple lifetimes. Addressing Holly, she says: '"Dost thou still believe that all things die, even as those very Jews believed? I tell thee naught really dies. There is no such thing as Death, though there be a thing called Change."'[946] As Ayesha relates, it is the *anima mundi* of a living Nature which extends life:

> Nature hath her animating spirit as well as a man, who is Nature's child, and he who can find that spirit and let it breathe upon him, shall live with her life. He shall not live eternally, for Nature is not eternal, and she herself must die, even as the nature of the moon hath died.[947]

She tells Leo that he must enter the Flame and become like her before they can be intimate, confirming that she is not immortal, 'but so cased and hardened against the attacks of Time, that his arrows shall glance from the armour of thy vigorous life as the sunbeams from water'.[948] It would have been anathema for Haggard to make Ayesha physically immortal as it flies in the face of his New Testament dualism. Only the spirit is eternal when separated from the corrupt flesh. In this passage from *She*, Haggard makes Holly the mouthpiece of Pauline doctrine; the debate between himself and Ayesha becomes one of Paul against the materialist casuistry of the Athenian Stoic and Epicurean philosophers on the Areopagus, as though re-enacting the encounter related in the Acts of the Apostles.[949] Ayesha offers him the chance to bathe in the Flame of Life, but, as we have seen, Holly declines saying that the immortality which his faith promises him will free his spirit from the bondage of his physical self: 'For while the flesh endures, sorrow and evil and the scorpion whips of sin[950] must endure also.'[951] Haggard's idealised deontological chastity and self-restraint border on bodily mortification.

If not immortal, the question remains of Ayesha's actual ontological status. Franklin accords her a 'Demi-immortality' i.e. a perpetual existence of the soul though not in the same body. I have a different view on this point: in the prequel *Wisdom's Daughter*, Ayesha describes a vision of herself as a

[946] Ibid., p.149.
[947] Ibid., p.151.
[948] Ibid., p.249.
[949] Acts 17.18.
[950] I Kings 12.1.
[951] Haggard, *She*, p.252.

discarnate entity in the Halls of Isis. Thus, there is a presentation of the Platonic (and Alexandrian Christian) doctrine of Pre-Existence:

> I, Ayesha, daughter of Yarab, not yet of the flesh, but above and beyond the flesh inhabited the halls of that great goddess of the earth, a minister of That which rules all the earth (Nature's self as now I know), who in Egypt was named Isis, Mother of Mysteries.[952]

We have previously articulated how the moral economies of sin and redemption become equated with *karma* and reincarnation in the Victorian *religio mentis* Thus, in *She*, Ayesha is seeking redemption for the murder of Kallikrates, and the expiation of her sins of pride and arrogance. To this end, she suffers in her loneliness for two thousand years, sleeping next to the corpse of the murdered Kallikrates, awaiting his reincarnation as Leo Vincey. Before we can explore further the relationship of Leo and Kallikrates we need to briefly examine the nature of typological interpretation.

Figura *and* Typos*: Figural Phenomenal Prophecy, Pauline Typology and Hermeneutics*

We have seen how Haggard's literature can be interpreted allegorically and parabolically, and to this I add a third division of metaphor in the form of a typological hermeneutic. To Franklin's list of reincarnation-related concepts, therefore, amongst the other ideas, I have added New Testament typology and the notion of an 'Intermediate Period' in order to assess the complementarity of Theosophical ('Buddhist') and Christian soul-theories - for reasons which will presently become apparent.[953] Before proceeding we should engage in a brief excursus to consider the concepts of typological hermeneutics, and how these are manifest in a biblical context and Victorian literature in general.[954]

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[952] Haggard, *Wisdom's Daughter*, p.16.

[953] In this regard, Haggard is mentioned in later Theosophical publications including Amneus' *Life's Riddle* (1954) in Chapter VII: 'Reincarnation.' See Nils A. Amneus, *Life's Riddle* (1954), Theosophical University Press Online edn (1998) <http://www.theosociety.org/pasadena/riddle/riddlehp.htm> [Accessed 26 June 2017] In the section subtitled 'Reincarnation Through the Ages', Haggard is listed as one of a group of authors who 'show by their writings that they approve of the idea' of reincarnation.

[954] For a general overview of the subject, see Leonhard Goppelt, *Typos: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New*, trans. by Donald H. Madvig (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Erdmans Publishing Company, 1982).

Eschewing a cultural disconnect between the Old Testament as the history of the Jewish people and the New Testament as the predicate of a Christian dispensation, typology and 'figural phenomenal prophecy' often sought to link the two, and interpret the Old Testament in terms of the New. George P. Landow describes three categories of 'type': historical personages, legal, and prophetical.[955] The legal could be, for instance, the blood sacrifice of Mosaic Law prefiguring the sacrifice of the blood of Christ during substitutionary atonement [956] Old Testament prophecy and its fulfilment are self-evident, and it is 'historical personages' which is the category of most interest to our project. Thus, figures including Old Testament prophets and patriarchs were seen as the 'types' which prefigured and prophesied the coming of the 'antitype', which was the whole reason for the type, and its final *telos* in an improved form. For example, one often finds Adam as the 'type' of the antitype Christ and so on. This idea of a *figura* or *typos* has an ancient lineage in terms of the history of the Church, predominantly derived from Pauline epistolary scripture. [957] As Auerbach observes:

> The Church Fathers often justify the figural interpretation on the basis of certain passages in early Christian writings, mostly from the Pauline Epistles. The most important of these is I Cor. 10:6 and 11, where the Jews in the desert are termed *typoi hemon* ("figures of ourselves"), and where it is written that *tauta de typikos synebainen ekeinois* ("these things befell them as figures").[958]

In addition, in the Epistle to the Galatians,[959] Paul explains to the newly baptized Galatians who - still under the influence of Judaism - wished to be

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[955] George P. Landow, *Victorian Types, Victorian Shadows: Biblical Typology in Victorian Literature, Art and Thought* (Boston, MA: Routledge, Kegan & Paul, 1980), pp.22-34.

[956] The relevant passage is Hebrews 9.11.

[957] As Erich Auerbach has written, typology has an extensive pre-Christian history extending back into classical antiquity. See his essay 'Figura', Part I: 'From Terence to Quintilian', in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature*, Theory and History of Literature, 9 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), pp.11-28. As Paul J. Korshin has also written, Pauline typology has a Jewish ancestry: 'Paul was acquainted with rabbinic or midrashic exegesis, a nonliteral (i.e., figural) form of interpretation that includes prophetic and predictive reading of Old Testament texts. Midrashic predictive exegesis is either historical or eschatological.' This Jewish past of typology reached the Renaissance and post-Reformation periods along three main paths in the History of Ideas: 'The first route is through Pauline exegesis, the refinements of the Fathers and the further refinements of the medieval church. The second is through the introduction, in Christian Europe, of the study of the rabbis in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some of this interest focused on Jewish mysticism, especially on cabalism, but there is a gradually increasing knowledge of Midrashic typology as well, particularly among writers like Milton who were well read in Continental theology or in the rabbis themselves. The third source for European knowledge of pre-Christian typology is the hermetic writings, the ancient theology whose study attained cultic proportions in the seventeenth century.' See Paul J. Korshin, *Typologies in England, 1650-1820* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp.28-29.

[958] Erich Auerbach, *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature*, p.49.

[959] Galatians 4.21-31.

circumcised, 'the difference between law and grace, the old and the new covenant, servitude and freedom, by the example of Hagar-Ishmael and Sarah-Isaac, linking the narrative in Genesis with Is. 54:1 and interpreting it in terms of figural prophecy.'[960]

There is a long tradition of literary typology extending into Victorian literature, and Haggard is no exception. The striking example is the case of Kallikrates and Leo in *She.* We have already seen the historical relationship between Kallikrates and Leo Vincey: Leo is his lineal descendent, his reincarnation, his *Doppelgänger*, and to these we can now add his antitype.[961] Kallikrates fell from grace by breaking his vow of celibacy as a priest of Isis, but Leo returns to save Ayesha from the material stasis of her preternaturally extended life, and thus brings her to redemption through death in the 'Flame of Life'.[962]

To return to typology: for the hermeneutic to be considered fundamentally valid, and especially where the narrative is considered prophetic in the case of Old Testament hermeneutics, the emphasis is on *literal truth.* Patrick Fairbairn wrote in 1859, that 'typical interpretations of Scripture differ from allegorical ones of the first or fabulous kind, in that they indispensably require the reality of the facts or circumstances stated in the original narrative'.[963] Hence as a result of the onslaught of biblical historicism, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, typology fell into disuse. Therefore, I would argue, it paved the way for the prominence of the reincarnation novel by means of the replacement of typology with reincarnationism: type and antitype become incarnation and reincarnation.

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[960] Eric Auerbach, *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature*, p.49. The other passages mentioned by Auerbach are: Colossians 2.16 and following, which says that the Jewish dietary laws and holidays are only the shadow of things to come, whereas the body is Christ; Romans 5.12 and following, and I Corinthians 15.21, where Adam appears as the *typos* of the future Christ, and grace is opposed to the law; and II Corinthians 3.14, which speaks of the 'veil' that covers Scripture when the Jews read it.
[961] Sara Brio considers that the priest Harmachis in Haggard's *Cleopatra* is a 'type' of Christ, as he fails to be the saviour of his people (by not murdering Cleopatra), unlike the antitype of Christ the Redeemer, where the redemptive act is completed. (Sara Brio: 'Prefiguring the Cross: A Typological Reading of H. Rider-Haggard's *Cleopatra,*' Conference paper delivered at the *Tea with the Sphinx: Ancient Egypt and the Modern Imagination* Conference, University of Birmingham 24-26 September 2016 [via personal communication]).
[962] Though, as we later discover in *Ayesha* her soul was actually transmigrated to the body of an aged Tibetan priestess at the moment of death.
[963] Patrick Fairbairn, *The Typology of Scripture: Viewed in Connection with the Entire Scheme of the Divine Dispensations*, 3rd edn, 2 vols (Philadelphia: William S. & Alfred Martien, 1859), I, p.11. The first editions of the two volumes were originally published in 1845 and 1847.

Historically, the relationship between reincarnational and typological hermeneutics is intimate. In the *De Civitate Dei contra Paganos* (426 A.D.), Augustine of Hippo had sounded the death knell of the doctrine of the *Parousia* (Gk: 'presence/arrival', indicating in this context the Second Coming of Christ), effectively 'immanentizing the eschaton' by stating that the Millennium - Christ's reign of a thousand years with the saints in Christian beatitude prior to the Final Judgement - had commenced with the Resurrection.[964] Typological hermeneutics came into prominence after Augustine with the establishment of a Christian eschatology, which was not chiliastic in terms of anticipating a future millennium.

Ante-Nicene chiliastic Christian eschatology had often held to the deployment of intermediate periods of one form or another, typically with the soul entering some form of intermediate zone where it awaited the Second Coming and the Final Judgement, before passing on to the presence of God. These intermediate states had often been accommodating to Platonic Pre-Existence and metempsychosis. As Geddes MacGregor observes:

> The doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul was openly held by some of the Alexandrian Fathers including Clement and Origen, and that is a doctrine which, to say the least, has many affinities with a reincarnational one of the Pythagorean or Platonic type.[965]

Prior to Augustine, 'Christians in the early centuries who held such doctrines were sometimes called and may have called themselves the *pre-existiani.*'[966] Thus, the belief in a Greek form of metempsychosis had to be supressed. Whether the stress on typology which substituted pre-figuration

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[964] The pertinent lines in Augustine are in Chapter 19 of Book 20: 'And so the Church now on earth is both the kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of heaven. The saints reign with Him now.' See St. Augustine, *The City of God (De Civitate Dei)* trans. by John Healey, ed. by R.V.G. Tasker, 2 vols (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1945; repr.1947), II, p.283. As Jacob Taubes writes: 'Unlike the previous Church Fathers, Augustine does not fight chiliasm but reinterprets it in such a way that it loses its eschatological vigor. […] The chiliastic kingdom is generally thought to be in the future, but it is precisely the futurity of this thousand-year empire that Augustine reverses; in his opinion the future orientation of chiliasm fails to grasp the implications of the Revelation to John.' That is, that the Devil was bound, and the thousand-year kingdom began with the Resurrection. See Jacob Taubes, *Occidental Eschatology*, trans. by David Ratmoko (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), p.80. The tendency for chiliastic thought, especially in Evangelical fora would nonetheless return in the nineteenth-century partly as a reaction against liberal Church reform.

[965] Geddes MacGregor, *Reincarnation as a Christian Hope* (New York NY: Springer,1982), pp.47-48. Although MacGregor's work contains in places what is very much in the nature of a personal and experiential confession, and he is an apologist for reincarnation in a Christian context, the theological commentary and Church history is presented as a scholarly disquisition.

[966] Ibid., p.48.

for Pre-Existence was a deliberate dogmatic manoeuvre is beyond the scope of this work.

However, it is significant that in the second half of the nineteenth century as typology fell into abeyance, contact at the Imperial margin with oriental belief systems resulted in a resurgence of reincarnationism in an Asian rather than Hellenic form. Typological biblical exegesis is then replaced by an interpretation which presents evidence of reincarnation in scripture, and as previously noted, this is particularly well represented in Theosophical interpretations of scripture. Thus, in a theological context, whilst typology and reincarnationism have been coexistent, there is a tendency to an inverse relation between the two in terms of prevalence. As we have seen, however, Haggard needn't substitute one for the other. Leo and Kallikrates are an antitype-type pairing as well as two incarnations.

As late as 1912 and in his autobiography, Haggard gives evidence of a personal belief in reincarnation, and deploys this schematic reconstruction; a typological hermeneutic is transposed into one of reincarnation. We have already seen this passage, but can now see how it relates to New Testament typology and reincarnation:

> Indeed this may be a convenient place to state my private opinion (it is no more, though I cannot find that it conflicts with the doctrines of Christianity; see, for instance, the passage in which our Lord refers to Elijah as having returned to Earth in the person of John the Baptist), to the effect that we, or at any rate that some of us, already have individually gone through this process of coming into active Being and departing out of Being more than once – perhaps very often indeed.[967]

This idea is handed down from the very beginning of the Christian era. One can observe however that the church father Tertullian, in his disputation with the Gnostic exegetes' belief in reincarnation, refuted Carpocrates who held this self-same old belief that John the Baptist was Elijah reborn. Tertullian says that 'Elijah was not actually reborn "in a Pythagorean sense" but "translated," that is, "removed without dying," carried by a whirlwind into heaven" (2. Kings ii:11), to come back at a later time to fulfil the Lord's prediction.'[968] Thus, although reincarnation would become a commonplace in the later Theosophical interpretation of Scripture, it is an idea with a much older provenance, and was still much recorded in the

[967] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, II, p.241.
[968] Kurth-Voigt, *Continued Existence*, p.74.

thought of the Enlightenment. From the perspective of Hermetic Philosophy, it was notably present in the thought of the Dutch physician and alchemist Franciscus Mercurius van Helmont (1618-1699), with another espousal of the Elijah/John the Baptist argument.[969] A later example is found in Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* ('The Education of the Human Race') of 1780. In the context of this 'education' - by which he means Christian spiritual advance - Lessing asks about the serious possibility of metempsychosis in a Christian setting:

> THOU hast on Thine Eternal Way so much to carry on together, so much to do! So many aside steps to take! And what if it were as good as proved that the vast flow wheel, which brings mankind nearer to this perfection is only put in motion by smaller, swifter wheels, each of which contributes its own individual unit thereto? [970]

This passage is alluded to by Schlegel in his *The Philosophy of History*, and has a footnote from his translator, the historian and scholar of Catholic theologians James Burton Robertson, which demonstrates the early appearance of Haggard's ideas. Schlegel says (alluding to Lessing):

> When an individual of our age, out of disgust with modern and well known systems, or with vulgar doctrines, and from a love of paradox, adopted this ancient hypothesis of the transmigration of souls; he merely considered the bare transmutation of earthly forms. But among those ancient nations this doctrine rested on a religious basis, and was connected with a sentiment purely religious. In this doctrine there was a noble element of truth – the feeling that man, since he has gone astray, and wandered so far from his God, must need exert many efforts, and undergo a long and painful pilgrimage, before he can rejoin the Source of all perfection.[971]

One might very well ask how is it possible to combine a Christian linear eschatology with the cyclical temporal sequence of birth and rebirth? In this regard, Robertson's footnote reads quite tellingly:

> Schlegel here alludes to the celebrated Lessing, who in his work entitled "The Education of the Human Race," had maintained the doctrine of the

[969] Ibid., p.37.
[970] Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *The Education of The Human Race*, trans. by Fred W. Robertson, 4th edn (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1883), pp.74-75.
[971] Frederick von Schlegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. by James Burton Robertson, 4th edn (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1846), p.157.

