Adoration of the Kings

Fig. 1

Peter Bruegel the Elder, (1525-30 –1569). *The Adoration of the Kings,* 1564. Panel: 112 x 84 cm. The National Gallery, London (fig. 1)

The event of the adoration of the Kings (also known as adoration of the Magi) is recounted in the Gospel of St. Matthew (2:1-12). We read that Magi (Wise Men) from the Orient came to Jerusalem, asking, 'Where is the newborn king of the Jews? We observed the rising of his star, and we have come to pay him homage.' (Mat. 2:2-3). King Herod and 'all Jerusalem' were greatly perturbed on hearing this; he asked the Magi to bring him their report after they found the child, so that he too could go and worship him. Guided by the star, the Magi discovered the infant in a house at Bethlehem, worshipped him and presented him with their gifts. A dream warned the Magi not to return to Herod's court and they set off instead for their own country by another route.

Apocryphal gospels have enriched and embellished Matthew's story. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. the Wise Men were also referred to as kings. In, approximately, the 9th century they were given names: Caspar, (or Jaspar), usually the oldest, Balthazar, and Melchior, usually the youngest. Though Matthew did not reveal the number of the Magi, they are traditionally thought to be three because of the number of symbolic gifts they presented to Christ: gold, frankincense, and myrrh. Later the three Magi (or kings) came to personify the three parts of the known world: Europe, Asia, and Africa.[1]

This theme was widely known and depicted in art throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance both in Italy and in the Low Countries. It was employed by Hans Memling for example (fig. 2), Perugino (fig. 3) or Dürer (fig. 4) and can be seen in western galleries where Mary, aristocratic, beautiful and exquisitely dressed in rich costume (often depicted in lapis lazuli), introducing the Christ child to the royally and

[1] http://www.abcgallery.com/religion/adorationmagi.html

extravagantly attired kings. The setting, in a tranquil landscape in the soft light of a warm, early summer morning, is idealized and poetic.

Fig. 2. Memling

Fig. 3. Perugino

Fig. 4. Dürer

At the first glance Bruegel's painting, which includes the main elements of the traditional composition, seems to place us on familiar ground. But we soon see that many details are oddly contradictory. The idealized poetry and tranquility are absent, the faces and the body language of the figures are depicted with an unconventionally harsh realism that seems rather shocking, until we remember that Bruegel is famous for his grim and satirical views of life. But, even so, why should Bruegel want to satirize this traditional holy event?

To try and find an answer this question we will return to the theme that Bruegel suggests in his image of the *Numbering at Bethlehem*: Man's inability to acknowledge the presence of the divine. The *Adoration*, according to the conventional chronology established by tradition, takes place on the morning following the journey of Joseph and

Mary to Bethlehem and we may expect Bruegel to pursue the same esoteric theme that underlies his interpretation of the *Numbering at Bethlehem*.

It is interesting that in the three pictures associated with the birth of Christ, *The Numbering at Bethlehem*, *The Adoration of the Kings*, and *The Massacre of the Innocents*, as with his other paintings based on religious themes, Bruegel chooses scripturally minor or secondary events, rather than the more usual and conventional set-piece compositions – less explored themes where the Gospel is silent, or at best laconic, and around which patristic commentary and pious tradition have established meanings not obviously discernable in the primary text.

This is especially so in the story of the Three Kings which is based on the Gospel of St Matthew but is not mentioned in Mark, Luke or John. 'Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judaea in the days of Herod the king, behold, there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem[2] . . . And when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down, and worshipped him . . .' [3]. The gospel provides no further information and all other details of the story come from sources external to the Bible.

Bruegel does not follow the scriptural text. The figures are not the Persian Magi of the earliest mosaic depictions of the 6th century but they are closer to the conventions of his

[2] Mathew 2:1
[3] Idem, 2:11

day. Bruegel uses this imagery as a platform from which to advance his own searing vision of actuality.

The Child, representing naked truth, does not welcome the two kings who kneel before him but recoils from them in horror (fig. 5)

Fig. 5

They represent the highest values of the worldly realm: power and riches, and Bruegel, at least in the case of the two figures on the left, suggests the barbarous and brutal means by which these have been achieved. Their looks express their insincerity; if they seem to perform an act of generosity and humility it is for the sake of appearances; the real motive is expediency.


