On January 13, 1949, George Gurdjieff was in New York City and announced his decision to publish *Beelzebub’s Tales to His Grandson*. This was a complete departure from the practice he had followed for almost four decades, of expounding his ideas orally and circulating his writings privately. He died on October 29 of that year, barely a week after receiving the publisher’s proofs for *Beelzebub’s Tales*.

Biographers date his birth between 1866 and 1877 in Alexandropol, which is now Gyumri (Gumry), in the Republic of Georgia. Few historical facts about Gurdjieff’s life are certain until he was probably in his forties and emerged in Moscow about 1912. His father was Greek, his mother Armenian. He grew up in this war-torn frontier area of the Caucasus, which for millennia has seen a parade of conquerors; Alexander the Great, the Romans, the Byzantines, the Arabs, the Mongols, the Turks, and latest the Russians. The Caucasus has long been a melting pot of cultures, religions and races from the East and West.
In his autobiographical *Meetings with Remarkable Men*, Gurdjieff describes how he was deeply influenced by his father’s fund of songs, poems and legends from ancient wisdom-traditions. Gurdjieff’s father preserved this oral tradition as an *ashokh* or storyteller and troubadour. Privately educated for both medicine and the Eastern Orthodox priesthood, but equally interested in science and technical specialisation, Gurdjieff found that neither conventional religion nor orthodox scientific knowledge answered his ‘irresistible urge’ to understand the meaning and purpose of life and satisfy his questions about the world, the human psyche, and death. Gurdjieff tells us that he came to suspect that keys to such an understanding lay within traditions that survived in Central Asia. He describes his quest to find these traces of ancient wisdom; how he joined a group of nine like-minded men and women who shared in this search and called themselves “The Seekers After Truth”, how they launched expeditions into the Middle East, India, Tibet, and Central Asia. Gurdjieff claimed that they made contact with little known monasteries, religious schools and wise men. Neither his specific travels nor the brotherhood of masters he describes, have been substantiated; but Gurdjieff’s deep knowledge of the geography and ethnography of Western and of Central Asia as well as his profound understanding of the human psyche, become evident in his writings.

Gurdjieff appeared in Moscow in 1912 with a powerful, experimental teaching. There he attracted followers and came to the attention of influential people. Among these was the privately educated author and lecturer P. D. Ouspensky, whose *Tertium Organum* (1911) had established his reputation as a philosopher and mathematician. They met in Moscow during the spring of 1915, having been introduced by the composer, Thomas de Hartmann. Ouspensky placed great value in what Gurdjieff presented and studied intensively with him for three years.

In addition to Ouspensky, Thomas de Hartmann, his wife Olga who was an accomplished singer, and the Finnish psychiatrist Leonid Stjoernval were among those attracted to Gurdjieff in Russia. During 1917-1918 hey followed Gurdjieff through the maelstrom of the revolution on a trek across the forbidding Caucasus Mountains to Tiflis.
In Tiflis (Tbilisi, Georgia) they were joined by the stage designer-artist Alexandre de Salzmann and his wife, the dancer and pianist, Jeanne Matignon. There, in June 1919 the Hartmanns and the Salzmanns helped Gurdjieff stage the first public performance of his dances or movements. Then the group followed Gurdjieff to Constantinople, where they stayed for a little over a year, until August 1921. After migrating through Europe for another year, they settled in France where Gurdjieff established his Institute for the Harmonious Development of Man, at the Chateau de Prieuré in Fontainebleau, during October of 1922.

Ouspensky recorded the 1915-1918 discussions in systematic notes that, with Gurdjieff’s approval, he began gathering into a book in 1920. He called the manuscript *Fragments of an Unknown Teaching*. Ouspensky’s lucid observations of Gurdjieff’s teaching in Russia were eventually published after his death, as *In Search of the Miraculous* (1949).