> Metempsychosis, a doctrine doubly absurd in a Deist, like Lessing, for the metempsychosis was a philosophical, though false, explanation of the primitive and universal dogma of an intermediate and probationary state of souls.[972]

The manoeuvre is thus carried out by equating type and antitype with birth and rebirth, and by making multiple existences equivalent to one long period of spiritual evolution, in this instance represented by the Anglican 'Intermediate Period'. We can now see more clearly how Haggard deploys this construction in his piece for *Have We Lived On Earth Before? Shall We Live on Earth Again*? :

> Can they find in them anything that negatives the possibility of the development of the human soul, of its ripening towards good or evil through a series of terrestrial existences? Again, is there aught in this development theory absolutely inconsistent with the appearance upon earth of a divinely-natured Teacher and Redeemer, whose mission it was to reveal to men the methods whereby they might turn the opportunities of those existences, which, in their turn may be, after all, but one existence, to their ultimate profit, and to impress them that at the end of these opportunities comes irrevocable judgement.[973]

Nevertheless, whilst he speculated on reincarnation and was generally positive about it as a hypothesis, it should be remembered that Haggard could retreat to the default position of New Testament theology when his view was queried in direct correspondence with his readers. Consider for instance this letter to a Ms Ellen Bird from 21 June 1922:

> You ask questions which it would be presumptuous of me to even try to answer [...]. As regards the first two of them, however, replies are given or suggested in the New Testament. You must remember that Reincarnation, although accepted as a fact by a great proportion of the inhabitants of the world is unproved; a most interesting theory and no more. I am glad however that you and your friend have found in my books matter which gives you food for thought.[974]

Sympathie *and Innate Affinities*

The poet and author Christoph Martin Wieland (1733-1813) frequently deployed the Romantic concept of *Sympathie* in his work, where lovers discovered an 'innate affinity' between them because their souls had been

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[972] Ibid., p.157.
[973] Wallace and others, 'Have We Lived on Earth Before?', p.405.
[974] Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MS 4694/26.

together in other lifetimes, or as he later emphasised, a Pre-Existence. Thus,

> In his second long poem *Lobgesang auf die Liebe* [‘Hymn of Praise to Love’](1751), […] the poet pays tribute to the divine forces of affection, elucidates the mystery of affinities, and reveals his belief in the transference of emotions and sentiments from an earlier state of pre-existence.[975]

Haggard reiterates the concept of Sympathy with a virtual dictionary definition in *Love Eternal*. As a young girl, Isobel sees Godfrey, her soul-mate, for the first time whilst he is sleeping:

> Sympathy welled up in Isobel, who remembered the oppressions of the last governess […]. Sympathy, yes, and more than sympathy, for of a sudden she felt as she had never felt before. She loved the little lad as though he were her brother. A strange affinity for him came home to her; although she did not define it thus; it was as if she knew that her spirit was intimate with his, yes, and always had been and always would be intimate.[976]

In his autobiography, he broadens the sense of affinity to include places and races. As he says, although such past lives are insusceptible of proof like all spiritual matters, still there are

> Vague memories, affinities with certain lands and races, irresistible attractions and repulsions, at times amounting in the former case to intimacies of the soul (among members of the same sex, for in discussing such matters it is better to exclude the other) so strong that they appear to be already well established, such as have drawn me so close to certain friends.[977]

It is perhaps unsurprising that the rich catalogue of such ‘lands and races’ in Haggardian Romance should include lost races and lost continents. In *Love Eternal* for example, Godfrey is told by his mentor that a spirit that he has been in contact with was his ‘intimate’ friend in a previous incarnation in Atlantis:

> Miss Ogilvy tried to soothe him." You shouldn't be frightened of her," she said. "She is really a delightful spirit, and declares that she knew you very intimately indeed, when you were an early Egyptian, also much before that on the lost continent, which is called Atlantis.[978]

It is to a discussion of Haggard’s lost lands and races, in the broadest sense, that we now turn.

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[975] Kurth-Voigt, *Continued Existence*, p.90.
[976] Haggard, *Love Eternal*, p.20.
[977] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, II, pp.241-42.
[978] Haggard, *Love Eternal*, p.95.

Chapter 17. THE CARTOGRAPHY OF THE LOST WORLD

Empire of Religion: Victorian Anthropology and the Rise of Comparative Religious Studies

In Haggard's literature and his relationship with Imperial occultism there are a number of worlds which coexist. The 'hidden' world of nineteenth-century occultism; the buried world of Ancient Egyptian archaeology; the subterranean world of the mines of Solomon with their unmined ore and everything that it allegorises; the esoteric world of the hieroglyph – hidden in plain sight, read only by the initiate; in summary, all that lies behind the Veil of Isis. This chapter explores Haggard's engagement with Imperial comparative religion, and the ideas that engendered his 'lost world' genre. For reasons which will become apparent, we must first consider the thought and theory of some of the pioneers of comparative religious studies and contextualise the dialectic between these and Victorian anthropology, all within the compass of British colonialism. This may then facilitate an examination of the metageography of Empire: the myth of continents and mythic continents.

To explore these we must first introduce briefly the dialogue between Rider Haggard and one of his closest friends – the anthropologist, folklorist, psychic investigator and prolific litterateur Andrew Lang (1844-1912). Lang and Haggard had a lifelong friendship and – as with Budge – there were a number of ideas that Haggard adopted from him. In the emergent anthropology, Lang had his own set of ideas and wrote a number of polemics against the leading lights of the day. He was opposed to Friedrich Max Müller's prevalent Aryanism and comparative philology. Max Müller's approach was to analyse the Indo-Aryan/Indo-European 'family tree' of languages and extrapolate from this to the development of human culture. He fostered the myth of Aryanism whilst at the same time having his own linguistic theory of the origins of mythology which he saw as a

'disease of language' which had become corrupted and concretised, mistaking 'metaphors for deities, confusing *nomina* for *numina*'.[979]

As has been observed 'Lang drew upon a long history of nineteenth-century romantic theorizing about the creative power of imagination and fancy.'[980] Although Max Müller was also heavily influenced by his own Romantic background in German idealism, Lang critiqued his theories in his own writing, asserting for example that when Zulu rain makers herded the clouds they were not using the metaphor of a shepherd, but saw the same process as herding the sheep. Thus, on the basis of his own Romantic legacy, 'he argued against the linguistic origin of myth by insisting, "The Aryan and lower races have had to pass through similar conditions of imagination and of society and therefore of religion."'[981] Likewise, Lang was opposed to *Diffusionism* i.e. that human culture spread by cultural migrations and contact (in some respect Haggard disagreed with him on this as discussed below). Instead, he preferred the notion that culture arose *de novo* from multiple, originary foci. This was dependent on the theory of 'psychic unity': 'Asserting the global unity of religion, myth and ritual, Andrew Lang argued that it resulted not from intercultural borrowings or historical diffusion but from the creative power of the human imagination.'[982] Thus, all humans possessed the same cognitive functions and imagination which in turn promoted the notion of a unity of man and challenged in some respects the polarity of savage and civilized.

Lang was also opposed to Herbert Spencer's early anthropological theory that religion commenced with ancestor worship. Similarly, he opposed E. B. Tylor's notion that religion commenced with a primitive animism where all things were thought of as having a spirit that animated them, with a progressive development toward the evolution of the concept of a god and monotheism. Likewise, Lang rejected Frazer's notion of religious evolution and totemism, with a progression from polytheism to monotheism. He theorised the presence of the concept of a Supreme Being in all of humanity and that the idea of a spirit or spirits came later, and might be considered degenerative. It is useful at this point to expand on some of Lang's theories and their reception by Haggard.

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[979] Chidester, *Empire of Religion*, p.137.
[980] Ibid., p.136.
[981] Ibid., p.136.
[982] Ibid., p.136.

Andrew Lang, Psycho-Folklorist

But the mild anthropologist, he's
Not recent inclined to suppose
Flints Palaeolithic like these,
Quaternary bones such as those!
In Rhinoceros, Mammoth and Co.'s,
First epoch, the Human began,
Theologians all to expose,
'Tis the mission of Primitive Man.

ENVOY.

MAX, proudly your Aryans pose,
But their rigs they undoubtedly ran[983],
For, as every Darwinian knows,
'Twas the manner of Primitive Man![984]

Lang as we have seen was a critical voice of the current anthropology, and in *The Double Ballade of Primitive Man*, excerpted above, he satirised in verse form the philological approach of Friedrich Max Müller, in collaboration with the anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor (1832-1917). Opposed as we have seen to many leading figures, he adopted and simultaneously critiqued the anthropological theories of Tylor, taking the latter's notions of magic and religion as primitive 'survivals' of the savage man, and modifying them with his own more positive nostalgic primitivism, as opposed to the Tylorian survival of 'superstitions'. Lang had read Tylor's *Primitive Culture* (1871) and acted as a conduit of Tylorian anthropology to Haggard - though Haggard resisted Tylor's secularising impulse. Lang's personal innovation was to apply Tylorian ideas to literature, and his defence of Romance against realism was on Tylorian grounds (he had written an essay along the lines of Haggard's

[983] i.e. played a trick or deceived.
[984] From 'The Double Ballade of Primitive Man', in Andrew Lang, *XXXII Ballades in Blue China* (London: Kegan Paul Trench & Co., 1885), pp.44-46. These last two stanzas - four and five - were written by Tylor.

About Fiction). He saw Romance literature in general and Haggard's in particular with its mythopoeic quality as representing a 'survival' of the noble savage and as such it appealed to the primitive man within. This is precisely what Haggard says in *About Fiction:*

> The love of romance is probably coeval with the existence of humanity. So far as we can follow the history of the world we find traces of it and its effects among every people, and those who are acquainted with the habits and ways of thought of savage races will know that it flourishes strongly in the barbarian as in the cultured breast. In short, it is like the passions, an innate quality of mankind.[985]

Note the references to the academic study of anthropology and the Tylorian hierarchical triad of 'savage', 'barbarian' and 'cultured' i.e civilised. Haggard's personal take on Tylor was to sublimate this into the survival of nascent and native spirituality. Tylor himself had generally held a negative view of 'survivals'. In *Primitive Culture*, he had written: 'The study of the principles of survival has, indeed, no small practical importance, for most of what we call superstition is included within survival, and in this way lies open to the attack of its deadliest enemy, a reasonable explanation.'[986] Haggard was looking for anything but a 'reasonable explanation', and in this context, the influence of Lang's nostalgic primitivism cannot be understated. Lang, like Haggard, saw that in Tylor's evolutionary anthropology and the advance from savagery to barbarism to civilisation, something was *lost* rather than gained. They both looked towards a pastoralized past and decried the effete and fey state of masculinity in the modern mechanised world - for Haggard a source of ideological vacillation in his view of Empire. Lang's interest in the Imperial project lay with the missionising process itself, and the possibilities of a reverse transmission of religious ideas between colonized and colonizer:

> More broadly, he appeared fascinated by the transmission of beliefs between colonized peoples and white colonizers. In April 1886, he queried the assumption that indigenous converts in colonized cultures were susceptible to psychical disturbance while colonizing missionaries remained supremely rational, and recounted the case of Christian missionaries in sixteenth-century South America who shared the native converts' visions. Although the converts' visions might be seen as merely "subjective," he asked, "what are we to say

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[985] H. Rider Haggard, 'About Fiction', *The Contemporary Review*, February 1887, pp.172-80 (p.172).
[986] E.B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 2vols, 5th edn (London: John Murray, 1913), I, p.17.

> when the temptations, or rather disturbances, that vex the convert make themselves manifest to other observers?" [987]

Lang's other engagement with such 'psychical disturbance' represented a revaluation of religious dialogue at the imperial margins, and as Roger Luckhurst argues, his anthropological theory was 'premised' on often heterodox data 'received from the edges of empire.'[988] Lang's ideas blended the discourses of anthropology and psychic research and this combination was adopted by Haggard. On occasion, he would make suggestions for Haggard's fiction. For example, early in the twentieth century, Lang wrote to Haggard with 'the germ of a novel', lifted from a report in the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*: 'The strange case of Mr. Ferguson, a . . . white man in native service [in West Africa]', who had 'learned their magic'.[989] Lang's interest in the 'cross-cultural transmission of occult experiences chimed with contemporary fascination with the nightmarish prospect of "going native", but he appeared intrigued rather than threatened by his vision of psychical permeability.'[990] The same could be said of Haggard.

We can see now how this view contrasts with what Patrick Brantlinger sees as a 'fear of atavistic regression' in the context of what he termed Haggard's *Imperial Gothic*. The three principal themes of Brantlinger's Imperial Gothic are a fear of individual regression or 'going native'; an invasion of civilisation by the forces of barbarism or demonism, and the diminution of opportunities for adventure and heroism in the modern world.[991] Haggard's writing, in common with Lang's view, clearly presents an elegiac nostalgia for not only the warrior and the opportunity for adventure in the modern world – as Brantlinger rightly says – but also, contrary to his opinion, for the intuitive or psychic faculty, and what Lucien Lévy-Bruhl called the *participation mystique* of indigenous peoples.[992] Unlike Lévy-Bruhl, who thought that 'primitive' people had a completely different mentation which resulted in this 'participation' with

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[987] Reid, '"King Romance" in *Longman's Magazine*', pp.364-65.
[988] Roger Luckhurst, 'Knowledge, belief and the supernatural at the imperial margin', in *The Victorian Supernatural*, ed. by Nicola Brown and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.197-216 (p. 201).
[989] Lang, letter to Haggard, 5 Mar. [1907?], Lockwood Collection, cited in Julia Reid, '"King Romance" in *Longman's Magazine*', p.365.
[990] Reid, '"King Romance" in Longman's Magazine', p.365.
[991] Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness*, p.230.
[992] See Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *Primitive Mentality*, trans. by Lilian A. Clare (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1923). For a considered philosophical review of the concept, see S.A. Mousalimas, 'The Concept of Participation in Lévy-Bruhl's 'Primitive Mentality', *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford*, 1,21(1990), 33-46.

Nature, Lang and Haggard felt that modern mentalities had evolved from the primitive form, and something had been 'evolved out' of the white man. Far from a fear of regression to savagery, in terms of human spirituality Haggard and Lang saw a pure, replenishing and revitalizing return to source. Rather than the ponderous dithering over sclerotic doctrinal structures, it was the unmediated experience of communion with Nature and Divinity; the caveat being that Haggard nevertheless saw Christianity as the culmination of all 'civilised' faiths. In terms of the racially 'advanced' white man, Haggard's thoughts have to be contextualised within the canon of Victorian anthropology: by praising the preservation of this faculty in the indigenous Africans, he portrays them in a positive light - but for the wrong reasons i.e. he lauds this heightened faculty in modern Africans, but considers it a primitive survival, thus engaging with the trope of comparison between modern Africans and primitive man. Gerald Monsman makes the following comment:

> Our twenty-first century's privileged perceptual sophistication, viewing Haggard's spiritualistic romanticism from the catbird seat of postcolonial criticism, predictably faults him for not being *au courant* by today's standards. But if the acquired experience of the last century is so indelible that one cannot erase it, then a leap of the historical imagination is required to hark back to the cultural environment of that earlier era to empathize with Haggard's romanticism of 'primitive' life. [993]

As aforementioned, the merging of anthropological and psychical discourse peculiar to Lang *qua* 'psycho-folklorist' would in turn influence Haggard. In the context of this combination of 'primitive' life and indigenous psychic ability, Haggard used the poetic Zulu phrase 'Opening the Gates of Distance' on a number of occasions during his long authorial career: 'In southern Africa, the Zulu phrase for this clairvoyant knowledge was *isiyezi* [...] which acted as a "spiritual telegraph system".'[994] It indicates the *sangoma's* ('witch-doctor's) ability to see clairvoyantly 'at a distance', but he also used it to indicate the 'Gates of death'. Haggard had direct experience of both the séance room and Zulu spirituality, and in the final romance of the Zulu Trilogy, *Finished* (1917), he had this to say of the sangoma Zikali: 'Zikali arranged his performance very well, as well as any medium could have done on a prepared stage in London.'[995] It is a significant comparison - given what we have seen of Lang and Haggard's

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[993] Monsman, 'Who is Ayesha? An Allegory of Isis Unveiled?', p.32.
[994] Luckhurst, 'Knowledge, belief and the supernatural at the imperial margin', p.204.
[995] H. Rider Haggard, *Finished* (London: Ward, Lock and Co. Ltd., 1917), p.210.

ideas. In fact, it exactly echoes Lang's comment that 'Savage Spiritualism wonderfully resembles, even in minute details, that of modern mediums and séances,'[996] which in turn follows Tylor:

> Sometimes old thoughts and practices burst out afresh, to the amazement of a world that thought them long since dead or dying; here survival passes into revival, as has lately happened in so remarkable a way in the history of modern spiritualism, a subject full of instruction from the ethnographer's point of view.[997]

Though Lang would have viewed this in terms of Tylorian survivals and the 'psychic unity' of humanity, Haggard would have allowed for elements of cultural transfer. In this regard, the history of Anglo-American Spiritualism tends to assume that the origins of the séance room lie with the 1848 'Rochester Rappings' of the Fox sisters in Hydesville,[998] New York, but how much was due to an influx of documented ideas concerning African indigenous animistic/shamanistic spirituality - and indeed long before with the Atlantic slave trade – makes interesting speculation, but is beyond the scope of this work.

From the discussion so far, it is apparent that for Lang and Haggard, anthropological theorising, ethnography and romance writing were intimately related. The reasons for the upsurge in romance writing toward the end of the century are, as Brantlinger has observed, 'numerous, complex and often the same as those of occultism'.[999] This New Romanticism with its occult themes was seen by its proponents, including Andrew Lang and Rider Haggard, as a reaction against scientific reductionism and the realist and naturalist vogues in fiction which they saw as allied to it. According to Lang, romances may be unsophisticated, but they are more honest and more real because they appeal to the ancient buried self. As Brantlinger contends: 'In Lang's criticism, romances are "savage survivals", but so is the whole of the poetic way of regarding

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[996] Andrew Lang, 'Savage Spiritualism', *Longmans Magazine*, March 1894, p.483.
[997] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, pp.16-17.
[998] On the Fox sisters and the history of Spiritualism in general, see Janet Oppenheim, *The Other World: Spiritualism and Psychical Research in England, 1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). For a more recent overview, see Tatiana Kontou and Sarah Willburn, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Nineteenth-Century Spiritualism and The Occult* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2012).
[999] Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness*, p.231.