Fig. 6

The figure of Melchior in the foreground does not kneel: he grovels (fig. 6). His magnificent clothing may tell us what he is externally, but inwardly he is old and shriveled; he believes in nothing. His companion Caspar regards him with jealousy and suspicion;[4] his ravaged face suggests the unspeakable cruelties and corruption that support his kingship.

 Fig. 7

 Fig. 8

 Fig. 9

There could be no greater contrast than that between the nakedness, innocence and purity of the child and the rottenness and malignity of the representatives of the world that confront him (figs. 7, 8, 9).

[4] For the identity of the three Kings or Magi see *Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Three_Wise_Men.

According to the *Protevangelium*[5] the Nativity of Christ takes place in a cave in the desert. An elaborate cosmological symbolism is implied here part of whose meaning is that Christ's incarnation takes place at the lowest level of existence;[6] the level that Neoplatonism calls that of 'Non-being'[7]. Ontologically, this imagery can be understood as referring to spiritual states (and non-states) in Man. Where Byzantine iconography (as in the icon illustrated below, fig. 10) chooses a topographical symbolism – cave, desert, mountain – Bruegel shows us the same idea expressed as actual human behaviour.

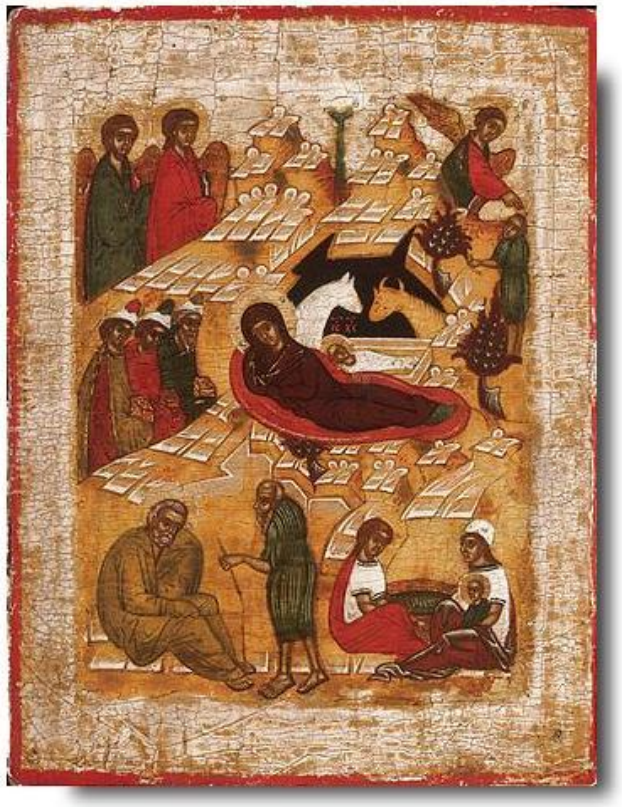

Fig. 10

[5] The second century apocryphal document recounting the sacred events in the life of the Virgin Mary and the chief iconographic source for depicting the events of her life throughout the middle ages; ed., M. R. James, Oxford 1924

[6] see R. Temple *Icons and the Mystical Origins of Christianity*, New Edition, Luzac Oriental, 2001, p. 20

[7] See McKenna, 'Explanatory Matter', p. xxxi in *Plotinus the Enneads*, London: Faber, 1956

The whole scene is set in a rough and rather claustrophobic barnyard into which little light enters. Where there is a small amount of sky it is barred with weapons of war: ferocious-looking pikes, lances, battle-axes, halberds and other instruments of bloodshed and cruelty.

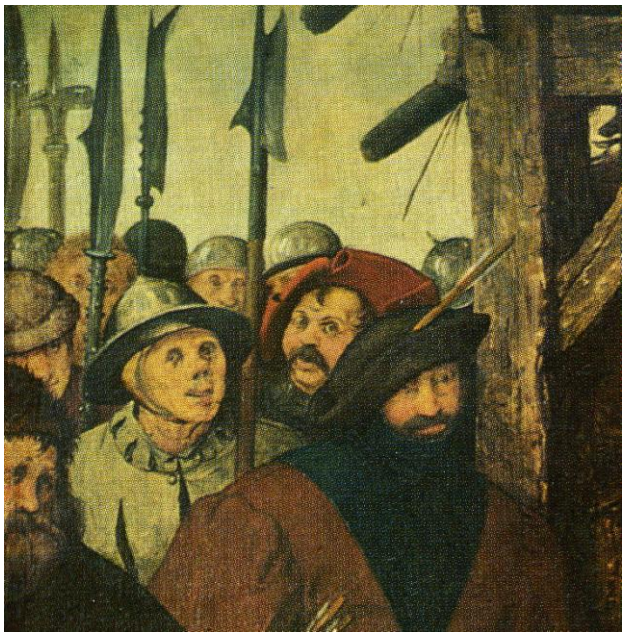

Fig. 11

A disorderly, slack-jawed and probably drunken crowd of soldiers gaze curiously and uncomprehendingly at Christ and Mary. Any suggestion that what they witness could have interest or significance for them would be met with derision (fig. 11).