Ouspensky had arrived in Europe, independently of Gurdjieff. In May, 1921, he was invited to London as a guest of Lady Rothermere. Because of wide interest in his book *Tertium Organum*, Ouspensky found a ready audience for his ideas among English readers in Europe and North America. He had begun to question Gurdjieff as early as 1918 and had gradually separated from him by the early 1920s. Even so, Ouspensky found himself still promoting Gurdjieff’s Institute during a 1923 interview at Fontainebleau with London *Daily News* journalist, E. C. Bowyer. By that time Ouspensky lead his own well established groups in London.

“I don’t like to see the word *cult* applied to the movement . . . because that is apt to give an entirely wrong impression. We are not trying to found a church or a sect, but simply to promote a method of education and study. Man, we say, is a much more complicated machine than is generally supposed. Therefore, man must learn to know himself a little better. Little by little he must rediscover those faculties and forces that lie buried in the depths of his nature; and so, by understanding himself, he will at last understand the universe. Gurdjieff and I have reached our present stage of knowledge by long and hard work in many lands.”

Fourteen years later, in a 1937 talk, Ouspensky reminisced;

“If you ask me what was wrong, I can say only one thing, which really was quite sufficient to wreck everything.
By this time [1923] Mr. G. had abandoned most of the principles he himself taught us in Russia, particularly principles referring to choice and preparation of people for the work. He began to accept people without any preparation, gave them places of authority, permitted them to speak about the work, and so on. I saw that his work was going to crash, and I parted with him in order to save the work in London.”


Despite his profound misgivings about Gurdjieff’s person, Ouspensky remained steadfastly dedicated to the ideas of the Fourth Way system, until just before his death in 1947, when he is said to have abandoned the system. His precise notes and lucid observations of Gurdjieff’s teachings in Russia were published after his death, as In Search of the Miraculous (1949).

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The de Hartmann’s described the inner and outer struggles of the 1915 to 1929 period in Our Life with Mr Gurdjieff (1964). This classic autobiography also documents Thomas de Hartmann’s collaboration with Gurdjieff on the notation and scoring for piano of hundreds of compositions. Many of these pieces of music are evocative and deeply moving, some composed to accompany readings of Beelzebub’s Tales, some to accompany Gurdjieff’s movements exercises or dances. For selections of the recorded music, see Hartmann (1989). For other descriptions of the Russian and early European period, see Bechhofer Roberts (1921) and Butkovsky-Hewitt (1978).

The Prieuré was the scene of intense activity during 1923 and Gurdjieff attracted many new people, chiefly from England where Ouspensky was lecturing. That December during the week leading up to Christmas, Gurdjieff and his troupe gave—with full orchestral accompaniment—the first public European demonstrations of the movements at the Théâtre des Champs-Elysées in Paris.

Gurdjieff had sufficiently established his Institute to travel to the United States in January 1924, on the first of several visits. There he gave private talks, and with students from the Prieuré, staged demonstrations of his Movements exercises, in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Chicago. In response to the interest expressed by several groups of Americans, Gurdjieff appointed A. R. Orage—the noted English editor and critic who had been studying at the Prieuré for a year—as his representative in New York City.

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As he recuperated, Gurdjieff began writing the three volume series he called All and Everything. An inner circle continued to study with Gurdjieff, but the Institute became dormant and the Prieuré at Fontainebleau became Gurdjieff’s residence while he focused increasingly on writing and music. By 1925, he distributed the first instalments of Beelzebub’s Tales to His Grandson, the first volume of the All and Everything Series. This book provides Gurdjieff with a vast, epic platform for the transmission of ideas. A comprehensive and modern, but thoroughly traditional myth, Beelzebub’s Tales became a the focal point for Gurdjieff’s groups. He issued a provisional mimeographed typescript in the early 1930s. Amendments, based in part on his observation of listeners’ responses to oral readings, continued for several years.