Nature.'[1000] Haggard has similar, but not identical views to Lang. It is striking that

> Whereas the burden of Lang's rhetoric is to suggest that practices and beliefs associated with 'primitive' cultures are also to be found in the civilised world, Haggard stresses that the lust for imaginative stories is at least as great 'in the barbarian as in the cultural breast.'[1001]

The writing of romance is not therefore merely a 'survival' or a fantasy re-living of ideas that people once truly believed in and still embraced by 'savage peoples'. It is not retrogressive. The love of stories of imagination and romance are a common feature of people of all epochs. As Burdett observes: 'Haggard blurs the distinction not just between 'primitive' and 'civilised' humanity, but also between representation (storytelling and make-believe) and what is claimed as real event (belief in occult phenomena).' In order to explore this intertextuality further we must first consider some aspects of Zulu spirituality as articulated by Haggard, in the context of the ethnographic process itself.

uNkulunkulu and Inkosazana-y-Zulu: Haggard on Zulu Spirituality

We have seen that much of Haggard's writing follows on from his having visited the given territory in advance. In the context of the information gathering process which resulted in the production of theory in Imperial Comparative religion, Chidester has described a *triple mediation.* Firstly, 'metropolitan theorists applied a comparative method, or what came to be known as "the" comparative method, that allowed them to use the raw religious materials from colonized peripheries to mediate between contemporary "savages" and the "primitive" ancestors of humanity.'[1002] Secondly, on the colonial periphery, 'European observers, primarily travellers, missionaries, and colonial agents, mediated between the metropolitan theorists and indigenous peoples.' These experts, such as Wilhelm Bleek, Henry Callaway, and Theophilus Hahn in South Africa, had 'mastered the local languages, collected the myths, and documented the customs of "savages"'.[1003] Finally, there was a mediation between local African experts, notably Mpengula Mbande - and many others whose names have been forgotten - who collated information on indigenous

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[1000] Ibid., p.232.
[1001] Burdett, 'Romance, Reincarnation and Rider Haggard', p.220.
[1002] David Chidester, '"Classify and conquer", p.72.
[1003] Ibid., p.72.

traditions for these experts. As Chidester points out, the local experts often held an ambivalent position, as was the case with Mbande who was a Christian convert, and thus subjected the material to a rigorous critique from this perspective.[1004] As a young man, Haggard had a significant sojourn in South Africa, and as a writer he was thoroughly engaged with this triple mediation.[1005] In what follows we consider Haggard's views on Zulu spirituality and place them in the context of these discursive constructions of emergent comparative religion in general, and more specifically Zulu spirituality.

We have already seen Haggard's interest in Egyptology and the tendency to adsorb the ideas of the Isis and Osiris cycle to Christian religious structures and eschatology. Similarly, we have seen his approach to Buddhism. However, he made no attempt to form correspondences between Zulu spiritual entities and the Christian divine. There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly, he was aware of the debate over the contested nature of the main spiritual entity *uNkulunkulu*: 'the old-old one.' The central problem is that of the nature of the creation myth of the Zulus whereby the world was created from a bed of reads by uNkulunkulu. The comparative religious debate focussed on the nature of uNkulunkulu: whether he was the first man – in the nature of a very ancient ancestor which was concordant with Zulu ancestor worship - or whether uNkulunkulu was a deity comparable to the Christian God. This argument persists, though Jennifer Weir argues that uNkulunkulu belongs with ancestor worship, and writes that elevating him to deity status not only ignored the process of imposition by Christian missionaries, but also ignored the fundamental relationship between the chief and his spiritual dominion - which was as vital as the physical territory to the legislative and social structures of Zulu society.[1006] The Anglican Bishop Henry Callaway had attacked Bishop Colenso for equating *uNkulunkulu* with the Christian God on the grounds that this went against the missionising purpose of converting the savage heathen (stressing the 'rightness' of Christianity alone rather than equating belief systems).

[1004] Ibid., p.72.
[1005] For an overview focussed on Haggard's South African period, see Stephen Coan, 'When I was Concerned with Great Men and Great Events: Sir Henry Rider Haggard in Natal', *Natalia*, 26 (1997), 17-58.
[1006] Jennifer Weir, 'Whose uNkulunkulu?', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 2,75 (2005), 203-19.

These conflicting approaches to the missionising project are manifest in the methods of textual comparison they engender. Another of the colonialist experts Wilhelm Bleek (1827-1875), a philologist, colleague of Max Müller and fellow linguistic theorist of religion, collated a quasi-Zulu Bible by gathering the indigenous oral traditions and imposing a structure of chapter and verse.[1007] Colenso on the other hand translated the Bible into Zulu.[1008] In other words they proceeded in opposite directions. The important point to take away from this is the dialogic exchange which resulted.

As Monsman has pointed out, Haggard listed Callaway's *The Religious System of the amaZulu*, and his friend Fred Finney's *Zululand and the Zulus* as his sources for his Zulu Romance *Nada the Lily* (1892) in the preface to the book.[1009] In 1887, Haggard had given a lecture in Edinburgh on Zulu belief, recorded by Lilias Haggard in her biography of her father:

> They believe in a God, the Unkulunkulu – the Almighty, the Great Great, he is the Creator, the Source of all Life. The Zulu mind does not indeed venture to define the Deity, or to measure his attributes. To them he is a force, vague, immeasurable, pressing round them as the air, and as the air impalpable, and as the air all-present. They believe, too, in guardian spirits who watch over the individual, interposing at times to ward off danger from him.
>
> In the same way the nation has a guardian angel, Inkosana-y-Zulu [sic.], the Queen of heaven, who, in the form of a young and lovely woman, appears at moments of national importance and makes a communication to some chosen person. She appeared thus just before the Zulu War and her message produced a great effect in the country, but what she said nobody knows.[1010]

In the Preface to *Nada the Lily*, Haggard again reported on Inkosazana-y-Zulu, this time quoting Finney:

> Perhaps it may be allowable to add a few words about the Zulu mysticism, magic, and superstition, to which there is some allusion in this romance. It has been little if at all exaggerated. Thus the writer well remembers hearing a legend

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[1007] Chidester, '"Classify and conquer", p.79.
[1008] Chidester, *Empire of Religion*, pp.65-69.
[1009] H. Rider Haggard, *Nada the Lily* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1892). Monsman also posits other sources. See Gerald Monsman, 'H. Rider Haggard's *Nada the Lily*: A Triumph of Translation', *English Literature in Transition 1880-1920*, 4,47 (2004), 374-97 (p.373).
[1010] Haggard, *The Cloak That I Left*, p.53. There is a misspelling of 'Inkosazana': 'Inkosana' means 'prince' and Inkosazana is more accurately 'princess' in Zulu. It is unclear if the error is Lilias' in transcription. Haggard had switched from Inkosazanah-yeh-Zulu the 'Queen' of Heaven in the preface of *Nada the Lily* (1892) to the more accurate 'Princess' by the time of *Finished* in 1917.

> how the Guardian Spirit of the Ama-Zulu was seen riding down the storm. Here is what Mr Finney says of her in the pamphlet to which reference has been made: "The natives have a spirit which they call *Nomkubulwana* or the *Inkosazana-y-Zulu* (The Princess of Heaven).[1011] She is said to be robed in white, and to take the form of a young maiden, in fact an angel. She is said to appear to some chosen person, to whom she imparts some revelation; but whatever that revelation may be, it is kept a profound secret from outsiders. I remember that, just before the Zulu war, *Nomkubulwana* appeared, revealing something or other which had a great effect throughout the land, and I know that the Zulus were quite impressed that some calamity was about to befall them. One of the ominous signs was that fire is said to have descended from heaven, and ignited the grass over the graves of the former kings of Zululand.[1012]

Haggard also talked briefly on Zulu spirituality in the context of childhood, in a critical review article which he wrote on *Savage Children* by Dudley Kidd.[1013] In *The Careless Children* (for which understand 'carefree'), the language used is very telling and important. Haggard's casual references to the under-developed natives is pretty commonplace for the period, but his anti-missionising tone is strident – and hence his deliberate entitling of his critique 'careless' children in direct contradistinction to Kidd's use of 'savage':

> Their cheerfulness is amazing, and unless they happen to be Christians they have no school or prospective examinations to trouble them, nor are they ever overworked in other ways. Lastly they are not called upon to shrink from the spiritual fears and shadows which are more or less inseparable from religion, as we understand the word. No invisible, almighty Power is waiting to punish them, should they do wrong, or ultimately to drag them to some dreadful place, although it is true that in such circumstances the tribal spirit, or Itongo, may make itself disagreeable in various ways. Death and its terrors are far from them; in fact even as grown men they do not, or used not to, fear death, which it would seem they look on as a painless sleep, notwithstanding their belief in ghosts. In short, like their elders they live a life of ideal physical happiness.[1014]

There are several conclusions which may be drawn from this passage. Firstly, Haggard does not consider that the Zulu have an 'evolved' i.e. developed religious structure along the lines of 'civilised' European

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[1011] 'Nomkubulwana'/Nombubulwane is the alternative name of the goddess, considered to be the goddess of the rain and Nature. It means literally: 'She who chooses the state of an animal', i.e. the ability to transmogrify.

[1012] Haggard, *Nada the Lily*, p. xii.

[1013] H. Rider Haggard, 'The Careless Children', *Saturday Review*, March 1907, pp.265-66. The volume reviewed is Dudley Kidd, *Savage Children* (London: Black, 1906).

[1014] Haggard, 'The Careless Children', pp.265-66.

society. Secondly, he seems to be expressing doubts about the value of missionising and imposing Christianity, and those social and religious structures which comprise it upon the 'natives'. He appears to suggest that this is an obtrusion of 'civilisation' into an otherwise blissful Arcadian existence. However, in spite of Haggard's personal experience, this view likely owes more to his classical bucolic sentiment and the Theocritean idyll, than the South African *veldt* and *kraal.*[1015] More importantly, the missionary project instils the negative aspects of religion - namely, the fear of death and post-mortem punishment. At the commencement of this study we considered the problematic of Calvinist eternal damnation as it caused fracture lines to emerge in the Anglican Communion, and here Haggard suggests that missionaries are guilty of transferring this aporetic dogma to Africa. As he says pointedly of the Zulu's apparently blissful (pre-contact) existence:

> That this does shock the white man there is no doubt, the missionary for certain obvious reasons, and the colonist for others, while all are perhaps unconsciously irritated by the spectacle of such complete content in a world that for most is honeycombed with sorrows.[1016]

There are of course the racial slurs. Kidd had reported that when the children grow up they break off contact with their mothers and seem not to seek out contact with them. Haggard doesn't entirely agree and says:

> Upon this point I may add that the author's experience does not altogether tally with my own recollection. I have known grown-up Kaffirs to be extremely fond not only of their own mothers but of all their father's other wives, though doubtless, being nearer to the animal as a race, they are apt like animals to forget those who bore and nurtured them.[1017]

[1015] Haggard had read Theocritus, and he references him on a number of occasions. He mentions Theocritus' idyll XXVI, 'The Bacchanals', based on Euripides' *Bacchae*, in *Montezuma's Daughter*: 'A Greek poet named Theocritus sets out in one of his idyls [sic.] how a woman called Agave, being engaged in a secret religious orgie [sic.] in honour of a demon named Dionysus, perceived her own son Pentheus watching the celebration of the mysteries, and thereon becoming possessed by the demon, she fell on him and murdered him, being aided by the other women. For this the poet, who was also a worshipper of Dionysus, gave her great honour and not reproach, seeing that she did the deed at the behest of this god, a "deed not to be blamed."' See H. Rider Haggard, *Montezuma's Daughter* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1893), pp.286-87. The idiosyncratic translation 'deed not to be blamed', plus the spelling of 'idyl' identifies Lang's version of the Bucolic Poets as the source. See Andrew Lang, *Theocritus*, *Bion*, *and Moschus: Rendered into English Prose with an Introductory Essay* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1889), p.146. Also, in *Love Eternal*, 'Brother' Josiah Smith says to Godfrey Knight: 'If I remember right you are fond of the classics, as I am, and will recall to mind a Greek poet named Theocritus. I think had he been wandering here in the Alps to-day, he would have liked to have written one of his idylls.' (p.164.)

[1016] Haggard, 'The Careless Children', p.266.

[1017] Ibid., p.266.

The association of natives and children is suggestive of another important complex in Victorian anthropology and psychology. In Freudian theories of development, children were seen as being at a primitive stage of development with regard to their mentation, deploying ‘magical thinking’, and thus could be seen as representing atavistic stages of human evolution as represented in the modern world by non-European indigenous peoples. As Tylor had written in *Primitive Culture*, ‘We may, I think, apply the often-repeated comparison of savages to children as fairly to their moral as to their intellectual condition.’[1018] Thus, as Robinson succinctly puts it: ‘Within this complicated web of analogies, the white child, the adult savage, and the prehistoric European were now linked as psychic equals.’[1019]

Following on from these ideas of racial hierarchy, *Careless Children* contains a passage which is important for the later discussion of esoteric racial anthropology in this chapter. Haggard remembers that the mentor of his youth, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, had said that the natives had to learn by the creation of new wants and new desires to work as Englishmen do for several generations more before there was any hope of civilising or still more ‘Christianising’ them. Haggard writes: ‘As a Buddhist would say, they are several “Rounds” behind the highly developed European.’[1020] A Buddhist would not use this terminology in the context of ‘race’ - even during this period - and Haggard is using the ‘rounds’ as described in the development of races in Theosophy’s esoteric racial anthropology.[1021] This subtle aspect is often lost or masked by what is asserted to be simplistic racial hierarchies of an Imperialistic type.

As Monsman has also attested, Haggard further expounds on Zulu spirituality in *Nada the Lily* in relation to the possibility of reincarnation. Here, with regard to Zulu belief, Haggard examines the notion of *totem-transmigration* i.e. the taboo of hunting the wild animals which are the clan totem animal as they are believed to be their reborn ancestors.[1022] This Zulu belief also appears to have inspired Haggard’s anti-hunting apologue, *The Mahatma and the Hare*. In this novel, a hare is coursed to death and there is

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[1018] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, I, p. 31.
[1019] Robinson, *The Lost White Tribe*, p.193.
[1020] Haggard, ‘The Careless Children’, p.266.
[1021] Sinnett, *Esoteric Buddhism*, p.43.
[1022] See Gerald Monsman, ‘H. Rider Haggard’s *Nada the Lily*: A Triumph of Translation’, *English Literature in Transition 1880-1920*, 4, 47 (2004), 374-97.

a suggestion that the hunter might be reborn as the hunted.[1023] Ostensibly, this story is suggestive of Buddhist reincarnation, and, as we have seen, Haggard adds a Theosophical Master in the form of the 'Mahatma' for good measure. However, the possibilities of retributive reincarnation lean more towards a Hindu rather than Buddhist form, and the hunting theme clearly shows the influence of Zulu totem-transmigration.

Haggard also used the Zulu people as a template for his fictional Zu-Vendi in *Allan Quatermain* (1887), though this appears to be blended with some ideas from Amarna. Here the English travellers witness a native ceremony in which the priest recites a Hymn to the Sun (suggesting the inspiration of Akhenaten's 'Great Hymn to the Aten' though the wording is dissimilar). One line reads 'Thou art the raiment of the living Spirit.'[1024] Haggard as Editor posts another academic footnote:

> This line is interesting as being one of the few allusions to be found in the Zu-Vendi ritual to a vague divine essence independent of the material splendour of the orb they worship. '*Taia*,' the word used here, has a very indeterminate meaning and signifies *essence, vital principle, spirit,* or even *God.*[1025]

Haggard seldom plucked anything out of the air, and it is of note that 'Taia' was the contemporaneous transliteration of the Egyptian Queen Tiye, Akhenaten's mother. Having said that the Zu-Vendi were of Phoenician diffusion, is Haggard hinting that their religion shows remnants of Egyptian Atenism? Either way, it is clear that in 1887, Rider Haggard had Amarna on his mind. As we saw in Part I where Haggard Christianised the Atenist worship of the solar disc as a *symbol* of the 'Almighty, One God', here he does something similar for the fictional Zu-Vendi, but with a degree of ambiguity. Unlike the high, ancient civilisation of the Egyptians, Haggard (through Quatermain) doubts that, in spite of them describing the sun as 'the garment of the spirit', the Zu-Vendi, 'really adore [...] the fiery orb himself' and concludes: 'I cannot say that I consider this sun-worship as a religion indicative of a civilised people, however magnificent and imposing its ritual.'[1026] That is, it is representative of a more primitive monolatry than

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[1023] The novel deals with a meeting with a hare in the afterlife that reports how it was 'coursed' to death – eventually being torn to pieces by hounds. It speaks of Haggard's notion of a spiritual and perhaps animist/vitalist connection between all living creatures. For an exploration of this idea, see John Senior, 'The continuity of the spirit among all living things in the philosophy and literature of Henry Rider Haggard', in *Current Writing: Text and Reception in Southern Africa* (2006) <http://www.thefreelibrary.com/_/print/PrintArticle.aspx?id=162520441> [accessed 14 May 2018].

[1024] Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*, p.168.

[1025] Ibid., p.168.

[1026] Ibid., p.157.

akin to original monotheism. This is exemplary of the temporal North-South axis in Haggard's Africa: the highly-developed civilisation and culture of Ancient Egypt and the modern primitive of contemporary Southern Africa. However, here we are dealing with what is evidently a lost 'white tribe' that has migrated in ancient times, but become arrested in its development rather than a black tribe confined to savagery. This passage becomes even more significant when we recognise that the anthropological indeterminacy with which the apparent deity of the Zu-Vendi is described replicates the uncertainty on the nature of the Zulu *uNkulunkulu*, and on which Haggard subsequently reported in his Preface to *Nada the Lily*. Haggard queries the proposed Christian monotheistic equivalence ('The Lord of Heaven') for uNkulunkulu:

> The exact spiritual position held in the Zulu mind by the Umkulunkulu [sic.], - the Old Old, - the Great-Great, the Lord of Heaven, - is a more vexed question, and for its proper consideration the reader must be referred to Bishop Callaway's work, the "Religious System of the Amazulu."[1027] Briefly, Umkulunkulu's character seems to vary from the idea of an ancestral spirit, or the spirit of an ancestor, to that of a god. In the case of an able and highly intelligent person like Mopo of this story, the ideal would probably not be a low one; therefore he is made to speak of Umkulunkulu as the Great Spirit or God.[1028]

Callaway held, as we have seen, that the 'great-great-one' belonged to the realm of ancestor worship. What Haggard may not have known is that, as Chidester points out, *The Religious System of the amaZulu* was the work of Mpengula Mbande: 'Although Callaway transcribed and edited the volume, providing footnotes and occasional commentary, the majority of the text appeared in the words of Mbande, reflecting, at many points, Mbande's own ambiguous position on the colonial frontier as a recent Christian convert.'[1029] As an interlocutor in this complex mediation, Haggard seems to have left the final decision with the level of intelligence and sophistication of the individual.