Fig. 12

The goggle-eyed country boy in his ill-fitting armour is a comic figure, but in a few days he and his comrades will be butchering small babies (fig. 12).

The types Bruegel has chosen to represent the world here are low-life and ordinary. It is exactly how people are. Bruegel renders the situation without judgment or criticism. Withholding his personal opinion he shows us the truth, the actuality of Man's lack of true being, even at the moment when the *One Who Is* is revealed before him.[8]

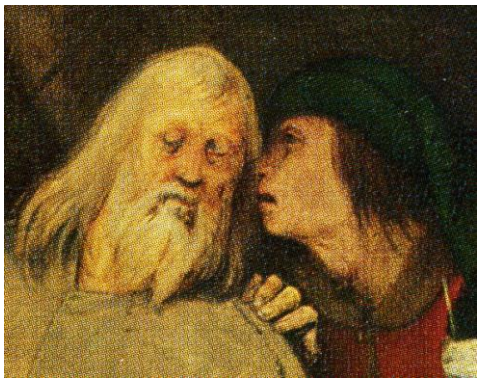

Fig. 13

[8] An early Christian tradition, preserved in the Russian and Greek icons, ascribes this title to Christ. The 'O ΩN' inscribed in the nimbus around his head is variously translated as 'I AM THAT I AM', 'The Being', 'He Who Is' and etc. The icon reproduced above (fig. 10), for example, has it around the diminutive head of the Child in the cave; however, it is not possible to read it clearly in the reproduction.

Over on the right the theme of ignorance and blindness is continued in the faces of the two peasants behind the Moorish king. For artists in the 16th century, to wear glasses was a visual cypher for the inability to see. And, next to these two, lies and intrigue: the urgent pressure of the pasty-faced boy's fingers on Joseph's shoulder and the latter's not so unwillingly bent ear are just the sort of incident one might see in any crowded Saturday night bar-room where a tidbit of indecent gossip about someone's wife is being traded (fig. 13). Here Bruegel echoes an early medieval Byzantine tradition whereby the Devil, disguised as a shepherd, tempts Joseph concerning the propriety of his wife's birth giving (see below, fig. 14, detail of fig. 10).

Fig 14, detail of fig. 10

While a common theme in icons, where indeed it is traditional, it is rare in western art [I have not come across another example] and suggests, in Bruegel, an unusually high degree of knowledge of theology and iconography outside the western canons of art.