Gurdjieff arranged publication of Beelzebub’s Tales shortly before his death. He evidently intended that it would play a central role in the continuation of his teaching. His seemingly pompous, but truly “friendly advice” on the opening page of Beelzebub’s Tales, to “Read each of my written expositions thrice,” is a harbinger of the next 1238 pages. For at least the first few readings, Beelzebub’s Tales is cloaked by a deliberate and rigorous obscurity. But behind the bulwark of confusing terms and seemingly tangential ideas in interminable sentences, the attentive reader cannot help but be touched by Gurdjieff’s deeply compassionate transmission of a knowledge that remains consistently at the same level from the first page to the last, transcending the rigid categories into which ordinary thought is divided and embracing the human predicament, as it is and as it perhaps could be.
Gurdjieff began writing *Meetings with Remarkable Men*, the Second Series of *All and Everything*, titled during the early 1930s. In this book he employed a medley of autobiography, allegory, parable, proverb and travelogue to transmit stories about his childhood, education, and travels. Of particular interest, are the convincing portraits of his companions in the search for truth. It is the only account we have of the first half of Gurdjieff’s life. His stated intent at the beginning of *Beelzebub’s Tales*, tells us that *Meetings with Remarkable Men* serves “to acquaint the reader with the material required for a new creation and to prove the soundness and good quality of it.” In the early 1930s, Gurdjieff also began work on the ‘Third Series’ of *All and Everything* titled, *Life Is Real Only Then, When “I Am.”* This final fragmentary work contains Gurdjieff’s intimate pondering about his teaching, his methods, and his inner life.

During the 1920s and 1930s while Gurdjieff was writing and working with small groups, Ouspensky was leading his students, first in London – and then from 1941 to 1947 in New York – in the strictest privacy. The direction that Ouspensky’s thought had taken, is compactly recorded in his *Psychological Lectures: 1934–1940*, later published as *The Psychology of Man’s Possible Evolution* (1950). Ouspensky’s impact and Gurdjieff’s influence on and through him, also produced remarkable books by two of Ouspensky’s leading students, Dr. Maurice Nicoll (1950, 1952, 1955) and Rodney Collin (1956).

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Gurdjieff was mostly confined to Paris by the Nazi occupation during World War II. Unpublished notes of meetings with him during the war years are preserved in the Solita Solano papers at the Library of Congress in Washington D. C. After the armistice in 1945, dedicated British and American pupils flocked to his Paris apartment. From 1945 until his death in 1949, he taught orally in the spontaneous context of daily life — without lecturing or writing — and travelled occasionally from Paris to New York. Accounts of the period leading up to, during, and after the war are to be found in Bennett (1962, 1980), Hands (1991), Hulme (1966), Moore (1991, 1999), Nott (1969), Patterson (2002), Peters (1965), Rosenblatt (1999), Staveley (1978), Walker (1951, 1963), L. Welch (1982), J. W. Welch (1972) and Zuber (1980).

During the last year or so of life, Gurdjieff focused on the publication of *Beelzebub’s Tales to His Grandson* and on completing the music and choreography
for the forty-six exercises he finalised and approved as his movements legacy. Dushka Howarth participated in many of Gurdjieff’s movements classes during 1948-1949 and her mother Jessmin Howarth taught movements from 1924 until her death in 1984. Dushka Howarth notes that despite his age and failing health during this period, Gurdjieff devoted “... much of each day and two or three hours every evening to Movements, creating, teaching and organising how and by whom they would continue in various countries!”

A few months after Ouspensky’s death in October 1947, the manuscript he called *Fragments of an Unknown Teaching* was submitted to Gurdjieff by Sophie Ouspensky. He warmly approved it and advised her to publish. In this book, Ouspensky provides a precise, systematic account of the ‘fragments of an unknown teaching’ he received from Gurdjieff between 1915 and 1918 as well as the impact it had on his development. It appeared a few weeks before Gurdjieff’s death in October 1949—with the title *In Search of the Miraculous*—and was followed in February 1950 by the publication of *Beelzebub’s Tales.*

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After his death, the front rank of Gurdjieff’s pupils were faced with the responsibility of trying to transmit something of what they had learned. Several gathered with Jeanne de Salzmann, in the early 1950s and established the Institut Gurdjieff in Paris, the Gurdjieff Society in London, and the Gurdjieff Foundation in New York. These—and affiliated groups in several major cities of Europe and North America—were led by her until her death in 1990 and subsequently by Dr. Michel de Salzmann until his death in August 2001.