Given the obvious and overt parallels between the Zu-Vendi and the Zulu, it is perhaps unsurprising that Haggard's description of Zulu spirituality and religious structures *within his fiction* was treated by Lang as

[1027] Henry Callaway, *The Religious System of the amaZulu* (London: Trübner and Co., 1870). In the section on uNkulunkulu it is of note that Callaway makes a direct comparison with Hindu Brahmanism, indicative of the influence of Friedrich Max Müller's 'Indo-Aryan' anthropology.
[1028] Haggard, *Nada the Lily*, p. xii.
[1029] Chidester, '"Classify and conquer"', p.81.

anthropological and ethnographic data.[1030] As Reid has argued, 'Haggard's anthropological interests were at the heart of his romance *credo.*'[1031] Lang's other literary friend Robert Louis Stevenson also engaged with anthropology, this time in the context of Scottish and Polynesian folk culture. As Reid also notes, Stevenson frequently followed and participated in anthropological controversies in the London periodicals:

> In 1890, for example, he debated Herbert Spencer's theory of ancestor-worship with Andrew Lang and Grant Allen.[1032] Grant Allen recognised the intersection of anthropology and creative literature in Stevenson's fiction: he hailed Stevenson's and Rider Haggard's novels as belonging to a new class of fiction – which he dubbed the 'romance of anthropology.' [1033]

The 'Romance of Anthropology'. Yet another literary genre to add to Haggard's burgeoning list - but a significant one. It is important that 'Stevenson's engagement with scientific writers highlights the rôle of amateurs, especially literary writers, in the early anthropological enterprise',[1034] as it does with Haggard. As we have seen, Haggard included anthropological materials in his Preface to *Nada the Lily.* Similarly, at the end of *Allan Quatermain* he adds a section entitled 'Authorities', which he opens with: 'A novelist is not usually asked, like an historian, for his 'Quellen'[sources].'[1035] He then goes on to reference the explorer Joseph Thomson's work *Through Masăi Land* (1885), 'for much information as to the habits and customs of the tribes inhabiting that portion of the East Coast, and the country where they live', and his own brother John Haggard for information on 'the mode of life and war of those engaging people the Masai'.[1036]

[1030] Chidester, *Empire of Religion*, p.130.

[1031] Julia Reid, ''She-who-must-be-obeyed': Anthropology and Matriarchy in H. Rider Haggard's *She*', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 3, 20 (2015), 357-374 (p.363).

[1032] Grant Allen (1848-1899), science writer, agnostic evolutionist and novelist. See for example Grant Allen, *The Evolution of the Idea of God: An Inquiry into the Origins of Religions* (London: Grant Richards, 1897).

[1033] Julia Reid, 'Robert Louis Stevenson and the 'Romance of Anthropology'', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 1, 10 (2005), 46-71 (p.55).

[1034] Ibid., p.55.

[1035] Haggard, *Allan Quatermain.* The 'Authorities' section follows the last page (p.278) and is unpaginated.

[1036] See Joseph Thomson, *Through Masăi Land: A Journey of Exploration among the Snowclad Volcanic Mountains and Strange Tribes of Eastern Equatorial Africa* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1885). As Haggard says, John G. Haggard, R.N. was Consul at Madagascar, and formerly Consul at Lamu. The reader will recall that Haggard was sensitised to charges of plagiarism and ambivalent about indicating his sources as a result.

Indeed, if we return to the controversy over uNkulunkulu, as David Chidester has argued, by entering this debate, 'Rider Haggard knew he was intervening in the problematic production of knowledge about indigenous Zulu religion.'[1037] In his recognition that Bishop Callaway's account was - in Lang's words 'honest but confused'[1038] – Chidester further argues that Haggard

> Might have been more perceptive than the imperial theorists Max Müller, E. B. Tylor, or even Andrew Lang about the fluid and contested negotiations over the meaning and force of this religious term *uNkulunkulu* on a violent colonial frontier in South Africa.' [1039]

Chidester also suggests that Haggard's decision to make uNkulunkulu the Deity is 'arbitrary' and follows Lang, who felt that there was a development from a notion of a supreme being to animism and spiritualism.

Of course, in terms of the blurring of fact and fiction in this context, the (African) elephant in the room is that the Zu-Vendi are white and the Zulu are black. This kind of racial juxtaposition is a commonplace for Haggard's anthropology as he, perhaps surprisingly, seeks to observe not only racial difference but human commonalities, and subvert, in a qualified manner, traditional colonial hierarchies; hence, as further examples in Haggard's work, the Zulus can become black Vikings and Henry Curtis becomes a white Zulu.[1040] This is exemplary of Haggard's ambivalence on the issues of racial division and hierarchy: elsewhere we have seen his apparent fear of miscegenation as a dilution of white racial purity. Here he portrays a wilful deracination of both white and black. As to the actual inspiration for the Zu-Vendi - other than the overt parallels with the Zulu - Haggard is predictably opaque. In a letter to Joseph B. Aves on the subject of *Allan Quatermain*, he remarks: 'As to a white race living in the mountains, there certainly have been rumours, but they are of the vaguest.'[1041]

[1037] Chidester, *Empire of Religion*, p.140.
[1038] Andrew Lang, *The Making of Religion*, 3rd edn (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1909), p.207.
[1039] Chidester, *Empire of Religion*, p.140.
[1040] Haggard, *King Solomon's Mines*, p.147.
[1041] Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MS4694/31/10.

Bishop Colenso's Mission

Another important indicator of some of Haggard's religious opinions is his position on the thought of John William Colenso (1814-1883), the Bishop of Natal and famously 'heretical' Broad Churchman, who was as Haggard notes 'excommunicated by the other South African bishops for his views as to the Pentateuch etc.'.[1042] Haggard had heard Colenso preach later in the bishop's life, and in a letter from Natal dated Easter Sunday 1876 wrote that he was 'a very strange man, but one you cannot but admire, with his intellect written on his face.'[1043] John Colenso, originally also a Norfolk man, had fallen foul of orthodox clergy both in England and in Natal for his liberal views on scripture and a reformist attitude to the missionary project. As Haggard reports, following his excommunication, Colenso 'appealed [...] to the Privy Council, which disallowed the authority of the African bishops, so that he remained the legal bishop of Natal. A schism ensued, and the opposition orthodox party appointed a bishop of their own.'[1044] Indeed, Colenso had also been writing controversial commentaries on the 'unhistorical' nature of the Pentateuch around the time of *Essays and Reviews*, and added his ideas to the mix. Likewise, he was not in favour of preaching about eternal damnation and Hell, feeling that this projected a negative view of Christianity, and in this, as we have seen, Rider Haggard agreed with him. He spent much of his time writing a Zulu dictionary and translating the Bible into Zulu. Haggard had this to say:

> It always seemed somewhat illogical to me that Colenso should wish to remain in a Church of which he criticised the tenets, on the principle that one should scarcely eat the bread and butter of those whom one attacks. On the other hand the views that Colenso held forty years ago - which, by the way, were suggested to him by the extraordinarily acute questions put by Zulus whom we tried to convert to Christianity – are widespread to-day, even among clergymen. He was in advance of his generation, and like others suffered for it, that is all.[1045]

Clearly then, Haggard simultaneously takes the more conservative Anglican position of rebuking Colenso for his reformist position, whilst sympathising with a more liberal respect for native life. Colenso had after all also been against breaking up polygamous African families, feeling that this would cause social disruption and leave women destitute (not that he

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[1042] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, I, p.63. See J.W. Colenso, *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined* (London: Longman, Green Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1862). This eventually ran to 7 volumes published from 1862 to 1879.
[1043] Haggard, *The Days of My Life*, I, p.56.
[1044] Ibid., p.63.
[1045] Ibid., p.63.

was in favour of new polygamous marriage), and Haggard was in broad sympathy with this. Hence Colenso's legacy was to provide evidence of how the ethical thought and religious concerns of the colonized affected the colonizers, and in terms of the missionising process this included Colenso himself. Indeed, as he commented in *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined*, confirming Haggard's previous observation:

> Here, however, as I have said, amidst my work in this land, I have been brought face to face with the very questions which I then put by. While translating the story of the Flood, I have had a simple-minded, but intelligent, native, — one with the docility of a child, but the reasoning powers of mature age, — look up, and ask, ' Is all that true?'[1046]

Colenso even suggests that part of the reason for his own personal reflections is that he has been 'compelled to discuss all the minutest details with intelligent natives, whose mode of life and habits, and even the nature of their country, so nearly correspond to those of the ancient Israelites' that they are constantly presented with this same daily habitus which appears '*vividly realised in a practical point of view*', and which an English student would scarcely consider.[1047] He thus provides an example of what Monsman calls 'reverse missionaries' among the natives, including the women and Kidd's 'careless' children. As Monsman says:

> Haggard's […] antagonism to cultural standards recasts the object of the conversion narrative. The child or woman or native victimized by colonial patriarchy now functions as a reverse missionary sent from some non-European and aboriginal mount of mystical vision to challenge the dominating culture.[1048]

Thus, in his fiction, Haggard proposed a reconfiguration of typical empire-colony hierarchies not simply in terms of a role reversal with a power-grasp by the disenfranchised, but 'a radical role dissolution in which the mystical power of the land is in harmony with the material power of technology'.[1049] As we have seen, he was critical of the missionising process. In his short story *The Missionary and the Witch-Doctor*,[1050] Haggard pits the one against the other in a battle reminiscent of Moses and the Egyptian magicians – though in this case it is Menzi the witch-doctor who receives the positive portrayal. As Monsman has cogently observed, Haggard '[presents the] clearest fictional exposition of radical Christianity as he turns his heritage of Anglicanism back upon his deference to African

[1046] Colenso, *The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined*, I, p. vii.
[1047] Ibid., p. xvi.
[1048] Monsman, *Rider Haggard on the Imperial Frontier*, p.187.
[1049] Ibid., p.188.
[1050] This was retitled 'Little Flower' and is included in *Smith and the Pharaohs: And Other Tales*.

animism'.[1051] In fact clerics seldom fare well in Haggard's fiction, and he frequently turns the gimlet eye of Menippean satire on them, exposing the character trait of the religious habitus which he deplores the most: rigidity. We will recall the Rev. Knight's narrow Calvinism. Another example is in *When the World Shook*, where the Reverend Basil Bastin is a hapless clown who narrowly avoids martyrdom after destroying a tribal fetish.[1052]

Again, in *The Missionary and the Witch-Doctor* the Rev. Thomas Bull is portrayed as arrogantly defending his faith, even refusing to allow the sangoma to treat his daughter who has been bitten by a snake. Menzi the witch-doctor 'cloud herds' the rains which wash away the foundations of the church. At the end as the church collapses - in a passage of classical Haggard operatic melodrama – Menzi is struck in the chest and mortally wounded by the bell clapper. He is baptized by the missionary's daughter Tabitha – not because he wants to be a Christian, but so that he will not lose her in the afterlife. Haggard's repeating theme of *amor aeternus* surfaces again, but the dominant theme is the importance of indigenous African religion in dialogue with imposed Anglicanism. In the next section we move from this discussion of religious comparison and Haggard's lost tribes to one of cultural diffusionism and the cartography of his lost cities.

Phoenician Zimbabwe and Biblical Ophir

In 1870 the German explorer and geographer Karl Gottlieb Mauch (1837-1875) discovered the ruins of Great Zimbabwe in Southern Africa and 'reported [them] to the world as the site of King Solomon's Ophir with a Phoenician substratum'.[1053] This assertion was instrumental in instigating the notion of a *confirmed* remote antiquity for these African ruins, and as such these 'confirmed' views were debated by the Berlin *Gesellschaft der Anthropologie und Urgeschichte* in 1876. Several academics present had observed local Bantu people building in stone and 'could see no need to invoke Ophir to explain Great Zimbabwe. However, this scepticism was quickly relegated into obscurity.'[1054] Mauch's views were further popularized by the explorer-cartographer Thomas Baines (see below).

[1051] Monsman, *Rider Haggard on the Imperial Frontier*, p.186.
[1052] Haggard, *When The World Shook*, pp.99-113.
[1053] Daniel Tangri, 'Popular Fiction and the Zimbabwe Controversy', *History in Africa*, 17 (1990), 293-304 (p.295).
[1054] Ibid., p.295.

These early ideas provide the backdrop to Haggard's metageography of Africa, with its leitmotifs of biblical lands and cultural diffusionism derived from Victorian anthropology. The cartography of the Lost World is palimpsestic: the temporal strata of the biblical epochal narratives, from Noahic anthropology to Solomonic ancient Ophir, in combination with the Phoenician migration theory. Haggard returned to the anthropological theory of Phoenician/Semitic migration in Africa with regard to the purported origins of ancient civilisation in Southern Africa, and particularly focussed on the ruins of Great Zimbabwe. It is useful to expand briefly on this topic at this juncture in the context of Haggard's Africa, particularly with regard to contemporaneous anthropological theories and Haggard's relationship with them. We have already seen how the fictional Zu-Vendi were used by Andrew Lang as anthropological data for the Zulu. Haggard wrote both in fact and fiction concerning the theorised lost civilisation of Great Zimbabwe.

The idea of Phoenicians migrating South in Africa and bringing their cultured civilisation with them is a diffusionist anthropological theory which was popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[1055] Known, intriguingly for our purposes, as the theory of the Romantic School,[1056] its racial underpinning was based especially on the ruins of Great Zimbabwe, and the presumption that these edifices could have not been built by an intellectually and culturally limited indigenous black population. This discourse was inevitably tied to claims of white heritage and the concomitant territorial claim in Africa. Haggard wrote the Preface to Alexander Wilmot's *Monomotapa* (1896) in which he endorsed the Phoenician migration theory, and viewed the civilisation of Great Zimbabwe as having been killed off by local tribes, thus resulting in a cultural degeneration.[1057] In addition, he foresees a time when the ancient civilisation of Zimbabwe will be restored with 'Anglo-Saxons' in the place of the Phoenicians, of whom Haggard said: 'Gain and slaves were the objects of the voyages of this crafty, heartless, and adventurous race, who

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[1055] For an overview of the history of archaeological theories of the ancient 'white' colonialist origins of Great Zimbabwe, see Susanne Duesterberg, *Popular Receptions of Archaeology: Fictional and Factual Texts in Nineteenth- and Early-Twentieth-Century Britain*, History in Popular Cultures, (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2015), pp.143-59.

[1056] See Robin Brown-Lowe, *The Lost City of Solomon and Sheba: An African Mystery* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2003), p.101. Brown-Lowe suggests that the opposing theory of Great Zimbabwe as being a product of local all-Bantu culture is even less convincing. Modern DNA analysis indicates that the Southern African Lemba people carry DNA signatures of a so-called *coanim* complex found in northern Jewish groups. (pp. 240-43.)

[1057] A. Wilmot, *Monomotapa (Rhodesia): Its Monuments, and its History from The Most Ancient Times to the Present Century* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1896).

were the English of the ancient world without the English honour,' the implication being that they lacked the ethico-moral perspicacity of the English colonialist. [1058]

Haggard recalled that he had been pressed on separate occasions as to whether Great Zimbabwe had influenced both Ancient Kôr in *She and* the notion of the ruins relating to the biblical Ophir and *King Solomon's Mines* – though he had substituted contemporary South Africa's diamonds for gold in the latter. Haggard was inconsistent about his recollection of their relevance to his imaginarium, as can be seen from two separate passages in Lilias Haggard's biography. In the first passage, Haggard is reported as saying he had no idea how he came to conclude that the people of Zimbabwe were Phoenician, though he thought he might have heard from Thomas Baines (1820-1875) and his family that it was built by 'ancient people' (he doesn't say here that Baines said they were Phoenician).[1059] He is however more than likely to have used Baines' maps which featured South African gold fields during his period in Africa as a young man.[1060] In the second passage referring to *She*, Haggard insisted that 'Kôr was a land where the ruins were built by the Fairies of the Imagination'[1061] though here he mentions Theodore Bent's *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland* [1062] as a source for the Phoenician migration theory.[1063] It is hardly surprising that Haggard was cagey, duplicitous, and even defensive about his sources given the protracted battles that he had endured over plagiarism which had taken place in a very public domain. In the end, he defends his ideas in *King Solomon's Mines* by deferring to the Romantic *Imaginatio*:

> All these (so far as this and other books are concerned) were the fruit of imagination, conceived I suppose from chance words spoken long ago that lay dormant in the mind. The imagination that in some occult way so often seems to throw a shadow of the truth.[1064]

[1058] Ibid., p. xviii.
[1059] Haggard, *The Cloak That I Left*, p.122.
[1060] As Steibel writes: 'The work of Baines which holds most interest in regard to the Great Zimbabwe / Ophir link is his "Map of the Gold Fields of South Eastern Africa" (1877) and the diaries, notes and letters he kept of the trips from Natal to Matabeleland and Mashonaland between 1869 to 1872. See Steibel, 'Creating a Landscape of Africa', p.123.
[1061] Haggard, *The Cloak That I Left*, p.231.
[1062] Bent, J. Theodore, *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1892).
[1063] Bent's theory is more nuanced and ambivalent than Haggard avers, and he does not opt conclusively for Phoenician authorship. He actually thought it might have been of Ancient Egyptian origin whilst conceding that the Zimbabwean artefacts appeared to support a Phoenician presence. See Brown-Lowe, *The Lost City of Solomon and Sheba*, p.116.
[1064] Haggard, *The Cloak That I Left*, p.123.