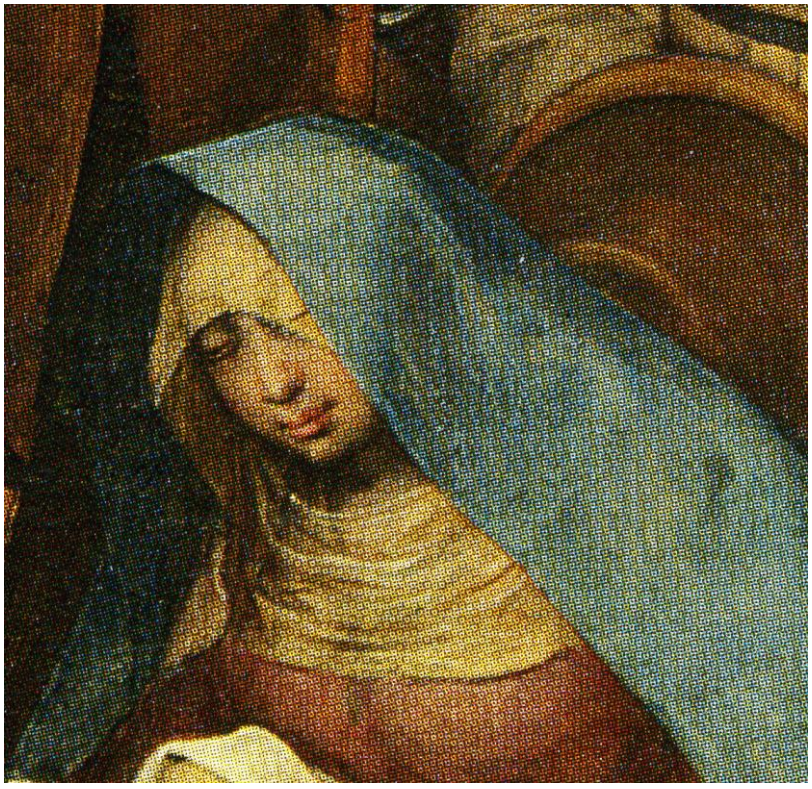

Fig. 15

The cloaked and veiled figure of Mary is in contrast to the sinister kings before her and the unpleasant aspects of humanity around her. The detail (fig. 15) shows her with a look that is unusual in western painting though it is recognisable enough to anyone familiar with the traditions of sacred oriental art, especially those which express the contemplative

state. Her gesture indicates what she has brought to the world, but her face expresses little emotion; she has no reaction to anything taking place outside her. Her state is concentrated inward; she is serene: completely within herself. Any student of meditation will recognise that Mary's state is one of steadily focused inward attention – a state that needs long preparation and long practice. Students of Buddhist culture and especially students of meditation practice will understand the implications of these remarks. Similar practices are central to the Islamic mystical tradition and yogic practices within Hinduism follow the same principles.[9] Part I of this thesis discusses how similar contemplative methods were practiced in Europe throughout the Middle Ages and in the 15th and 16th centuries both within the established church as well as within the so-called heretical circles. Since the Enlightenment and the predominance of science, the west has, in the last two or three hundred years, more or less lost this feature that, according to the perennialist school of thought, should be at the foundation of any civilisation.

This painting, together with The Numbering at Bethlehem and The Massacre of the Innocents, represents the first stage of the spiritual path which is the acknowledgement of spiritual darkness. This important stage has to be not theoretical but knowledge acquired in the experience of life.

[9] Michaela M. Özelsel, *Forty Days: the Diary of a Traditional Solitary Sufi Retreat*. Vermont, 1996.

The Massacre of the Innocents

Fig. 1. (Version 1)

Peter Bruegel the Elder, (1525-30 - 1569) *The Massacre of the Innocents*, 1565-7. Oil on wood 109.2 x 158.1 cm. Version 1 (cleaned in 1981-2 and today regarded by the majority of scholars as 'original' but not in good condition): Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace (fig. 1). Version 2 (less securely associated with Bruegel's hand, though probably from his workshop): Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (fig. 2). [1]

[1] Unless stated otherwise, in this essay the pictorial references are to Version 1

Fig. 2 (Version 2)

'A voice is heard in Ramah, Lamentation and bitter weeping,

Rachel is weeping for her children: She refuses to be comforted for her children,

Because they are not. '[2]

'Then Herod … killed all the male children in Bethlehem'.[3]

At the narrative level the story is told rather graphically, depicting perhaps just such a scene of rape and pillage as remote and oppressed peasant villages experienced all too frequently in the grave political and religious unrest of 16th-century Flanders.

[2] Jer 31:15
[3] Mat 2:17

Fig. 3

What we see is a body of twenty-four ‘ironclad’ mounted cavalrymen, with a sinister black-clad figure at their head. They form a tightly knit group at the centre of the picture (fig. 3). Their faces are dark and indistinct and we cannot read their expression. Seven have been detailed off to deal directly with events in the village;

Fig. 4

one has dismounted and relieves himself against the wall of a nearby house (fig. 4),

Fig. 5

two others confer with red-coated sergeants (fig. 5),

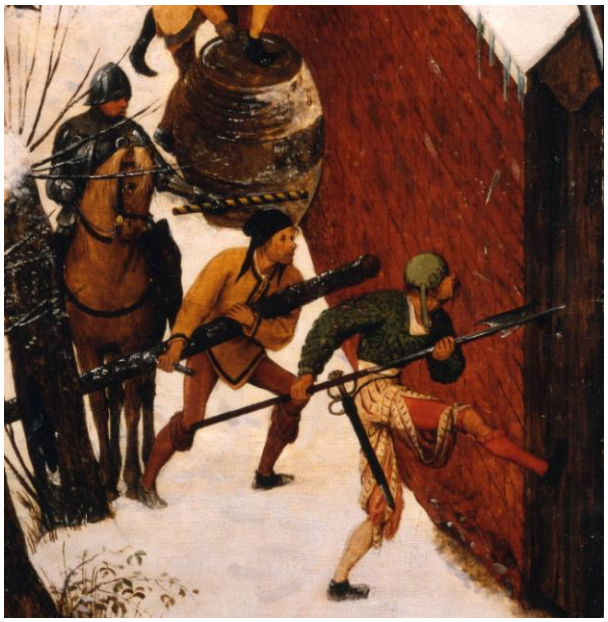

Fig. 6

another supervises a violent break-in (fig. 6)

Fig. 7

and yet another guards the bridge in the background with a soldier (fig. 7).