Accounts that reflect the transmission of Gurdjieff’s ideas and influence by subsequent generations of students who did not work directly with him, can be found in the writings of Fuchs (1994), George (1995), Heyneman (1993,
Of the three informed Gurdjieff biographies to date, James Moore’s *Gurdjieff: the Anatomy of a Myth* (1991,1999), is the most fully realised. He provides a lively, crisp, admiring but often sardonic portrait of Gurdjieff and his chosen myth. John G. Bennett travelled widely in Central Asia, was fluent in many languages of that area, had the advantage of knowing Gurdjieff and being able to speak with him in his native languages. His *Gurdjieff: Making of a New World* (1973) offers informed discussion of several key questions, as well as abundant reverent speculation about Gurdjieff. The rationalist independent scholar James Webb provides massively researched documentation, soaring speculations, thoughtful critical analysis and agonised indecision about Gurdjieff’s person and influence in his *The Harmonious Circle* (1980).

First published in French, *Gurdjieff: Essays and Reflections* edited by Needleman, Baker, and Panafieu (1996) offers a set of forty-four consistently admiring articles—accounts of and musings on the person and significance of Gurdjieff—by direct pupils, scholars, academics and musicians. Most of the contributors are connected with organisations led by the Salzmann family.


J. Walter Driscoll

Vancouver Island
January 13, 2003
June 29, 2004

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Key Books and Articles about Gurdjieff

A Selective Bibliography

1919-2004

J. Walter Driscoll

Anderson, Margaret (1886–1973)


Anderson, along with Jane Heap, edited the influential literary magazine, The Little Review, which was sued for obscenity as a result of its original serialised publication of James Joyce’s Ulysses. In describing her work with Gurdjieff between 1924 and 1949 and the impact of his teaching, she draws on conversations with other Gurdjieff students as well as on her own and their diaries, and on correspondence and notes of meetings with Gurdjieff. The most notable of her fellow students were A. R. Orage, Jane Heap, Georgette Leblanc, Solita Solano, Kathryn Hulme and Dorothy Caruso. “I shall write of what he said when I was there to hear him say it; of what he taught us, how he taught it, and what effect it had not only upon me but upon my friends.”

Bell, Mary

Some Memories of the Prieuré. Paris, 1949, original ms. 9p typescript.

Reminiscing in 1949, Dr. Bell describes typical daily events with Gurdjieff during her visits to the Prieuré between December 1923 and September 1924.
Bennett, John G. (1897–1974)


Bennett grapples with the contradiction of trying to elucidate a “book that defies verbal analysis” and concludes that *Beelzebub’s Tales* is an epoch-making work that represents the first new mythology in 4000 years.


J. G. Bennett was fluent in Russian and Turkish. He was assigned to Constantinople (Istanbul) as a British intelligence officer. There he met Gurdjieff and Ouspensky in 1921. Bennett lived at the Prieuré for three months in 1923 and visited Gurdjieff frequently during the last year of his life. This is Bennett’s major study of Gurdjieff; he interweaves historical setting, biography and discussion of Gurdjieff’s writings and ideas, with his own speculations about their significance and application.


Bennett discusses human existence in relation to Gurdjieff’s idea of reciprocal maintenance, emphasising that life’s pleasures and sufferings are not merely for our entertainment, but to release energy that is necessary for Mother nature. He emphasises that this energy can also be used consciously for human transformation.