As we have seen, this aspect of the imagination throwing a 'shadow of the truth' is apparent in Lang's use of Haggard's fiction as anthropological data. In this regard, it is of note that, with the emergence of 'archaeological tourism', guidebooks to the Zimbabwe ruins had locales named for *King Solomon's Mines*. Notably, the writer and *soi-disant* expert on the ruins R.N. Hall criticized mistakes which he perceived Haggard made *in the fiction,* assuming that the romance had indeed been based on the ruins.[1065]

Haggard's actual romance based on Great Zimbabwe, *Elissa: Or the Doom of Zimbabwe*, appeared in a collected volume of stories in 1900.[1066] It is based on the archaeological and anthropological theories concerning the original 'Phoenician' city, and Haggard presents a synopsis of these ideas in a prefatory 'Note', referring to both Wilmot and Bent. Though he denied their influence for *King Solomon's Mines*, here Haggard continued the project of biblical archaeology which we saw in Egypt into Victorian Rhodesia, making Zimbabwe the site of Ophir (following Mauch's original assertion) as mentioned in the First Book of Kings, and he gives the biblical reference.[1067]

Haggard scholarship is quite prolific on Phoenician diffusionism and its corollary. Timothy Alborn has drawn attention to the interpretations offered by a number of critics on Haggard's location of Solomon and his crew of Phoenician sailors in southern Africa.[1068] Laura Chrisman argues that the Phoenicians provide Haggard with 'a flexible Oriental signifier', inserting 'a slippery third term mediating imperialism's relation to black Africa'.[1069] Kaufman similarly suggests that Haggard's depiction of Solomon as 'sexually degenerate and greedy' condones Quatermain's plunder of the diamonds at the end of *King Solomon's Mines*, which by extension also justifies British exploitation of African resources.[1070] Monsman, finally, 'supplements these readings by focusing on the Victorian fascination with comparative mythology, which Haggard absorbed through Max Müller's linguistic studies and John Colenso's

[1065] Ibid., p.231.
[1066] H. Rider Haggard, *Black Heart and White Heart: And Other Stories* (Longmans, Green, and Co., 1900).
[1067] I Kings.10. See Haggard, *Black Heart and White Heart*, p.68.
[1068] Timothy Alborn, 'King Solomon's Gold: Ophir in an Age of Empire', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 4, 20 (2015), 491-508.
[1069] Laura Chrisman, 'The Imperial Unconscious? Representations of Imperial Discourse', *Critical Quarterly*, 32 (1990), 36–58 (p.51).
[1070] Heidi Kaufman, '*King Solomon's Mines?* African Jewry, British Imperialism, and H. Rider Haggard's Diamonds', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 33 (2005), 517–39 (p.535-36).

biblical scholarship'.[1071] However, as we have seen above the evidence would suggest that Haggard's anthropology is more Tylorian via Andrew Lang than Müllerian.[1072] Alborn argues that 'All of these intermingled allusions […] were part of the new imperial framework for interpreting Ophir.'[1073]

However, what is often overlooked is the significance of the biblical narrative. Alborn explores historically the multiple locations proposed for Ophir across the empire and suggests that 'such diversity of opinion, combined with a striking correlation between alleged Ophirs and British trade, reveals an anachronistic effort to seek biblical legitimation'.[1074] This interest in Ophir has a long back-history which 'reflected a sustained effort to find biblical precedence for an empire that valued Christian commerce over the imperious extraction of wealth'.[1075] It is clear that a driving force behind Haggard endorsing Mauch's original theory is the reciprocal valorisation of Imperial project and biblical narrative: the ruins confirm the veracity of the narrative in Kings whilst simultaneously vindicating the 'return' of the civilizing Anglo-Saxon male. Simon Goldhill has written of how European national interests became involved in the archaeology of Jerusalem in the second half of the nineteenth century, but his comment equally applies in this context: 'The search for biblical truth remained a powerful motivation, but discovering the biblical past functioned as a demonstration of heritage, which became a claim of justified possession.'[1076]

As an adjunct to this, Haggard would again turn to Wallis Budge in his construction of a biblical African history. Returning to the story of Solomon and Sheba, Haggard used the Ethiopic Christian *Kebra Nagast* to provide the story for his romance *Queen Sheba's Ring* (1910).[1077] A translation of the *Kebra Nagast* was eventually published by Wallis Budge in 1922,[1078] and thus he is the most likely source. It contains the legend that the Queen of Sheba, Makeda, had a child by Solomon who gave her a ring

[1071] Alborn, 'King Solomon's Gold', p.501.
[1072] Though Haggard and Max Müller have the influence of logos and fulfilment theology in common.
[1073] Alborn, 'King Solomon's Gold', p.501.
[1074] Ibid., p.495.
[1075] Ibid., p.495.
[1076] Simon Goldhill, 'Jerusalem', in *Cities of God*, ed. by Gange and Ledger-Lomas, pp.71-110 (p.81).
[1077] H. Rider Haggard, *Queen Sheba's Ring* (Toronto, ON: The Copp Clark Co., Ltd, 1910).
[1078] This is translated by Wallis Budge as 'The Glory of Kings'. See E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Queen of Sheba and her Only Son Menyelek: Being the History of the Departure of God & His Ark of the Covenant from Jerusalem to Ethiopia, and the Establishment of The Religion of the Hebrews & the Solomonic Line of Kings in that Country. A Complete Translation of the Kebra Nagast with Introduction by Sir E.A Wallis Budge* (London: The Medici Society, 1922).

to identify the child as his own. In Haggard's tale, the beautiful queen of a people who are described as the descendants of Abyssinian Jews is herself called Maqueda, and the titular ring features as one of Haggard's more common text-objects.

The use of this source material, then, again exposes both a colonialist agenda and the pursuit of biblical veracity. I concur with Steibel when she writes that Haggard 'left a legacy of nostalgia for a kind of Africa, cast forever in amber - a mythical Africa', and I would add, myths woven from biblical narratives.[1079] We can summarise by saying that Haggard's ethnographic romance of Africa validates a Christian apostolic heritage from St Mark onwards, whilst simultaneously criticising the false imposition of the Christianity of the imperial missionising project. Both Budge and Haggard establish the truth of a biblical African history by engaging with a discourse which involves extra-scriptural corroboration, and by means of an intertextuality with archaeological proofs. We have already seen that Haggard avers that the conflicting nature of the stories in the gospels suggests that the stories are true: here Haggard uses an alternative story to the scriptural version to corroborate the biblical story of Solomon and Sheba – as he did before by deploying the classical source of Stesichorus, to have Odysseus meet Moses in the court of Pharaoh.

Haggard and Atlantis: Theosophical Esoteric Ethnology

This hypothetical diffusion of religious ideas takes a more recondite turn with the involvement of cataclysm theories of continent formation and destruction, and the concomitant appearance and disappearance of races which are present in the mythic cartography of Haggard's 'Lost World'. The nineteenth century was characterised by the development of a uniformitarian perspective in geology which promulgated slow progressive change in opposition to Georges Cuvier's original catastrophism, which saw mass extinctions and so on in terms of periodic floods.[1080] However, bearing in mind that theories of the Deluge, and cataclysmic submersion of continents persisted into the twentieth century (and for some, still persist), and that Plate Tectonics as a science was not really consolidated until the 1960s, it is hardly surprising that Atlantis should make its presence felt

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[1079] Lindy Steibel, 'The Return of the Lost City: The Hybrid Legacy of Rider Haggard's Romances', *Alter*nation, 2, 4 (1997) 221-37 (p.222).
[1080] Jean Léopold Nicolas Frédéric, Baron Cuvier (1769-1832), French zoologist and naturalist. His theory is expounded in his *Discours sur les révolutions de la surface du globe* (1826).

somewhere in Haggard's work. In a letter to Lilias Haggard written off Honolulu on 22 June 1916, he appears to have been planning ideas for his proto-science fiction romance *When the World Shook* (1919). Haggard appears to hold as a personal belief in what he himself had written in this romance - the concept of a gyroscope at the centre of the Earth, and also a belief in the lost continent of Atlantis:

> But please don't give the gyroscope idea away; it is really priceless and there must be something of the sort. Otherwise why did Atlantis go down and Europe appear and how comes it that coal [?seams] (which [is] simply tropical vegetation) are found near the present Pole.[1081]

He was thus still entertaining these ideas as late as 1916. The old idea of a tilting of the Earth's axis causing the cataclysmic disappearance of continents and collapse of civilisations found its way into Blavatskian Theosophy.[1082] In addition, for *When the World Shook*, Haggard derived a number of elements from one of his favourite Bulwer-Lytton novels *The Coming Race*.[1083] These include the secret or Hidden Wisdom trope in the form of a subterranean theocracy sustained by a vital elixir, and in possession of an archaic *Uber*-technology. The action takes place on an undiscovered island in the Southern hemisphere which is to all intents and purposes Haggard's Atlantis, and which he clearly had in mind when planning the novel. It certainly possesses many of what Joscelyn Godwin has called the 'clichés of Atlantean fiction – the sun temples, the white robed-sages, the high technology',[1084] though Haggard has a 'Temple of Fate'[1085] (his 'Temple of the Sun' or 'Flower Temple' appears in *Allan Quatermain*, even featuring a ground plan).[1086]

According to Blavatsky's esoteric ethnology, the Atlanteans were destroyed through cataclysm for using their secret knowledge to engage in sorcery, thus providing more than a modicum of biblical resonance with the Noahic Deluge. The Atlanteans form only one of Blavatsky's complex taxonomy of Root Races and sub-root races, a complexity which was

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[1081] Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MC 32/40/4.
[1082] See Reed Carson, 'Atlantis - Shift of Axis'<http://www.blavatsky.net/index.php/37-topics/atlantis/50-atlantis-shift-of-axis> [accessed 14 May 2018]. This lists the references to *The Secret Doctrine* which deal with Axial Shift, plus some ancient sources.
[1083] Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *The Coming Race* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1871).
[1084] Joscelyn Godwin, *Atlantis and the Cycles of Time: Prophecies, Traditions, and Occult Revelations* (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions, 2011), p.199.
[1085] Haggard, *When the World Shook*, p.332.
[1086] Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*, p.162.

elaborated from Sinnett's original exposition in his *Esoteric Buddhism*.[1087] There are seven Root Races which represent the evolutionary history of the modern human. These all fit into the cosmic scheme of a spiral advance through quasi-Vedic cycles of evolution and involution, which, as we discussed previously, includes the Earth and the seven 'sacred' planets as they pass through their own stages or 'globes'. Although a superficially 'racist' teaching, James Santucci defends Blavatsky against this accusation arguing that her focus is on spiritual evolutionism. He argues that 'their concept of race did not concern the genetic classification of living people, but stages of universal human evolution,'[1088] and concludes that 'Blavatsky probably employed the label "race" because of its scientific connotations, a term that would fit well into the notion of discrete evolutionary stages of humanity.'[1089] Nevertheless, we have seen Haggard's use of Theosophical 'rounds' in the context of racial hierarchy.

In the section on 'Cyclical phenomena' in *Isis Unveiled*, Blavatsky elucidates the nature of cycles, including those of races and civilisations:

> Then [after Adam and Eve] began an uninterrupted series of cycles or *yugas*: […] As soon as humanity entered upon a new one, the stone age, with which the preceding cycle had closed, began to gradually merge into the following and next higher age. With each successive age, or epoch, men grew more refined, until the acme of perfection possible in that particular cycle had been reached. Then the receding wave of time carried back with it the vestiges of human, social, and intellectual progress. Cycle succeeded cycle; by imperceptible transition; […] Kingdoms have crumbled and nation succeeded nation from the beginning until our day, the races alternately mounting to the highest and descending to the lowest points of development. [1090]

There are many resonances in this passage which we have already seen as tropes in Haggard's work. The 'cycles' of spiritual evolution; the rise and collapse of civilisation.

In conclusion, we can now state that lost races and mythical ancestral tribes, mythical submerged continents and the othering which produces the myth of continents itself, even the metageographical division of 'East' and

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[1087] Sinnett, *Esoteric Buddhism*, pp.45-65. See also 'Two Chelas' [Mohini Chatterji & Laura C. Holloway], *Man: Fragments of Forgotten History* (London: Reeves and Turner, 1885).
[1088] Godwin, *Atlantis and the Cycles of Time*, p.117.
[1089]James A. Santucci, 'The Notion of Race in Theosophy', *Nova Religio*, 3, 11 (2008), 37-63 (p. 51).
[1090] Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled*, I, pp.293-94.

'West' – are all the cultural products of diffusionism, with its inevitable imperialist agenda of racial heritage. In Haggardian Romance, there are two principal narratives in Afro-Biblical diffusionism. In the Northern African narrative which we discussed in earlier chapters, Haggard remodels the Exodus from Egypt so that it is not so much a tale of the subjugation and liberation of the Jewish people, but a narrative of the diffusion of proto-Christian monotheism. Likewise, his second Afro-Biblical Narrative (*Elissa*, *Queen Sheba's Ring*) described above evokes a pre-Christian heritage of Southern Africa via the Phoenician migration and Solomonic genealogy of Ethiopic kingship. These ideas were far from being marginal or heterodox, but an important component of mainstream Victorian anthropology, and were retained even in the later of the Haggard romances mentioned. In the next and final chapter, we shall consider the intertextuality of factual and fictional historiography, and the presentation of 'truth' - more especially religious truth - in fiction.

Chapter 18. THE TRUTH OF THE METAPHYSICAL NOVEL

Bulwer-Lytton and Rider Haggard on Fiction

In this final chapter, we bring together a number of ideas which have been previously considered, and further adumbrate the belief of the Romantic litterateur that his work might in some way harbour or reveal hidden truth, the unapprehended or numinous. By way of an introduction, it is apposite to compare essays by Bulwer-Lytton and Haggard, one by the former and two by the latter. The second of Haggard's essays can be considered his literary manifesto after the manner of Bulwer-Lytton's own. I shall then move on to consider the 'truth' of what Bulwer-Lytton termed 'the metaphysical novel'. The latter will then be discussed in terms of a number of facets: the 'truth' of the realistic aspect - in Haggard's case from both archaeological and ethnographic perspectives; the truth in relation to occult lore; and the truth in relation to its function as ancillary to Scripture.

In 1835, early in his literary career, Edward Bulwer-Lytton wrote an essay entitled *On the Different Kinds of Prose Fiction, with some Apology for the Fictions of the Author.*[1091] This was partly in response to criticism of his literary style - which had been as florid as the style it criticised. Here he outlined his personal taxonomy of fiction, which contained the early germ of his thought concerning the import of romantic fiction.

Bulwer-Lytton opened his essay with a broad sweep of literary taxonomy: 'Prose-fiction may be divided into two principal classes, — the one narrative (or epic) fiction, — the other dramatic. The first is of a more ancient date than the last.' Here Bulwer gives Apuleius (alluding to the *Metamorphoses* ['The Golden Ass']) as an ancient example of Romance. He continues: 'Unlike the dramatic, which is necessarily confined to narrow limits, the narrative form of fiction embraces many subdivisions, each very distinct from the other. The tale of life as it is.'[1092] He then goes on to describe a number of narrative forms, and in the process coins and defines the term 'The Metaphysical Novel'. Aside from the 'realist', he

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[1091] The essay is inserted prior to the Introduction to 'The Disowned.' See Edward Lytton-Bulwer, 'On the Different Kinds of Prose Fiction, with some Apology for the Fictions of the Author', in Edward Lytton-Bulwer, *Pelham Novels*, 2 vols (Boston, MA: Charles Gaylord, 1837), I, pp.123-26. This was how his name appeared for this book.
[1092] Lytton-Bulwer, *Pelham Novels*, I, p.124.

describes two types of philosophical novel. The first relates to the philosophy of wit and is termed ‘satirical’; the second he calls the ‘metaphysical’ novel. The latter is not of a nature to be popular and ‘few minds are inclined to adopt it’:

> The metaphysical novel is, like the satiric, not to be regarded as a mere portraiture of outward society: like the satiric, it deals greatly with the latent, and often wanders from the exact probability of effects, in order to bring more strikingly before us the truth of causes. It often invests itself in a form of shadowy allegory, which it deserts or resumes at will, making its action but the incarnations of some peculiar and abstract qualities, whose development it follows out. [1093]

It is certain that ‘shadowy allegory’ applies to the Ayesha mythos as we have argued, and as was stated on more than one occasion by Haggard himself. Bulwer says that this class of fiction has its ‘legitimate exaggerations’, because ‘we raise ourselves above the level of common life, and ask other probabilities than those of Oxford-street, — the probable which belongs to poetry.’[1094]

It is clear that what Bulwer-Lytton was calling the Metaphysical Novel in the early decades of the nineteenth century is very much in alignment with the New Romance at its end. As we have seen, the nature of the New Romance is to be ‘fantastically real’: to use all of these exaggerations and poetic excesses whilst at the same time grounding them with – in Haggard’s case – a gritty and often bloody realism. ‘Half the world of the metaphysical novel appears legitimately to warrant the designation of novel as opposed to romance.’[1095] Nevertheless, it is both down to earth and otherworldly, and ‘the development of the abstract was its principal object, — the effects of certain qualities as operated upon by the world.’[1096]

Considerably later in the century Haggard, who as we have seen saw Bulwer-Lytton as a favourite author, would also write in defence of Romance. Early in his career, as an emergent journalist, Haggard wrote a relatively anodyne piece entitled *The Modern Novel* in the *Saturday Review* of 1882 in which he praised Robert Louis Stevenson, who he saw as continuing the tradition which he denied had died with Walter Scott,

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[1093] Ibid., p.125.
[1094] Ibid., p.125.
[1095] Edwin M. Eigner, *The Metaphysical Novel in England and America: Dickens, Bulwer, Hawthorne, Melville* (Berkley: The University of California Press, 1978), p.5.
[1096] Edward Lytton-Bulwer, *Pelham Novels*, I, p.126.

terming the latter the 'King of the Romantics.'[1097] However, five years later in the wake of some less than favourable reviews of the otherwise wildly successful *She*, he would reprise his view in a considerably more polemical piece. With *About Fiction* (1887), he made a further defence of what was now his own Romantic, or more accurately New Romantic literature, in opposition to the contemporaneous and to Haggard now unpalatable taste and vogue for realism.