Fig. 8

Another two have dismounted and, together with a group of foot soldiers, are spearing children, under the eye of the bearded commander (fig. 8). In the background we see the horses of the knights who have dismounted tethered to trees.

Fig. 9

Three sergeants in brilliant scarlet jackets and a trumpeter in yellow and green livery, all of whom seem to be better mounted than the cavalry, occupy the left foreground (fig. 9).

Fig. 10

Another sergeant accompanies a herald on a dappled grey who shrugs off the pleas of the villagers (fig.10). The soldiers doing the actual dirty work seem to be irregulars; oddly clad riffraff types.

Fig. 11

Two barrels, staved-in and their contents spilt, lie abandoned in the frozen pond (fig. 11). If they are the same barrels we have seen delivered to the inn of the *Numbering at Bethlehem* whose 'new wine' symbolises the appearance of the Saviour on Earth, then Bruegel's commentary confirms the fate that Truth encounters in the world of violence and cruelty.

In the Hampton Court version there were later overpaintings, now partially removed, which appear to have been done with the definite intention of changing and distorting the original meaning and substituting another. According to the picture's official cataloguer, 'at an early date (certainly before 1660 and perhaps before 1621), presumably at the request of a squeamish owner, almost all the Innocents were painted out and all references to the Biblical narrative were suppressed. Farm animals, poultry, parcels, crockery and other objects took the place of the babies and flames were added so that some of the houses on the left appeared to be burning. The flames were removed during a partial cleaning in 1941-2. The picture was consequently transformed into the *Sacking of a Village*.'[4] Paintings of such ominous themes were a fashion in the 16th and 17th centuries, classified in inventories of the period as *boerenverdriet*, or 'peasant distress.' They were developed, according to one scholar, out of a 'core idea' of Bruegel.[5] We further learn from Campbell that the standard floating above the knights originally carried an image of crosses in a design that resembled that of the coat-of-arms of Jerusalem and presumably referred to king Herod who was responsible for the massacre of the innocents

[4] Lorne Campbell, *The Early Flemish Pictures in the Collection of her Majesty the Queen*, Cambridge, 1985, pp 13-19

[5] Larry Silver, 'The Importance of Being Bruegel: the Posthumous Survival of the Art of Pieter Bruegel the Elder' in *Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Drawings and Prints*, ed. Nadine M. Orenstein, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2001, p 75

and ‘who may have been represented as the leader of the knights’. The herald’s tabard has also been overpainted but underneath are traces of ‘an imperial double-headed eagle, which would have referred to the Roman Empire, under which Herod exercised his authority ... The building on the right is an inn: presumably the inn at which there was no room for the Virgin and Joseph. The inn sign has been overpainted, but originally showed a star, traces of which are visible in raking light, The inscription is *‘Dit is inde ster’*, but the last three letters have been damaged. It was perhaps felt that ‘Star Inn’ was too direct a reference to Bethlehem, and it seems that ‘the star was suppressed and the inscription altered at the same time as the other changes were made.’[6]

This ‘disguise’ was imposed 50 years or more after the picture was painted. Campbell’s ‘presumably at the request of a squeamish owner’ is not be entirely convincing; partly because squeamishness is a reaction of the Victorian and the modern age rather than of the early 17th century and squeamishness would not account for the suppression of all references to the biblical narrative. Whatever the reason was, and however elusive now, it was compelling at the time. It is possible that whoever imposed the disguise was perhaps intentionally deepening the disguises already there. Perhaps they were actually hiding or suppressing ‘heretical ideas’.

Scholars have sought to find meaning in the picture as either a rendering of the gospel account, albeit in a contemporary setting; or as a cryptic reference to contemporary events, in particular the brutalities ordered by the Duke of Alva upon his arrival in Flanders in 1567. These arguments are summarized succinctly and thoroughly by

[6] Campbell, op. cit.,

Campbell,[7] but they do not acknowledge – much less offer a reason for – the anomalies thrown up by the narrative's failure to produce an emotion in the viewer that corresponds to the story.