The four chapters of this book were first delivered as a series of introductory lectures in October 1949, just before Gurdjieff’s death. Bennett offers an intense, thoroughly considered and still timely introduction to Gurdjieff, his writings, and work on oneself, as well as the need of our epoch for a teaching such as Gurdjieff’s.


Bennett studied *Beelzebub’s Tales* for many decades and had the advantage of being fluent in Russian—Gurdjieff wrote in Russian and Armenian. Bennett’s helpful explications in this posthumous anthology, are organised under the categories of History, Cosmology, Cosmogony, Work and Reality.

Bennett went to Constantinople as a British Intelligence Officer shortly after the First World War. There he had decisive meetings, first with Ouspensky and then Gurdjieff, in 1920. Bennett studied at the Priéroué for three months, then with Ouspensky in London for fifteen years. In 1948, when he discovered that Gurdjieff was still alive and living in Paris, Bennett visited frequently until Gurdjieff’s death in 1949.

An Introduction to Gurdjieff’s Third Series “Life is Real only then, when ‘I AM’“. Sherborne: Coombe Springs Press, 1975, 34p.

Gurdjieff solicited Bennett’s help to make the typescript of the Third Series, “suitable for reading.” Bennett’s extended introduction describes a different set of talks than those included in the English edition of the Third Series published by Jeanne de Salzmann. He considers Gurdjieff’s purpose in revealing “many secrets of his own inner world and . . . some of the most significant experiences of his strange life.”

Bennett, John G. and Elizabeth Bennett


These diaries of John and Elizabeth Bennett present an integrated record of their visits to Gurdjieff in Paris from July 23 to November 1, 1949. Poignantly describes the deep impact Gurdjieff had on the authors during the last four months of his life.

Bowyer, E. C.


Bowyer spent a week visiting Gurdjieff’s Institute for the Harmonious Development of Man in Fontainbleau France, five months after it opened. He describes the Study House, the student’s spartan daily life, and interviews with, A. R. Orage, as well as the various stages of instruction at the Institute, the practice of movements, and occasional feasts. Returning to London, Bowyer interviewed P. D. Ouspensky for his closing instalment. His four reports shared front page coverage with excavations at Tutankhamen’s tomb.
Butkovsky-Hewitt, Anna


Writing almost fifty years later, the author describes her encounters with Gurdjieff in St. Petersburg in 1916 and later in 1922, during the pre-Fontainebleau period in Paris. A skilled pianist and dancer, she also briefly recalls her work with Thomas de Hartmann and describes her St. Petersburg romance with Ouspensky, in warm, personal terms.

Challenger, Anna Terri


Challenger’s thoughtful interpretation and concise analysis of the meaning, value and purpose of a few of Beelzebub’s tales, provide a glimpse of the deeply considered understanding each reader must attempt. She convincingly renders her thesis that these tales comprise a psycho-spiritual parable and universal set of teaching tales that are aimed to help readers achieve a radically new understanding of themselves and their place in the cosmos.

Collin [Smith], Rodney (1908–1956)


Inspired by a series of visions after Ouspensky’s death in October 1947, Collin’s ecstatic and hauntingly persuasive speculations are based on his extrapolations of Ouspensky’s ideas about cosmic scale and recurrence, as well as on the practice of self remembering taught by Gurdjieff. Collin draws on esoteric Egyptian, Christian, Muslim and Buddhist traditions to trace the after-death states of consciousness in the mineral, cellular and molecular worlds and beyond life into the electronic world of the spirit.
Daumal, René


The way Daumal developed the metaphor of the magic mountain and described its symbolic scaling in this novel is deeply inspired by his practice of Gurdjieff’s teaching. Although it is unfinished and never explicitly mentions Gurdjieff, this book is an important expression of his teaching.