By way of contrast, Haggard's defence of Romantic literature is altogether noisier than Bulwer-Lytton's. He begins *About Fiction* with the fundamental assertion that 'The love of romance is probably coeval with the existence of humanity.'[1098] He then launches into an extended tirade of vituperative loathing for realism - and the people that read it. He sees French realism as inevitably leading to sensuality and an undesirable, prurient interest in the potentially pornographic. He falls back on the anti-physicality of Pauline doxa – as we have seen a lifelong theme in his correspondence and fictional literature. In sum, for Haggard, realist literature is nothing less than an attack on the mores of the general public. However, he also has his fair share to say about 'soft' romance and the ladies that it is designed for – in fact he decries literature which is aimed at the 'Young Person' in general. To Haggard, a large proportion of fictional matter 'poured out' is superfluous and it 'lowers and vitiates the public taste, and obscures the true ends of fiction'.[1099] He asserts that, in effect, the public strives for Platonic ideals, and that the more culture spreads, the more 'do men and women crave to be taken out of themselves. More and more do they long to be brought face to face with Beauty, and stretch out their arms towards that vision of the Perfect, which we only see in books and dreams.'[1100] He has a brief swipe at publishing and piracy in the United States of which he had had some experience. He aims quite a high-falutin' attack at the expensively educated that are born without intellect – though generously concedes it is not their fault. The most important passage for our discussion however is as follows:

> There is indeed a refuge for the less ambitious among us, and it lies in the paths and calm retreats of pure imagination. Here we may weave our humble tale, and point our harmless moral without being mercilessly bound down to the prose of

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[1097] H. Rider Haggard, 'The Modern Novel', *Saturday Review*, 11 November 1882, pp.663-64. As we have seen, Haggard himself would later have the verses 'The Restoration of King Romance' dedicated to him by Lang.
[1098] Haggard, 'About Fiction', p.172.
[1099] Ibid., p.173.
[1100] Ibid., p.173.

> a somewhat dreary age. Here we may even – if we feel that our wings are strong enough to bear us in that thin air – cross the bounds of the known, and, hanging between earth and heaven, gaze with curious eyes into the profound beyond.'[1101]

We have already considered the idea of the mediating function of the imagination – between the human and the divine, beyond the 'Veil of Isis' as it were - as a spiritual, noetic organ. Here, Haggard makes this explicit. He moves away from the materialistic, to the spiritual, and from the realist to the idealist. As Edwin M. Eigner observes of Bulwer-Lytton, and I would argue, therefore, the same is true for Haggard: 'The great spiritual necessity of his age, as Bulwer understood it, was to free itself from this intellectual bondage, and the tools to work this jailbreak were visionary literature and German idealism.'[1102] As previously stated, Haggard had opened *About Fiction* stating that the love of Romance was coeval with humanity; Eigner writes that according to Thomas Carlyle, German Romantic aesthetic theory was 'born in the inmost spirit of man'. He continues, quoting Carlyle again:

> The Kantist, in direct contradiction to Locke and all his followers [...] commences from within, and proceeds outwards [...]. The ultimate aim of all Philosophy must be to interpret appearances, - from the given symbol to ascertain the thing. Now the first step towards this, the aim of what may be called Primary or Critical Philosophy, must be to find some indubitable principle; to fix ourselves on some unchangeable basis; to discover what the Germans call the *Urwahr*, the Primitive Truth, the necessarily absolutely and eternally *true*. Their Primitive Truth, however, they seek, not historically and by experiment in the universal persuasions of men, but by intuition, in the deepest and purest nature of Man.[1103]

This is also concordant with the philosophy and theology of that other Kantian, Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Coleridge adopted Kant's division between the 'reason' (*Vernunft*) and the 'understanding' (*Verstand*) where the reason was akin to a heightened intuitive faculty, and was closely aligned to the imagination which as we have seen he saw as serving an esemplastic function. As he says with the reason, truth spoke to the whole man and came from within, rather than the understanding which could only deal with the external and the material. As Charles Richards says quoting Coleridge:

[1101] Ibid., p.180.
[1102] Eigner, *The Metaphysical Novel in England and America*, p.8.
[1103] Ibid., pp.8-9.

> The truth of religion, which man does not create with his mind but which is always revealed to him by a higher Source, always emanates from within, never from without: "…all revelation is and must be *ab intra*; the external *phenomena* can only awake, recall the evidence, but never reveal."[1104]

I would argue that this philosophy is very much concordant with that of Haggard, who never strayed far from the precincts of his 'Temple of Truth'. We may recall again Beatrice's comments from the Introduction to this thesis:

> "No; I am afraid," said Beatrice, "all this reasoning drawn from material things does not touch me. That is how the Pagans made their religions, and it is how Paley strives to prove his. They argued from the Out to the In, from the material to the spiritual. It cannot be; if Christianity is true it must stand upon spiritual feet and speak with a spiritual voice, to be heard, not in the thunderstorm, but only in the hearts of men.[1105]

Like Bulwer and Carlyle before him, Haggard tried to save his contemporaries from scientific naturalism and its contingent materialism 'by substituting the visionary and the intuitive for the material and experiential'.[1106] He sought truth employing a Kantian reason and a Coleridgean imagination – a higher form of the imagination as distinct from mere 'fantasy'. The accompanying 'realism' of the New Romance is thus not the unending attention to detail and what Haggard described as Bacchanalian sensuality, but rather a *vraisemblance* – as an adjunct to assist the reader in finding the 'truth' of the romantic novel. We have already seen how such verisimilitude could produce for Haggard a *nimbus of occult authenticity*. However, Haggard - again like Carlyle and Bulwer-Lytton - did not ignore the material world

> as the sentimental idealists did, or, like Novalis and other transcendentalists, by somehow finding their ways to the infinite through the finite. There is plenty of the material world in *Sartor Resartus* and in the romances of Bulwer, but it remains devil's-dung until it is metamorphized by such visionary truths as cannot be derived by merely scrutinizing or contemplating it, either as fact or symbol.[1107]

The realistic aspect of the metaphysical novel or New Romance is not to be discarded for several other reasons. Aside from the realism providing

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[1104] Sanders, *Coleridge and The Broad Church Movement*, p.38. Sanders cites Coleridge from his *Literary Remains* in S.T. Coleridge, *The Complete Works of S.T. Coleridge*, ed. by W.G.T. Shedd, 7 vols (New York, NY: Harper,1884), V, p.503.
[1105] Haggard, *Beatrice*, p.120.
[1106] Eigner, *The Metaphysical Novel in England and America*, p.9.
[1107] Ibid., p.9.

verisimilitude for the novel, Haggard's literature often contained the journalistic and factually accurate: a type of 'fictional reportage'. We have already seen this in his detailed archaeological material - gleaned from contemporaneous Egyptology; this was so noticeable in *Cleopatra* that Haggard even suggested that the reader may skip to the second book of the volume if they were not interested in the subject.[1108]

Myth with Footnotes

Chidester writes that Bruce Lincoln controversially proffered the notion of scholarship as 'myth with footnotes', 'inevitably displaying (or concealing) ideology in narrative form, but necessarily anchored in factual evidence that is publicly accessible, subject to review, and open to disputation'.[1109]

The footnote itself provides evidence of a Romantic contiguity with its presence in the orientalist literature, including fiction and poetry of the late 1700s. Notable in this regard are the footnotes in William Beckford's *Vathek* (1786) and the poetry of Robert Southey.[1110] In the context of such Romantic exoticism and so-called 'costume-poetry', Nigel Leask comments on the colonialist ideological aspect of the footnoting 'which at once guaranteed the authenticity of the allusion, whilst at the same time reassuring the metropolitan reader that it was both culturally legible and translatable'.[1111] However, in Romantic historiography, rather than poetry or fiction, the footnote served opposite functions. In the historical text, 'it was in the historian's notes, one could say, that the Other was given sanctuary and protection from the appropriating energy of the historical narrative.'[1112] Whilst in orientalist Romantic poetry or fiction, 'one finds a similar phenomenon but with the terms reversed. Here the fictional *narrative* transcribes otherness whilst the *notes* translate it into ethnological or historiographical discourse of the same.'[1113] The exotic image of the poetic narrative and explanatory footnote which runs alongside it 'exist in a kind of intimate co-dependency'.[1114] I interpret this to mean that there is a

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[1108] Haggard, *Cleopatra*, 'Author's Note', p. viii.
[1109] Chidester, *Empire of Religion*, p.277.
[1110] Nigel Leask, ''Wandering through Eblis'; absorption and containment in Romantic exoticism', in *Romanticism and Colonialism: Writing and Empire, 1780-1830*, ed. by Tim Fulford and Peter J. Kitson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.165-88 (pp.180-88).
[1111] Ibid., pp.175-76.
[1112] Lionel Gossman, 'History as Decipherment: Romantic Historiography and the Discovery of the Other', *New Literary History*, 1, 18 (1986), 23-57 (p.41).
[1113] Leask, ''Wandering through Eblis'', p.181.
[1114] Ibid., p.181.

possibility of the voices of the colonizer and the colonized being heard in dialogue. Leask concludes 'Arising in the brief lacuna between the generic triviality of the eighteenth century Oriental tale and the rise of scientific anthropology, the age of the literary footnote draws to an unlamented close.'[1115] However, as we have seen it is very much re-opened with Haggard's resurgent New Romance, where the fictional components are not elided from, but very much imbricated with those of anthropology and comparative religion, and the footnote contributes to this intertextuality.

In terms of the discussion of the truth of the metaphysical novel, this gives one pause for thought. We note that Haggard included both fictional and actual footnotes in his romances. Fictional footnotes in Haggard make one reflect on the importance of footnotes in academic discourse in general, and the way in which the very notion of historicity can be fictionalised. The footnote is the literary equivalent of an archaeological artefact. These can all be collated under the umbrella of what may be termed a *functional artefact* i.e. an artefact be it physical, literary, fictional or factual which serves as evidence for a narrative.

Haggard produced a new revised edition of *She* in 1896, the main addition being copious academic footnotes, which is an *actual* case of 'myth with footnotes'. Again, with Romantic irony, the boundaries of the factual and fictional are blurred, again the manifold intertextuality. As discussed above in *Allan Quatermain*, he deploys this technique when describing the spirituality of the mysterious sun-worshipping Zu-Vendi. Another particularly fine example of the footnote in *Allan Quatermain* occurs where Quatermain suggests that the writing of the Zu-Vendi people resembles Phoenician, and Haggard as Editor gives a footnote in which he cites a factual study by Gaston Maspero:

> There are twenty-two letters in the Phoenician alphabet (*see* Appendix, Maspero's *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*, p.746, &c.[1116]) Unfortunately Mr. Quatermain gives us no specimen of the Zu-Vendi writing, but what he here states seems to go a long way towards substantiating the theory advanced in the note on p.151. – EDITOR.[1117]

The 'theory advanced' being that the Zu-Vendi were a Phoenician migration: not merely a footnote but a cross-reference. In addition, the preface or 'author's note' could be a fictional equivalent of academic

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[1115] Ibid., p.188.
[1116] Gaston Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient* (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1875). The Phoenician letters appear on p.600 of this edition.
[1117] Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*, p.158.

documentation or source material, and was often – especially in the case of Quatermain - presented as the inspiration to the adventure narrated in the romance that followed. This is of course the reverse of what had happened in reality: frequently, Haggard would have already deliberately visited a country to gather material for his writing - and then such reportage would appear in his literature in fictionalised form. In addition, as discussed above, the preface itself acted as a platform for Haggard to give full rein to any actual academic material - including genuine references - that he wished the reader to engage with which, although often intended to provide a verisimilitude for what followed, also acted to reinforce the importance of ideas for which the romance was a vehicle. For example, in the posthumously published adventure *The Treasure of the Lake* (1926), Allan Quatermain reports a letter sent to him from Mozambique by a monk - a certain Brother Ambrose, 'a Swede by birth, [who] would have been an archaeologist, also an anthropologist pure and simple, had he not chanced to be a saint'. Again, there are aspects of Haggard: a link to purported Scandinavian heritage, and his aspirations in both the named academic fields. Here, through the mouth of Ambrose, Haggard describes in comparativist terms the religious belief system of a tribe of the African interior whose 'priests taught some form of the old Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis'. This explained their way with wild animals, the hunting of which was considered taboo as they believed they were effectively their own kin retributively reincarnated – this being described by the cleric Ambrose as a pre-Christian delusion.[1118] Haggard is actually again alluding to Zulu totem-transmigration.

The 'Editor' device is also important in terms of Haggard's engagement with the secret knowledge discourse. Although Haggard uses this device to provide narrative authority to his romance, Blavatsky took Bulwer-Lytton at his word and accepted *Zanoni* as a bona fide source of esoteric lore. There is more to this 'Editor' mechanism as it was also used in Thomas Carlyle's *poioumenon* – that is, fiction about the process of writing - *Sartor Resartus.*[1119]

Thus far, then, we have seen the 'truth' of the metaphysical novel in terms of its realist elements, but what of the elements which, in theory, define it?

[1118] H. Rider Haggard, *The Treasure of the Lake* (New York, NY: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1926), 'Preface,' pp.1-3.
[1119] Lilias Haggard records that en route to Canada her father was 're-reading Gibbon and Carlyle', so he could possibly have been drawn to this literary conceit by either Bulwer-Lytton or Thomas Carlyle. See Haggard, *The Cloak That I Left*, p.245.

We now consider how the metaphysical novel is contextualised in relation to the truth of Scripture, which emphasises its importance with regard to the roles of occultism and Christian esotericism.

Biblical Narratives and the Metaphysical Novel

The final element to consider in the discussion of the truth of the metaphysical novel is its relationship to the Bible. Norman Vance explores the connections between Victorian fiction and the Bible in the wake of continental historicism and Darwinism in *Bible and Novel: Narrative Authority and the Death of God.* He argues that 'the novel itself began to take over and provide new narratives, which sometimes aspired to be reimagined versions of scripture. The grand themes of God, Man, Nature and History were still there, in a sense, but the language and treatments were different.'[1120] The notable example of this in Haggard's oeuvre is his Exodus romance *Moon of Israel* (1918) recast from an Egyptian perspective with his Romantic Moses as an initiated Egyptian Priest. Haggard supported (rather than supplanted) biblical narratives in his novels: what was previously a pilgrimage now becomes a quest.

At the beginning of this account, we saw the impact of *Essays and Reviews* and the responses to it within the Anglican community. With hindsight, it is striking to note how the challenge to biblical authority was used metonymically as a questioning of the basis and validity of the Christian faith as a whole, when as Vance observes 'the Bible had not even been mentioned in some of the oldest agreed statements of the faith of the Church such as the Apostle's Creed and the earliest version of the Nicene Creed, both dating from early in the fourth century.'[1121] Indeed, the purported declining standing of the Bible in the nineteenth century is often told in a 'brashly oversimplified and indeed mythologized form'. [1122] The analysis of Haggard's appropriation and reimagining of biblical narratives provide a more nuanced picture of changing habits of Bible reading and reflection.

The multiple, often conflicting inflections of Haggard's Christian apologetics are in evidence throughout the above account. His Christian esotericism is pre-Reformation in one sense in that it tends

[1120] Vance, *Bible and Novel*, p.28.
[1121] Ibid., p.30.
[1122] Ibid., p.31.

epistemologically toward the traditional rather than the scriptural i.e. revelation and oral transmission – although he insists that his faith is scripture-bound. However, although his dependence is far from total acceptance of a Lutheran *sola scriptura*, his emphasis on Pauline scripture has been noted. Throughout this work we have added layer after layer of complexity to his avowedly Anglican confession: Anglican by nurture, and Anglo-Catholic by sensibility; Broad Church in outlook with his views on ecumenism and religious pluralism, and a profound drawing to the mystical and gnostic in his Pauline mystical pietism. Add to this Theosophical speculation, early Spiritualism and reincarnationism and it is perhaps surprising the degree to which he valued New Testament Scripture with regard to his faith, and Old Testamental narratives as a literary resource. His autobiographical insistence that the biblical narratives are largely historically factual may also come as a surprise to some, given the breadth of his purview. However, as Vance points out, the tendency to read symbolic and imaginative religious narratives scientifically and literally was in any case a relatively recent innovation of the period:

> Poetic reading of scripture was not a new-fangled German idea but well established: even before Galileo and Copernicus, Dean Colet of St Paul's (1466?-1519) had written that the opening chapters of Genesis contained poetic rather than scientific truth. Victorian anxieties or misgivings about the authority of Genesis, and of scriptural narrative more generally, represented a challenge not so much to the Bible as to unsustainable – and relatively recent – attempts to read symbolic and imaginative religious narrative scientifically and literally instead of religiously.[1123]

We have already seen that Kipling described Haggard's writing in terms of 'parables' - the parabolic idiom is itself, of course, a biblical form. As Vance remarks:

> This method of religious teaching through story allows for continuities between the Bible and the novel, between sacred and more 'secular' scripture. It bypasses vexed questions of literal truth and authority by locating verifiability in the nature of the story itself rather than its empirical verifiability or disputably divine authorship.[1124]

We can apply this directly to the spiritually parenetic and didactic elements of Haggardian Romance. Haggard's profoundly religious imagination could demonstrate that 'timeless or archetypal narratives could function like biblical parables and other Bible stories by pointing to meanings

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[1123] Ibid., p.40.
[1124] Ibid., p.195.

beyond the specifics of time and place.'[1125] I have tried through the course of this study to emphasise and delineate the biblical and classical sources, to demonstrate in particular how Haggard blended these together with elements of a Christian esotericism. Thus, his literature can be elucidated and interpreted along lines which are typological, parabolic and allegorical, after the manner of scriptural hermeneutics and exegesis. Haggardian Romance, read in the light of Bulwer's 'metaphysical novel', a Kantian reason through which 'the *Ding an Sich,* the real or noumenal world which, though unknowable, becomes accessible in a qualified sense',[1126] and a Coleridgean imagination whose coloured hearing apprehends the still small voice calling from the Infinite, can be seen as an attempt to convey elements of religious truth. His books, if they are for boys, are concerned with catechesis and pedagogy. Clearly, we have moved far away from the notion of Haggard's stories as mere ripping yarns and tales of adventure – not that they can't be considered that as well. Yet even with regard to the picaresque *King Solomon's Mines*, Haggard could note wryly: 'Old ladies still buy it under the impression that it is a religious tale—I have seen it included in theological catalogues, even those of German origin', looking askance as he does so to German biblical historicism.[1127]

[1125] Ibid., p.170.
[1126] McNiece, *The Knowledge that Endures*, p.25.
[1127] Haggard, 'The Real "King Solomon's Mines"', p.144.