This writer has tried to show in an earlier part of this thesis that in the writings of Origen, Dante and others, it is axiomatic that a great work of art, made according to the principles of the Perennial Philosophy, should contain simultaneous, multiple meanings. Today, conventional scholarship attributes to religious, socio-economic, political and, more tentatively, psychological or moral meaning to Bruegel's work,[8] but we must look further if we wish to place him among the Neoplatonists and Neopythagoreans of Renaissance mysticism, or among the so-called heretical sects of the Low Countries in the 16th century.

The existence of mysterious or more subtle meaning is perhaps suggested by the incongruity we have referred to between the picture's emotional tone and its subject matter. Despite the problems of its condition, the beauty and harmony of the colours in the Hampton Court version, as well as the delight to be found in its forms and linear rhythms, can have a spellbinding effect on the viewer's sensibilities. The picture (but unfortunately not the reproductions) is radiant with violet evening light like that seen at sunset on clear days in northern Europe when there is snow on the ground. Here, Bruegel shares an understanding of the effects of light reflected off large areas of translucent white matter with, among others, the builders of the Taj Mahal, and – if only we could

[7] Campbell, op. cit.
[8] See references in several of the introductory essays in *Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Drawings and Prints*, ed. Nadine M. Orenstein, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2001, p 75

see them in their original state when they were clad with white alabaster – the pyramids of Egypt. The pulsating clarity of the light, breaking up into its component elements of pure colour (all the tones of the spectrum are here) can have an effect on the onlooker's sensibilities that does not correspond appropriately with the anguish of the narrated events. Seen from across the room the colours – scarlet, green, blue, yellow, light and dark ochre, black and white, are joyful and festive; whereas from an intermediate distance the eye takes pleasure in the forms and dancing linear rhythms such as those of the horsemen in the lower left (fig. 12)

Fig. 12

Fig. 13

or the play of the two lurchers behind the herald (fig. 13). None of this provokes the feelings of dismay and pity that a viewer immediately finds in himself on viewing say, Picasso's 'Guernica' (fig. 14),

Fig. 14

or any other painting intended to inspire horror, of which there are many. The question must be asked therefore, in the light of the emotional distance between image and subject matter: what is it that Bruegel intends to convey?

As an art historian, Campbell is naturally cautious in interpreting the picture's meaning and motives for the changes he describes. But our task now is to try to penetrate below the surface, even if this means exploring the territory of the subconscious. As we have suggested above in *The Numbering at Bethlehem*, *The Adoration*, and as will be shown in discussing several further paintings, there is a case to be put forward that Bruegel, in the spirit of the tradition of Marsilio Ficino and other Renaissance mystagogues, definitely intended to hide, or partially hide, the esoteric or gnostic aspects of his thought in his pictures.[9] His method being to present to the onlooker a narrative situation in all its myriad human diversity, letting the symbolism of the imagery resonate in the viewer's subconscious associations. Such impressions, falling on a person's inner world, originating from the mind and hand of a master, can be considered a kind of energy, or psychological nourishment – perhaps even theurgy – for what G. R. S. Mead refers to as the 'subtle body'.[10]

Coomaraswamy, Guénon, Schuon, Burckhardt and other 20th century exponents of the perennial tradition have shown how the sacred art of the great ancient traditions served the cultural outlook of entire civilizations that understood the ideas of man's higher possibilities. The religious arts of Hinduism and Buddhism in Asia, of Islam in the Near

[9] See above: Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries of the Renaissance*, Faber, 1958; also the remarks of Stein-Schneider.

[10] G. R. S. Mead (1846-1933), 'Hermeticist and scholar was one of the great early researchers into arcane wisdom in our age. At a time when the 'esoteric' tended to mean little more than table tapping and spirit trumpets, he was busy translating into English the gems of Neoplatonic and Egyptian philosophy. In works such as *Thrice Greatest Hermes*, *Pistis Sophia*, *Orpheus* and *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten*, he almost single-handedly put back together the lost esoteric tradition of Classical Athens and Alexandria, which goes by under the general heading of *Gnosticism*.' From the Foreword to A. G. Gilbert's Introduction to the 1919 edition of Mead's *The Doctrine of the Subtle Body*, Second Edition, London: Vincent Stuart and John M. Watkins Ltd, 1967.