Desmond, Shaw


An examination of powerful personalities based on the author’s idiosyncratic psychological theories. He describes Churchill, Caesar, Garbo, Christ, Rockefeller, Chaplin, Gandhi, Krishnamurti, Gurdjieff, and others – rulers, saints, sinners, artists, performers, intellectuals throughout history and in the early 20th century – many of whom he interviewed. “Gurdjieff was one of those maestros who influence by silence rather than speech. . . . His propaganda was secret, but perhaps, because of this, went through the purely intellectual world centres. For the first time, it is now being unveiled to the general public, . . . the other Russian Giant, Stalin, may one day find himself challenged not by physical weapons, but by a “System” of Mind which may influence the future course of our world.”

Driscoll, J. Walter

writings about him and contains links to dozens of excerpts and complete articles.


Driscoll, J. Walter et al


Introduction by J. W. Driscoll, essay on the Gurdjieff literature by Michel de Salzmann, descriptive entries on Gurdjieff’s writings and music, and descriptive entries followed by annotations for 1108 English and 597 French items (mostly books, essays and articles)—the secondary literature about Gurdjieff. Documents Gurdjieff’s writings and significant literature about him between 1920 and 1984.

Essentials: Aphorisms and Observations of A. R. Orage. Edited by J. Walter Driscoll. These extraordinary fragments provide an introduction to Orage's vision of the human potential for a conscious development of being.

Dukes, Paul (1889-1967)


Sketches of the author's experiences and travels as a language tutor and musician in St. Petersburg until the Revolution, then as an international lecturer, journalist and acrobat, are followed by sections describing his spiritual searches, meetings with spiritual teachers and charlatans and experiments with prayer and yoga as well as his studies of astrology and longevity. He details his relationship with Nadine Nicolaeva-Legat who "... was a pupil of those masters of esoteric philosophy, G. Gurdjieff and P. D. Ouspensky." He reminisces about P. D. Ouspensky, "with whom he "... used to sit up long nights discussing mysticism, in particular the system of G. I. Gurdjieff, undoubtedly one of the great living teachers, whom Ouspensky acknowledged as master, but from whom he had none the less parted company." Dukes book is peopled by several unusual, eccentric and remarkable people, Oriental Masters, ascetics, healers, mediums, idiosyncratic characters and Prince Ozay who has an entire chapter as well as numerous citations devoted to him.
Flanner, Janet


Fremantle, Christopher (1906–1978)


Fremantle attended Ouspensky’s lectures, went on to study with Gurdjieff and served as a leader in the Gurdjieff Foundation for many years. This posthumous anthology gathers ten intensely focused contemplative essays on the immanent struggle with attention. Includes 98 pages of excerpts from letters to his students.

Fuchs, John


Fuchs participated in John Pentland’s New York groups and led the Denver group from the 1970s until his death in 1998. This record of practical inner work arranged thematically in 23 Chapters draws on the author’s observations from diaries and reflects the state of transmission of Gurdjieff’s ideas to a generation that never met him.

George, James


A Canadian diplomat and environmental activist, George has long been influenced by Gurdjieff. He attempts to link Gurdjieff’s cosmological ideas with James Lovelock’s Gaia hypothesis and to document the crisis caused by human degradation of the environment, which he attributes to our alienation from a sense of spiritual presence and conscience.
[Title Main Entry—next two entries.]

**G. Gurdjieff’s Institute for the Harmonious Development of Man.** Main Branch: France Fontainebleau (Formerly “Chateau du Prieuré”) [1922], 11p.

First published in 1920 for the Constantinople branch, the Prospectus for Gurdjieff’s Institute describes its program as “practically the continuation of the Society that went under the name of the “Seekers after Truth” . . . founded in 1895.” The main text pp. 1-11 describes the rational and lists the proposed courses, followed by an 8 page “Historometrical Individual Record (for pupils and patients of the first category.”