Conclusions

Oh, kind is Death that Life's long trouble closes,
Yet at Death's coming Life shrinks back affright;
It sees the dark hand, not that it encloses
A cup of light.
So oft the Spirit seeing Love draw nigh
As 'neath the shadow of destruction, quakes,
For Self, dark tyrant of the Soul, must die,
When Love awakes.
Aye, let him die in darkness! But for thee,
Breathe thou the breath of morning and be free!

I began this thesis with an exploration of some of the religious ideas in Haggard's lesser-known novel *Beatrice*. In the front pages, the poem above is given by way of a prefatory meditation, and beneath it is inscribed 'RÜCKERT. *Translated by* F.W.B,' specifying precisely the source from which Haggard lifted it.[1128] This is an English translation from the German of the Romantic poet and orientalist scholar, Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866). What is not at first apparent is that this is not Rückert's poem. Elsewhere in the original source is the German version,[1129] entitled 'Rückert's translation from the Persian,' and it is a translation of a Persian *ghazal* by Jalāl ad-Dīn Muhammad Rūmī (1207-1273),[1130] more simply 'Rumi', the famous Sufi mystic and poet. The reasons for opening my conclusions with this poem are that firstly, it is typical of Haggard's writing - the importance of examining 'what is not at first apparent'. The occult is that which is hidden, and one might say that the esoteric is that which is

[1128] Anonymous, eds, *Essays in Translation and Other Contributions: Reprinted from the "Journal of Education" with Editorial Notes and Comments* (London: William Rice, 1885), pp. 188-89.
[1129] Ibid., p.74. Rückert published his collection of Persian poetry as *Ghaselen* in 1819, thus introducing the ghazal as a poetic form into German literature. See Talha Jalal, 'The Whisper that Echoed across the Seven Seas: Rumi in the Western Intellectual Milieu', <http://www.eclectica.org/v14n4/jalal.html> [accessed 4 September 2017].
[1130] The German translation and confirmation of Rumi's authorship can be found at Rumi, 'Wohl endet Tod des Lebens Not', <http://www.deutsche-liebeslyrik.de/rumi/rumi104.htm> [accessed 18 November 2017].

'hidden in plain sight', after the manner of the hieroglyph, and therefore that which is 'not at first apparent'. During this account, I have had cause to examine Haggard's esotericism, and many of his allusions and source materials, and what is now apparent is the breadth and depth of his reading. Of course, one can always speculate, as his critics often did, as to his awareness of what he was writing, and whether he knew that this poem was ultimately by Rumi, but given his interest in Romantic authors it is safe to accept that he knew of Rückert. My second reason for using this ghazal is that it encompasses one of Haggard's greatest themes. A ghazal is typically written in praise of love in spite of pain, loss and separation; it is typically written from the perspective of the unrequited lover. This is the perennial theme of Haggardian romance: that love belongs to eternity and survives physical death: a transcendental *agápē* which outlives the perpetual war of the flesh and the Spirit, and which he derived principally from the letters of St Paul.

We saw previously how in *Stella Fregelius*, the bereft Morris sets out in earnest on an esoteric path to contact the drowned Stella:

> Now, by such arts as are known to those who have studied mysticism in any of its protean forms, Morris set himself to attempt communication with the unseen. In their practice these arts are as superlatively unwholesome as in their result, successful or not, they are unnatural.[1131] Also, they are very ancient. The Chaldeans knew them, and the magicians who stood before Pharaoh knew them. To the early Christian anchorites and to the gnostic they were familiar. In one shape or another, ancient wonder-workers, Scandinavian and mediaeval seers, modern Spiritualists, classical interpreters of oracles, Indian fakirs, savage witch-doctors and medicine men, all submitted or submit themselves to the yoke of the same rule in the hope of attaining an end which, however it may vary in its manifestations, is identical in essence.
>
> This is the rule: to beat down the flesh and its instincts and nurture the spirit, its aspirations and powers.[1132]

In many ways, this passage neatly summarises the breadth of Haggard's knowledge of the history of esoteric ideas, how their countries of origin have contributed to the Imperial Occult, and how they have been approached in this account. From Bulwer-Lytton's Romantic Chaldean Zanoni, to the magicians and 'Pharaoh' of the Exodus and biblical Egyptology; Haggard's near-gnostic dualism and melancholic acosmism;

[1131] Haggard reveals his ambivalence to such 'arts' as on this occasion he describes them as unnatural: elsewhere he interprets them in terms of a 'natural supernaturalism'.
[1132] Haggard, S*tella Fregelius*, p.335.

his Scandinavian seers including Swedenborg, and his Danish extraction and mysticism; the Spiritualists of his youth; the fakirs, Tibetan Mahatmas and Indian mystique of Theosophy; and, of course, the witch-doctors - the Zulu sangomas in the Africa of his youth. As ever with Haggard, it is the Pauline opposition of the flesh and the Spirit which for him is central to these endeavours, as it is to his own religious philosophy. In his Introduction to Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, H.D Traill said of the author that he would not have considered himself a philosopher, 'whose own metaphysic was a mere tissue of poetic rhapsodies'.[1133] I hope that whilst at times Haggard may have been said to have written rhapsodically, the substance of his philosophy is apparent.

This exploration of that religious philosophy has taken us through a progressive 'unveiling of Isis', dealing with that which is hidden, be it unconscious, forgotten, buried or veiled. The thesis has demonstrated that the 'Veil of Isis' is a polysemic image. To the occultist it conceals the hidden laws of Nature, yet to be revealed. To the Romantic, it is a *natura naturans* that can never be revealed by mere scientific rationalism. Blavatsky felt that her 'occult science' of Theosophy had unveiled Isis; Haggard seems at times to have doubted her conviction. The over-arching concept of the Imperial Occult has allowed us to impose a structure on the processual mechanisms and topoi of syncretic theology, how these ideas appeared in Haggard's romances, and were thus transmitted to the reading public.

Clearly the recourse to the integration of alien religious formations cannot be a restoration of orthodoxy. The implicit Anglo-Catholic theological position involved in revitalizing the Anglican faith by restoring the supernaturalism stripped away by attempted Broad Church reform is a problematic one for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is debatable whether one can term such religious structures 'new'. For example, the apparent incorporation of Hindu and Buddhist reincarnationism into Christianity, when a belief in reincarnation -albeit in the form of Greek metempsychosis - persisted amongst individuals that self-identified as Christian as late as the Enlightenment, and was certainly prevalent in the ante-Nicene era. This makes broad statements concerning 'hybridization' and 'syncretism' problematic, when on occasion what is actually meant is a return to an earlier religious structure, albeit in a modified form. The propensity to

[1133] Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, p. ix.

accept even the possibility of such changes can be seen superficially as promulgating a liberal and reformist Broad Church perspective. But its aim is quite the contrary – to support and shore up the supernaturalism stripped away by liberal reform, associated with orthodox scriptural and doctrinal doxa. In other words, the originary trajectories of British occultism were not countercultural at the *outset* – though they would come to have this association - but rather, directed toward the repair of the damage done to High Church Anglican theology, notably following *Essays and Reviews*, with an appeal to tradition, hierarchy, ritual, sacerdotalism, and supernaturalism. The necessity of an instauration of these five elements took the syncretic Victorian *religio mentis* throughout the Empire and beyond.

In Egypt, as we have seen, the retrojective imagination was often as much a motive for archaeological exploration as the much vaunted, nominally dispassionate and scientific approach. Thus, in the Victorian period Egyptology as an emergent science was not always the dominant trajectory. In Colla's observation:

> Textual representations of Egyptian antiquities and fictional narratives on Pharaonic themes were not simply posterior reflections of material practice. On the contrary, archaeology and museum culture anticipated, as much as they proceeded from, the cultural imaginary of Egyptomania and Pharaonism.[1134]

As we have seen, just as the forged artefacts are text-objects for Haggard's romances so the actual archaeological finds became text-objects for biblical narratives. In both cases the object serves an identical purpose: it is given as tangible physical evidence for the reality of the narrative. This propensity for intertextuality, the blending of 'fact' and 'fiction', is a key to the understanding of Haggard's literature and its relationship with Victorian Egyptology and anthropology. As we have seen, although Haggard often follows Egyptological disciplinary perspectives and their changes closely, he is selective in terms of how he deploys these for his fictional narratives and their didactic purpose. It is true that in his memoirs and the romances he changes the name of the 'Pharaoh' of the Exodus three times – apparently in order to retain the plausibility of a biblical Egypt in the face of emergent archaeological evidence. In a more specifically esoteric context, Rider Haggard appealed to the 'primordial wisdom' of Egypt. In Haggard's writing, the Egyptosophical and biblical discourses coalesce in the milieu of an Imperial Occult. The comparativism of his

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[1134] Colla, *Conflicted Antiquities*, p.18.

religious speculations on a proto-Christianity in Egypt take him away from the proscriptions of a dogmatic or revelation theology. What has to be emphasised is the importance of this idea of hidden Nature behind the 'Veil of Isis,' or in Haggard's use of St Paul's phrase, 'the curtain of the unseen'. Crucial to Haggard's esoteric, proto-Christian Egypt is a Romantic construction of a Saitic Isis as Nature, and the transmission of secret knowledge concerning this hidden Nature, possessed by the initiated Egyptian priesthood.

As I have demonstrated this New Romantic view of Haggard's owes much to contiguities with the ideas of the English and German Romantics. He provides evidence of the Romantic notions of the Weimar Classicists Goethe and Schiller amongst others. We have seen how German Romanticism looked not only to Egypt but to India. In addition, this led us to explore Victorian constructions of Buddhism and the importance of these in Haggard's romances and correspondence. I have emphasised in particular the Romantic appropriation of the Bible, and have explored how Haggard combines the Romantic ideas of the *Liebestod*, with Platonic *érōs* and Pauline agape in his own philosophy of an *amor aeternus.* For Haggard, 'Love Eternal' survives the grave and his lovers are reincarnated and reunited.

In this thesis I have marshalled evidence to challenge the argument that Haggard's novels employed esoteric themes merely as literary propagandist devices for the imperialist project. Rather, that the British archaeological presence in Egypt and the importance of this to British culture, combined with a more overt political involvement with the establishment of the British Protectorate in 1882, led to a counter-invasion of religious and philosophical ideas. Likewise, the colonial presence of the British in South Africa during the tumult of the Zulu War and Two Boer Wars, the process of missionising and the associated rise of comparative religious studies led to a dialogue between the Imperial metropolitan centre and its academics and the colonial periphery, and Haggard engaged with this dialogue. India as the third of our Imperial locales had several centuries of exchange of ideas with Great Britain, but notably after the establishment of the Theosophical society in 1875 and the hybridization of religious structures which ensued. We have showed ample evidence for Haggard's deployment of ideas from the Theosophical corpus, notably in the context of his combination of Christian eschatology, temporal cyclicity, and the rise and fall of civilisations.

I would argue that, in the colonial context, the counter-invasion of ideas which is coeval with the New Imperialism served to act as a critique of modernity in general and the colonialist project in particular. In this regard, there was a 'reverse-missionising' aimed at the revitalising of metropolitan religiosity discussed above. I have argued that the engagement with alien religious structures at the turn of the century was the crib of the British nineteenth-century occult revival. Hanegraaff has suggested a qualified definition of occultism as '*all attempts by esotericists to come to terms with a disenchanted world or, alternatively, by people in general to make sense of esotericism from the perspective of a disenchanted secular world*'.[1135] In this context, the notion that a Weberian 'disenchantment of the world' ever took place has now been seriously critiqued.[1136] It would be more accurate to say that, rather than an attempt at 're-enchantment', there was an attempt at restoring the supernatural to Christian religiosity, albeit in the form of a 'natural supernaturalism', and a failed attempt at buttressing Anglican orthodoxy. These ideas and processes are evident in Haggardian romance, and Haggard was instrumental in their promulgation. In this fashion the rise of the New Romance in literature with its esoteric themes acted as an amplification of biblical narratives – with or without biblical themes - in which the metaphysical novel replaced the pilgrimage with the mystical quest.

We have traced the importance of Africa in Haggard, both in terms of Egypt and Southern Africa. Haggard's North-South spatial axis of Africa is accompanied by an axis of temporal engagement in terms of spirituality: Ancient Egypt in the North and contemporaneous i.e. nineteenth-century, 'modern' Africa in the South. In the North he saw ancient progenitors of modern western monotheistic religion; in the South, a paradoxical combination of atavistic intuitive animism and modern savage and 'degenerate' superstition. Haggard's romances evoke the Victorian anthropological legerdemain whereby the Ancient Egyptians became dead moderns and contemporary tribal Africans became 'living fossils'. Nonetheless, we have seen how Haggard problematized and unsettled the ingrained notions of racial hierarchy and assumptions of the superiority of the white male. As Allan Quatermain would have it, 'Civilisation is only

[1135] Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*, p.422.
[1136] See Egil Asprem, *The Problem of Disenchantment: Scientific Naturalism and Esoteric Discourse 1900-1939* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

savagery silver-gilt. A vainglory is it, and, like a northern light, comes but to fade and leave the sky more dark.'[1137] As Chidester remarks, following Chrisman's argument, imperial political economy and spiritual enchantment were not easily separated in Haggard:

> Here was an Imperialist advocating the empire, celebrating its military and economic interests, actively promoting the Shepstone system of indirect rule, and reinforcing all of the racialized, gendered and sexualized tropes of empire through his best-selling novels. But here also was a spiritualist, of sorts, believing in reincarnation, even vaguely recalling his own past lives as a caveman, a black savage, an ancient Egyptian, and a medieval barbarian, while holding on to a romantic ideal of British pastoral life.[1138]

Whilst there is no doubt about Haggard as an imperialist, I hope that this account has successfully contested and complicated some of the assertions made in this quote concerning Haggard's use of 'racialized, gendered and sexualized tropes of empire'. Haggard was told about the possibility of his reincarnations as we recall by a 'mystic of the first water' and certainly wrote in fiction about Quatermain's past-lives, amongst others, but there is no documentation of a personal anamnesis, however vague. Likewise, he had been involved in spiritualism in his extreme youth, but as we have seen, his belief system became more complex with age. It is the importance of the exploration of this belief system which I have argued for alongside the well-travelled route of 'Haggard the imperialist', and the evidence for syncretic theology and occultism in his fiction and correspondence.

It is admittedly difficult to comprehend from within a modern or perhaps 'post-modern' *Weltenschauung* inured to the explosion of information technology which has occurred during the 20th and 21st centuries - where people can communicate across vast distances in seconds - that the syncretism and hybridity of ideas described in this account of British nineteenth and early twentieth-century occultism, and its multifarious sources, depended much more on the geopolitics of Empire and the movement and often direct physical contact of different peoples. 'Syncretism' did not simply belong in some abstract realm of ideas but was derivative of a cultural rapprochement. Arguments have been many concerning the nature of these nexi: Self and Other, coloniser and colonised, Imperialist and Subaltern. I have tried to emphasise the counter-

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[1137] Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*, p.5.

[1138] Chidester, *Empire of Religion*, p.157. See also Laura Chrisman, *Rereading The Imperial Romance: British Imperialism and South African Resistance in Haggard, Schreiner, and Plaatje* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

invasion of ideas resulting from the Imperialist project and the importance of their interrogation of the colonialist stance. The cultural rapprochement was most important in the missionising project which Haggard critiqued, and which as we have discussed often had in view the promulgation of the miraculous Christ of Pauline Christianity.

In this regard, it is my contention that Haggard turns to St Paul because of the apostle's essentially mystical theology. This goes beyond the scriptural evidence of the Apostle's Damascene *kataphasis* and conversion. It fits readily with the idea of Paul as a promulgator of the miraculous Christ, at least in part responsible in this account for the Osiride Christology prevalent amongst Victorian Egyptologists and Haggard. It dovetails readily with Romantic philhellenism and Paul as an initiate of the Mysteries, and with Blavatskian Theosophy which also draws on the latter and makes Paulinism a continuation of the initiatic Graeco-Egyptian Mysteries, and a component of the Hermetic discourse. To what extent Haggard considered Paul an 'initiate' is another question – but that is not our concern. Haggard's own interest in the spiritual and the mystical led him to seek out the apostle's work, citing him frequently because Pauline mystical theology comports with his own. He did even on occasion hint at personal mystical experience and its transience. Lilias Haggard records a conversation between Haggard and Kipling on the nature of mystical communion. Haggard says:

> I told him that I did believe that as a result of much spiritual labour there is born in one a knowledge of the nearness and consolation of God. He replied that occasionally this had happened to him also, but the difficulty was to 'hold' the mystic sense of this communion – that it passes. Now this I have found very true. Occasionally one sees the Light, one touches the pierced feet, one thinks that the peace which passes understanding is gained – then all is gone again. Rudyard's explanation is that it meant to be so; that God does not mean we should get too near lest we become unfitted for our work in the world. Perhaps…[1139]

Here, Haggard contemplates Paul's Epistle to the Philippians: 'The peace of God which passeth all understanding'– the ineffable, apophatic bliss of the *Unio mystica* – and its transience.[1140]

[1139] Haggard, *The Cloak That I Left*, pp. 260-61.
[1140] Philippians 4.7: 'And the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus.'

As aforementioned, Haggard is also concerned with transience at a more mundane level: the cyclical rise and fall of Empire. As we have seen, these events are often associated with a recrudescence of the Hermetic narrative, and recourse to the wisdom tradition to bolster and revitalise the sclerotic structures of Church and State. As with the collapse of Byzantium and the rise of the Italian Humanism in the *quattrocento*, so with the fading of British Imperialism and the 'occult revival' in the late nineteenth-century, and beyond the Great War. The resurgence of occultism in the nineteenth century was however complicated by an internal tension between the Hermetic-Theosophic and the Romantic; the former with its wisdom attained and the latter which emphasised wisdom's unending pursuit. This aporia of Occultism and Romanticism, as we have seen, found its point of equilibrium in Carlyle's 'Natural Supernaturalism' where there are hidden laws of nature (Occultism) which can never be revealed (Romanticism). Haggard's romance tapped into and revealed these important currents.