East and, until only a few hundred years ago, of Christianity, took mathematical ideas from their study of the celestial world and physical imagery from the material world and made of them a language in which to speak of the numinous cosmos. An example would be the tradition of the icon whose art, surviving from ancient Slav and Byzantine times more or less into the present era, conveys higher reality through images that are recognizable from the physical world yet with which we do not identify literally.

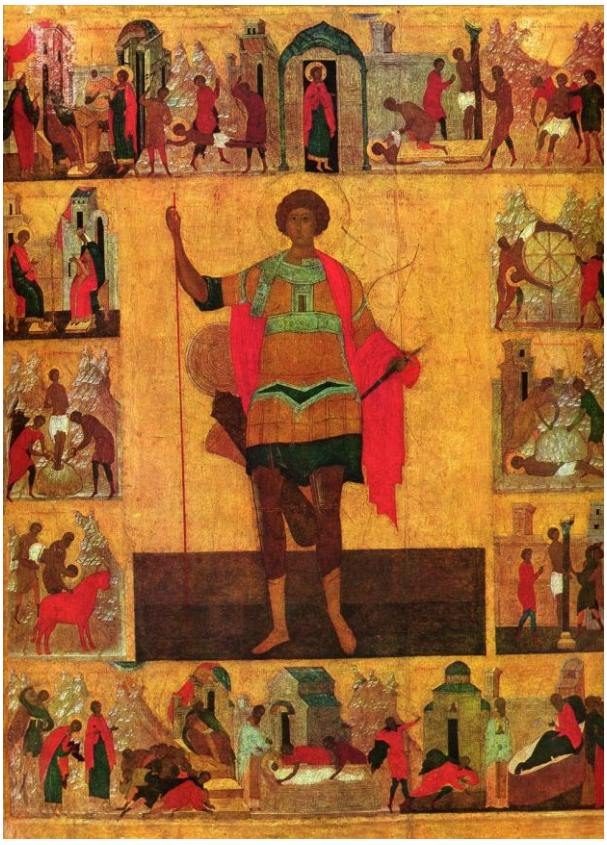

Fig. 15

A medieval Russian icon of St George typically demonstrates this where we see the saint surrounded by exquisitely beautiful scenes on the border depicting his torture and martyrdom.

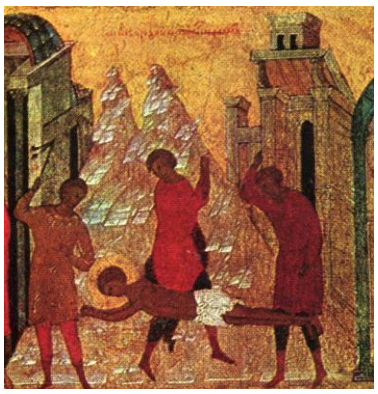

Fig. 16

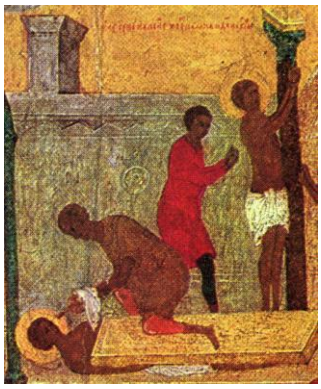

Fig. 17

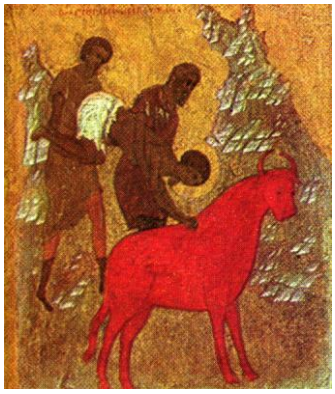

Fig. 18

But, despite their violent subject matter, these scenes do not illustrate violence but, instead, spiritual transcendence: 'the racking, flailing, stone-pressing, freezing and scourging ... and other scenes are painted in a way that does not disturb the icon's stillness. All remains golden and luminous – a world without shadows. The violence of these happenings has been rendered ineffectual; they have no power to harm St George and cause him no agitation. The spiritual warrior has transformed violence into non-violence.'[11]

Bruegel painted *The Massacre of the Innocents* about 50 years after this St George icon was made and, while he may not have known directly the icon-painter's tradition, it can be supposed that both painters drew on sources originating in the same universal tradition. Thus, when our attention finally comes to rest on terrible details in *The Massacre of the Innocents*, we are insulated from their horror. Our feelings have been guided on to another plane so that we look at the scene with dispassion and detachment.