This anthology gathers 44 diverse interpretative essays, interviews and reminiscences by notable students of Gurdjieff’s teaching, independent scholars and professional academics. It was first issued in French, edited by Bruno de Panafieu and senior staff of the Institute Gurdjieff (Paris), the Gurdjieff Society (London) and the Gurdjieff Foundation (U.S.A.) under the editorial supervision of the de Salzmann family in Paris. Pauline de Dampierre, Henry Leroy Finch, Jacob Needleman, Basarab Nicolescu, John Pentland, Laurence Rosenthal, Jeanne de Salzmann, William Segal and Henri Tracol are among the contributors. Includes nine pages of previously unpublished excerpts from exchanges with Gurdjieff in the 1940s.

**Hands, Rina**


Hands attended meetings with P. D. Ouspensky and J. G. Bennett in London, then volunteered to type the final drafts of *Beelzebub’s Tales* in 1948–1949. “Egout” is “sewer” or “drain” in French and the title Gurdjieff conferred on the author at the ritual dinners in his Paris flat. These vivid diary entries describe her impressions of Gurdjieff during his last 15 months.
Hartmann, Thomas Alexandrovich de (1885–1956) and Hartmann, Olga Arkadijevna née de Shumacher (1885–1979)


The de Hartmanns were devoted to Gurdjieff. Their classic, poignant account of 1915 to 1930, vividly describes their discoveries as students in Gurdjieff’s early St Petersburg group, their perilous escape with him from the Russian revolution, and their struggle to understand Gurdjieff and his teaching as they followed him across Europe and settled with him in France. An accomplished composer, Thomas de Hartmann collaborated with Gurdjieff on several hundred musical compositions, particularly between 1925 and 1927. He later arranged most of these and recorded many on piano. In addition to being an accomplished singer, Olga de Hartmann was Gurdjieff’s personal assistant for many of these years, managed daily life at the Prieuré and was the secretary who recorded the earliest drafts of his writings. The de Hartmanns left Gurdjieff in 1929 but remained dedicated to his teaching and became major independent figures in its transmission in the U.S. and Canada.

Heap, Jane (1887–1964)


The Notes of Jane Heap: [An Extended Table of Contents]. Flyer, [Two Rivers Press], no date, 12 p.,

Jane Heap met Gurdjieff in New York in 1924, helped A. R. Orage edit the 1930 typescript of Beelzebub’s Tales and belonged to the ‘Rope’ group in Paris until Gurdjieff sent her to lead the London group, which she did until her death in 1964.

Heyneman, Martha


A penetrating essay that links the symbolic structures of the Arthurian legend cycle and mythic elements underlying Beelzebub’s Tales to reveal the necessity of transforming rather than slaying the dragon.


Heyneman’s panoramic vision of a cosmic spiritual ecology is achieved through an unusual balance between practical observation, vigorous knowledge of literature and science and inspired personal insight. She leads her reader past explanation, through knowledge, to an exceptional understanding of our role in the cosmos. All of this hinges on her ability to relate her practice and understanding of Gurdjieff’s teaching to the great traditional legacies of philosophy, literature and science.


Fifteen inspiring essays written over some twenty years. Heyneman’s meditations soar while remaining grounded in ordinary life and supported by her rigorous knowledge of science and literature.

Hulme, Kathryn (1900–1981)

Hulme’s autobiography skilfully interlaces her varied unconventional life, her struggle as a developing writer and her participation in Gurdjieff’s unique 1930s Paris study group of women, called ‘The Rope,’ because they were attached to each other in mutual support. A sensitively crafted and poignant account of Gurdjieff and the author’s sincere struggle to apply his teaching.

International Humanities Conference


Printed annual volumes contain transcripts of the papers presented and discussions that followed, at annual spring conferences held since 1996. These contain a wide range of scholarly, academic and amateur opinion on topics related to Gurdjieff’s writings and influence. <http://www.aandeconference.org/>

Kenney, Rowland


Kenney sketches his life growing up as a Socialist in England at the end of the 19th and into the early 20th Century. He was a contributor to the *New Age* (edited by A. R. Orage), attended Ouspensky’s early lectures in London and with his friend Orage first met Gurdjieff in February 1923. Kenney describes how the study of Gurdjieff’s ideas altered his own view of large-scale social change and led him to conclude that social progress is the indirect result of individual efforts to achieve self-knowledge and inner growth.