The revealing process is as we have seen intimately related to literary hermeneutics. It is at first sight a strange and manifest contrast that the 'progressive' English Realist literature of the mid-1800s deployed biblical typology, whilst simultaneously rejecting the Bible. Haggard's New Romantic literature of the *fin de siècle* transitioned typological hermeneutics into reincarnation, finding, as did the Theosophists, evidence for reincarnation in Scripture. Typology and reincarnationism are intimately linked because of their contrasting interpretations. Typology fits with a linear eschatology, but reincarnationism can only be accomodated if the cycles of reincarnated lives are equated with purgatory/the intermediate period, representing a purification of the soul prior to final judgement and the entry into eternity. However, Haggard's New Romanticism and Theosophical perspective moved beyond both - by conflating the Providential Aesthetic with *karma* and rebirth, and finding the perceived moral economies of the latter as equated with sin and redemption.

The conveyance of such religious and anthropological ideas in Haggard's fiction has foregrounded the importance of text and specifically intertextuality in locating his oeuvre. The Protestant emphasis on the significance of scripture especially in terms of its historicity in turn drove the emphasis on textuality in comparative religion as we have seen. This supremacy of the text fostered in turn the importance of the academic footnote in comparativism, and in turn the use of the footnote by Haggard

in his fiction, where he used it both for the purposes of immersion and for factual education. In turn, in the form of Romantic Irony, it problematized the ontological status of his texts as fact or fiction. The footnote remains a mainstay of academicians up to the present day, though the historical links with Higher criticism, and orientalist and comparativist discourse are largely lost.

We have considered how the importation of new religious structures was used to revitalise Anglican confession in the face of the threat posed to Scripture by the internal divisions generated and epitomised by the Anglican *Essays and Reviews*, continental biblical historicism and Darwinism. The questions remain as to how such hybridization could possibly take place. Given the considerable structural differences between, as an important example, Christian and Buddhist doctrine – how can such antipathetical eschatologies and religious structures fit together, and, indeed, why should this process have a revitalizing effect? A close study of the complex relationships between *karma* and Providence, reincarnation and typology, and the hybridity with sin and redemption in Haggard's oeuvre has provided us with some possible answers. Given the history of reincarnation in Christian thought, perhaps rather than 'hybridization' it is a question in such circumstances of revitalizing by the restoration of older religious ideas, which naturally reflects the Hermetic ethos of the return of the *prisca theologia.* The Anglo-European and - in recent years - transatlantic Imperial trope of 'former greatness' and its restoration semantically engages in the History of Ideas with a biblical pre-lapsarian state, a classical Golden Age, a Renaissance *prisca theologia*, a Theosophical ancient wisdom, and a post-modern *Ur*-technology.

What, then, are the logical processual mechanisms involved in adapting such historical, or rather, historiographical schemata of Buddhist and/or Hindu thought to Christianity? The larger questions concerning elective salvation and eternal damnation raised in the Anglican Communion were addressed by changes in attitudes toward linear time and temporal cyclicity. Cyclical time was adapted to a linear eschatology in part by changing the Anglican 'intermediate period'/Catholic Purgatory to a series of earthly reincarnations during which the required spiritual purification takes place. This approximated more closely to a reversion to the Greek influence conferring metempsychosis on Early Christianity prior to the establishment

of conciliar orthodoxy. The 'counter-invasion' of Buddhism and Hinduism promoted a resurgence of these older ideas.

The questions raised about human agency and autonomy by the challenge to elective salvation and eternal damnation were reflected in *karma* and its contingent rebirth becoming conflated with the moral economies of sin and redemption as we have seen. *Karma* becomes not a law of necessity as in un-reconstructed Buddhism, but of retribution. The emphasis on what is strictly metempsychosis rather than reincarnation resulted in the substitution of an *ethos of perfectibility* for karmic necessity. Old Testament typological criticism relies on Providence and the idea of an over-arching and at least in part predetermined temporal structure. The advance of science and the attacks of historiography served to make typological hermeneutics obsolete, and the Old Testament less relevant, increasingly reduced to the status of fable and allegory. However, as fictional religiosity appropriated the *figura* from the scriptural, typology was continued in the literature of the Victorian period. With the New Romance of the 1880s onward, the emphasis was shifted from the typological to reincarnationism - as promulgated in the reincarnation romances of Rider Haggard. In addition, the religiosity of the Haggard's New Romance acts as an adjunct to scripture by re-presenting Bible stories in fictional form. These reconfigurations pose questioning alternate histories. Although as we have seen, Haggard asserts the literal truth of Scripture, his mystical and esoteric theology simultaneously sidesteps and endorses its historicity, whilst amplifying its religious content.

The shift from typology to reincarnation thus further revitalised a religiosity bogged down with the question of human agency, by postponing the question indefinitely. Reincarnation supports the notion that karmic necessities are responsible for apparent free will: these necessities were presented by the free will of the previous life – and so on in infinite regress. We have seen how Haggard worked through this quandary in *Stella Fregelius.* To summarise the above, the bridge between linear and cyclical time is provided by the substitution of reincarnationism for typological hermeneutics. Reincarnationism dispels (or at least, suspends) the conundrum of the coexistence of Free Will and Providence.

As we have seen, to a certain extent this shoring-up of a beleaguered Anglicanism was an Imperial concern. Inevitably, if the Empire is seen in

the guise of Christendom, and part of the 'White Man's Burden' of civilizing is Christian missionising i.e. the justification of Imperial expansion as civilizing and Christianizing, then the failure of Christian theology to present a coherent front in the face of a scientific *Weltenschauung,* and as a result of doctrinal schism in the Anglican communion, leaves the argument for the Imperial project fundamentally flawed. Haggard remained deeply ambivalent about colonialism, whilst working for the British Empire all his life and having that fact written on his grave. He was doubtful of the value of 'civilizing' the 'savage', and was impressed by the power of indigenous spirituality, which he felt that the white man had lost. As a result, he spent much of his life in ideological vacillation as is evident in his work: in this regard we have demonstrated how he frequently subverts conventional colonial hierarchies. In his Introduction to *Allan Quatermain*, Haggard makes his concerns explicit when he says that it is a 'depressing conclusion, but in all essentials the savage and the child of civilisation are identical'.[1141] His ambivalence about modernity and civilisation is evident. Although in favour of technological advance, he wrote on afforestation and coastal erosion and was an ecologist and perhaps 'deep' ecologist *avant la lettre.* As a prominent figure amongst London society intelligentsia, he could nevertheless see in urban decay metaphors for the Cities of the Plain: not simply a New Jerusalem among these 'dark satanic mills', but - alongside his New Amarna, Alexandria, or Thebes - a New Sodom and Gomorrah.

In conclusion, though at first sight often assumed to be countercultural and reflective of an alleged Romantic reaction to scientific materialism, we can see that British occultism had the coterminous trajectory with Anglo-Catholicism of restoring the supernaturalism stripped away by attempted Broad Church reform in the wake of *Essays and Reviews.* It sought to restore initiation and the sacerdotalism of the High Church ritual. The challenged 'evidences' were replaced – typology with reincarnation, the miraculous with the magic of occult science, even Christ with Osiris. On a broader canvas, the Imperial Occult is not a simple epiphenomenal manifestation of the attempt to buttress Empire as Christendom, but also an ecumenism extending beyond the Christian church, and the counter-invasion of a panoply of diverse ideas from the Imperial locales which complicated the issue. In the last analysis, the Imperial Occult was not countercultural *ab origine*, but it would eventually interrogate modernism

[1141] Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*, p.4.

and the imperial project, notably with the Theosophist Annie Besant as a founder of the Indian National Congress. The number of neologisms and other terms which challenge the very notion of objectivity, 'mnemohistory', 'metageography', 'intertextuality' and 'mediation' are salutary of how much esotericism relies on Romantic theories of knowledge. Rider Haggard's thorough engagement with all of these discourses provides evidence for the internal ambiguities, tensions and perpetual conflicts of an ambivalent imperialist. As Vance succinctly puts it, with regard to the religio-philosophical ideas discussed, 'The popular author of *King Solomon's Mines* (1885) and *She* (1887), and many other works, deserves to be taken more seriously as – among other things – a multicultural religious novelist.'[1142]

Amongst those many cultures, Haggard was most at home in Egypt. His romantic fealty with the god Thoth and the Hidden Wisdom of Isis was always profoundly significant for him. It links him - Romantically and otherwise - with the Hermetic discourse and its various tributaries, which we have been concerned to follow during the course of this thesis. Thoth-Hermes, as the god of writing and magic epitomises the Romantic idea of the imagination and its literary manifestation as a noetic organ which apprehends 'Hidden Wisdom'. Haggard had his letter head and library stamp written in Egyptian hieroglyphs, and given his love of Egypt it is therefore fitting that we should close with this.[1143] It translates as:

> *H. Rider Haggard, the son of Ella, lady of the house, makes an oblation to Thoth, the Lord of writing, who dwells in the moon.*

[1142] Vance, *Bible and Novel*, p.161.
[1143] Addy, *Rider Haggard and Egypt*, p.vi.

Appendix I

Letter to E. Coleman Rashleigh, 3 January 1920.

Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MS 4694/31/14

MS 4694/31/14

14.

3 Janry 1920

North Lodge
St. Leonards on Sea

My dear Sir,

I thank you very much. I am not accustomed to be praised, except in private letters from all over the earth and by a few of our greatest men living and dead; therefore your article and letter are a welcome change. It has always been the fashion to pass by on the other side where I and my work are concerned and critics (or their proprietors or both) are quick to discover and follow a fashion! Of course I know it won't matter in the end because I am sure that some of my books will live (outside of Rural England and A Farmer's Year--romances I mean) when much that is now set far above them has gone the way of dust before the wind, as I have seen much go already. But then I dare say that I shall be otherwise engaged and know nothing of it--or be indifferent to the knowledge.

Well, again I thank you.

I don't think you quite seize the She and Allan truly. She was just what each one saw in her, because in her was or is all. You comment on the differences between She in Africa and She reincarnated in Thibet. There was no difference--the difference lies in Holly and Leo--especially the last. Suffering had made him more spiritual and widened his outlook, therefore She grows grander and more tremendous in proportion because he is mining that vein in her. It is the same in She and Allan. Allan takes out exactly what he puts in--neither less nor more. He was "too clever by half." When she offered to open the door he declined to enter--so the door was never opened and he is left studying its lock and panels. The businessis a mere episode in the She drama. She plays with him all the time,

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though she likes him and is well aware that she has had previous relations with him when he lived as someone else. It is for this reason that she brings him back to her; that she may see an old friend again, who annoyed her because he would not become her lover but whom she did not in the least want in that capacity. As for Kallikrates it suited her to make a mock of him to Allan. Also at times she hated Kallikrates because he was of the flesh while she was of the spirit and until he also became of the spirit there could be no real commerce between them (Vide end of Ayesha). Meanwhile it was to her fleshly side that he appealed; he was the galling chain that bound her to mortality, & in short symbolizes that earthly Desire which may yet grow to the Divine fulfillment. As for her discrepancies of descriptions of the events of her past--they matter nothing. They might be all true or all untrue or just parable; she said what pleased or suited her at the moment. Being all things, she was among them a liar, as she was a courtezan, a sage, a spirit, a sinner, and--a woman. She drank of all cups! She suffered all purgatories! She had fallen from all heavens and one day would regain them when she had purified that which she had debased--particularly herself and the sould of Kallikrates. But the conception is too long to explain if indeed I can explain it.

As for what she really was --well she gives a hint of it (though her hints cannot always be trusted) in that last page of the Janry magazine--a personification of Nature perhaps, but Nature with a Soul. (Isis was Nature with a soul. I don't think I can take the matter further--this screed is too long already!)

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Yes, I should like to have a shot at her first chapter and the Taduki would be a convenient modus, but I am not so young or so stróng as I was. Those last two journeys round the World took it out of me & I spend the winter here to ward off bronchitis. Still perhaps I will try. The difficulty will be to work in Allan and Lady Ragnall. I don't quite know their exact roles.

Very sincerely yours

H. Rider Haggard

I enclose the prefatory note to She an Allan which will appear with the book in 1921. Hutchinson did not print it; I think he thought his readers would not understand it. Please put in an envelope and return. It helps to explain.

P.S. As regards the fighting in my books-- if I have taught some thousands of those who fought in the war that their hands were given to them to defend their heads, their country, their women and the rest--is it so ill a work? I had rather write of clean heroic fighting, than of crime and such like. At least I have stimulated the love of our Empire in some--when I was last in Africa I met several whom my books had sent there--to their gain. Of archeology too as in your case. One of our most famous in that line--told me that he took to it ~~throught~~ through my books & bless me for it!

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Appendix II

Letter to Miss Kaye - Smith, 7 November 1921.
Norwich, Norfolk Records Office, MC 32/36

(A transcription of the bulk of the letter follows the images. Haggard is responding to the artist's assertion that her image of the woman called 'Joanna' is not a portrait.)

MC 32/46

Copy.

7 Nov. 1921.

North Lodge
St Leonards-on-Sea.

Dear Miss Kaye-Smith.

What you say as to Joanna not being a portrait is very interesting. It tends to confirm a theory that I have held for long; namely that in truth we know everything, though to most of this universal knowledge our eyes are blind - I mean that we are as it were imprisoned each of us in his little cell, illumined only by the farthing dip of an individual intelligence (bought perchance with the savings of millennium) Occasionally, however, in some cases a stone falls from the fabric of that cell, or a crack appears, & through the hole or rent shoots an arrow of the burning light of truth, by which, although we guess it not, it is encircled as by a firmament. Shakespeare for instance, inhabited a prison house that was full of such holes or cracks, as have other great ones who

this were gifted with what is called universal genius. but most, even of the best-endowed, are shone on through only one or two. They must be content with the sparkle from the living ether of Omniscience which rolls without their walls, though that particular sparkle brings with it its seperate boon that in the flesh becomes the endowment & peculiar treasure of its recipient. I might find better metaphors but perhaps you will catch my meaning. It comes to this; as in the parable, that talent, that guiding light, is a presentation from without, not a development from our human entity - our physical brain & understanding - for it we can take no credit. The conclusion does not tend to pride, but as for most of us the way of life is but a path which leads from one valley of humility to another that is deeper, I don't think that this inference should leave us grieving - unless we are very small & vain. Rather should it fill us with hope - for when those walls fall down may we not find Light in all its glory & live in light as the

MC 32/46

old gnostic whose charm I gave to Dean
Inge, prayed that he might do!
Now my point is. Joanna is a living
mortal woman. I can swear it after
long experience of life. Yet you invented
Joanna "made her up" as children say.
Therefore she is one of those sparks of
Truth; or of an atom of the truth that
has pierced your wall "No" you may
say, "she comes from myself from
within me". Well, if so you must turn
the argument upside down; instead
of flowing from without the light wells
from within. Anyway you have tapped
it from some extraneous source so it
is with all of us whatever our line of
endeavour, when we chance to produce
something approaching to the good. &
the world says "how clever"!
Suddenly it occurs to me that you may
think all this an ingenious form of
detraction, but I assure you it is not.
It is an attempt to express what
I believe to be a phase of the
truth — though other explanations
are possible — reincarnation or

multiple personality for instance - or sundry factors which bring our subliminal consciousness into touch with that which is though we see it not - Please forgive this endless screed, which, probably, you have no more time to read than I have to write when I should be answering people who want me to do all sorts of laborious & impossible things - & believe me.

Yrs sincerely & apologetically
(Signed) H. Rider Haggard

I wonder if you would care to read "A Farmer's Year" It might furnish some moral hints - If so it will give me such pleasure to send you a copy. Sometime perhaps you will allow me to discuss these problems with you -

Transcript

Dear Miss Kaye - Smith,

What you say as to Joanna not being a portrait is very interesting. It tends to confirm a theory I have held for long; namely that in truth we know everything, though to most of this universal knowledge our eyes are blind. I mean that we are as it were imprisoned each of us in his little cell, illumined only by the farthing dip[1144] of an individual intelligence (bought perchance with the savings of nullenisms) [.] Occasionally, however, in some cases a stone falls from the fabric of that cell, or a crack appears, and through the hole or rent shoots an aura of the burning light of truth, by which although we guess it not, it is encircled as by a firmament. Shakespeare for instance, inhabited a prison house that was full of such holes or cracks, as have other great ones who then were gifted with what is called universal genius, but most, even of the best-endowed, are shone on through only one or two. They must be content with the sparkle from the burning ether of Omniscience which rolls without their walls though that particular spark brings with it its separate boon, that in the flesh becomes the endowment and peculiar treasure of its recipient. I might find better metaphors but perhaps you will catch my meaning. It comes to this: as in the sparkle, that latent, that guiding light, is a presentation from without, not a development from our human entity – our physical brain and understanding − for it we can take no credit. The conclusion does not tend to pride, but, as for most of us the way of life is but a path which leads from one valley of humility to another that is deeper, I don't think that the inference should leave us quietly – unless we are very small and vain. Rather should it fill us with hope – for when those walls fall down may we not find Light in all its glory, 'live in the light ['] as the old gnostic whose charm I gave to Dean Lang, prayed that he might do! So my point is, Joanna is a living mortal woman. I can swear it after long experience of life. Yet you invented Joanna "made her up" as children say. Therefore she is one of those sparks of Truth; or of an atom of the truth that has pierced your wall. "So" you may say "She comes from myself from within me." Well, if so you must turn the argument upside down; instead of flowing from without the light wells from within. Anyway you have tapped it from some extraneous source so it is with all of us whatever our line of

[1144] 'Farthing dip': archaism: candle.

endeavour, who are chance to persue something approaching to the Good. And the world says “how clever”! Suddenly it occurs to me that you may find all this every ingenious form of detraction, but I assure you it is not. It is an attempt to express what I believe to be a phase of the truth – though other explanations are possible – reincarnation or multiple personality for instance, or sundry factors which bring our subliminal consciousness into touch with that which <u>is</u> though we see it not. Please forgive this endless screed.

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