[11] R. Temple, *Icons and the Mystical Origins of Christianity*, Luzac Oriental, 2001, p. 126

Bruegel's image here is painted to correspond to the non-attached state of meditation of the Adamites that Fränger describes.[12]

Fig. 19 (Version 2)

Fig. 20. (Version 1, before cleaning)

Fig. 21 (Version 1, after cleaning)

Comparison of details taken from two versions of the painting, or of details of the same painting before and after the removal of the overpainting, suggests that, despite the alterations, the essential sense of the picture is little changed. The later 'disguising' of the

[12] See above, p. 247.

Hampton Court version achieved little; the picture's innermost meaning was already disguised. The idea that our reading of the Hampton Court picture is 'corrected' when we compare it with the version in Vienna does not take us far. In the latter picture the dead children have not been overpainted yet the mystery is still present. Art historians have pointed out that the events, that is to say, the actual massacres, are painted with 'much restraint' and the violence muted.[13] It is as though Bruegel, rather than dwelling on the literal story, passes beyond it, as though the image is a portal, directly through to another level of understanding so that we enter with him and contemplate, in tranquility, another world altogether: a *terra pacis* where violence has been transformed into silence and stillness.

Matthew's gospel recounts the fact of Herod's massacre of children in Bethlehem in a single terse sentence. His next verse, 'A voice is heard in Ramah', is a quotation from the Old Testament, used to demonstrate the fulfillment of Jeremiah's prophecy.

Jeremiah is typical of Old Testament prophets in that he describes states – whether historical or psychological – that veer between two extreme poles. The greater part (a whole book, *Lamentations*) dwells on the themes of destruction, punishment, desolation, abandonment, exile, slavery, guilt, defilement – a long list. All this is the result of transgression, the refusal to 'listen to the Lord' or 'walk in his ways', consequently God in his anger has taken terrible revenge, bringing the people to dust, rottenness, distress, 'corpses like refuse in the streets'. In contrast there are passages where joy and light prevail: salvation, comfort, abundance, peace, wisdom, understanding, meekness,

[13] Michael Gibson, *Bruegel*, Wellfleet Press [English edition] New Jersey, 1989, p. 122

feasting and righteousness, people eat curds and honey, ‘the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord’. The switch from one condition to the other is often sudden and unexpected. For example, the preceding verses to Jeremiah 14:31 are a song of thanksgiving for the restoration of the ‘fortunes of the tents of Jacob’, ‘life shall be like a watered garden’. The next four verses are as follows:

(14)

I will feast the soul of the priests with abundance,

And my people shall be satisfied with my goodness

(15)

Thus says the Lord:

A voice is heard in Ramah,

Lamentation and bitter weeping,

Rachel is weeping for her children:

She refuses to be comforted for her children,

Because they are not.

(16)

Thus says the Lord:

Keep your voice from weeping and your eyes from tears;

For your work shall be rewarded, says the Lord,

And they shall come back from the land of the enemy.

(17)

There is hope for your future, says the Lord,

And your children shall come back to their own country.

16th-century humanist thinkers would not have taken such material literally, even less so followers of Hendrick Niclaes, who, as has been shown above, speaks of 'similitudes [that] reveal and witness the riches of the spiritual heavenly goods as parables, and figure forth in writing the mystery of the Kingdom of God or Christ'. So we may assume, with some confidence, that the inconsistency of verse 15, sandwiched between two verses of contradictory import, had a meaning for Bruegel that could be explored through its translation into imagery. The power of Bruegel's art helps the viewer to enter a spiritual terrain where subtle truths, inaccessible to the mind in its ordinary state, can be contemplated. In these conditions he may see another meaning in the attitudes of grief displayed by the groups of women at the centre of the picture.

Bruegel, the master of depicting body language, has adopted conventional classical poses from the 'lexicon of rhetorical poses' that any traditionally trained actor would know, and the postures, together with the emotion they express, seem staged and artificial when we consider them at face value. It is as though the crowd of horsemen, sergeants, peasants,

soldiers and children were so many actors and extras on a film set at the moment when the director has called for ‘action’. What we witness, then, is a contrived image, an aspect of the great teaching, called here the Perennial Philosophy, whose significance will be fully understood in the context of spiritual transformation.

Fig. 22

Fig. 23