King, C. Daly (1895–1963)


King, a psychologist, studied in New York with Orage from 1924 to 1930 when Orage moved to London. He conducted groups under Orage’s direction from 1926. Here he makes a preliminary but bold formulation of Gurdjieff’s ideas as presented by Orage and developed by his own training and experience as a psychologist.
Owen’s points out in her introduction that, while King struggled with his psychological formulations without the benefit of modern neurology, his “exposition of the butterfly as a symbol of evolution presents us with a metaphor of great beauty.”

**The Oragean Version.** New York: Privately printed limited edition of 100 copies, 1951, 289p., index.

While he lived in New York between 1924 and 1930, A. R. Orage worked intently on the English translation of *Beelzebub’s Tales* and led the study of Gurdjieff’s teaching in America. C. Daly King, a research psychologist, became Orage’s friend and close student during that period. Convinced that Orage’s presentation was an undistorted version of the ancient learning Orage had gathered from Gurdjieff and convinced that it would, after their death, be lost, King presents a rigorous psychological formulation of Orage’s version of “The Method”.


After four decades as a psychologist, King examines the potential levels of consciousness available to human beings. In his introduction, “The Origins of the Investigation,” King describes his relationship to Orage and Gurdjieff, whom he calls “one of the hundred, perhaps one of the fifty, most remarkable men known to us in our history.”

**Lannes, Henriette**


Henriette Lannes lead groups in England from 1950 until her death in 1980, with a mandate from Jeanne de Salzmann. Initially with some reluctance and always with œcumennial diplomacy she consolidated elements of the London groups that owed allegiance to Jeanne de Salzmann, P. D. Ouspensky, Maurice Nicoll, Jane Heap, John G. Bennett, and others, into a unified whole with the status of a registered charity as ‘The Gurdjieff Society’ in 1964.

This collection of Lannes’ talks, articles and quotes, is edited with introductions by Dr. William M. Beatley and Mrs. Betty Beatley. The 47 pieces span three decades, vary in length from brief quotes to substantial essays and are grouped in four sections, each introduced by an editorial note or essay that outlines the history of
activities undertaken by the Society’s committees and study groups under Lannes’ leadership. The material is drawn from her papers and talks, or from notes by her students. It contains her observations on inner work practised in the context of research, arts and crafts, education and parenting, as well as other group activities, particularly at The Guild for Research into Craftsmanship Ltd. near Bray. This is decidedly not ‘bon ton’ or speculative literature. Evidence of attentive inner questioning, and a search driven by an intense wish to wake up, emerges from much of this practical material.

Lewis, Cecil


Originally broadcast as a series of ‘Reflections’ for the BBC World Service, these 29 brief talks are each introduced by one of Gurdjieff’s aphorisms. By examining such themes as self-discovery, human nature and our inner potential, Lewis describes simply and sincerely, the struggle involved in applying Gurdjieff’s aphorisms and teachings in daily life.

Manchester, Sherman.


Sherman Manchester was—along with C. Daly King, Gorham Munson, Lawrence (Larry) Morris and Wm Nyland—a key member of Orage’s New York circle and Gurdjieff group during the 1920s while Orage was editing the English edition of Gurdjieff’s typescript of _Beelzebub’s Tales_. Manchester’s notes cover thirty-nine weekly meetings in New York City, interspersed with breaks, from January 1923 to January 1929. The notes—mostly from 1927-1928—are not in chronological order but consistently focus on Orage’s interpretation of _Beelzebub’s Tales_.

Moore, James

In October 1956, at the age of 26, Moore joined Dr. Kenneth Walker’s group. A year later he was received into a group led by Gurdjieff’s pupil Henriette Lannes, with whom he studied for 22 years, until her retirement from England in 1979. Thereafter, until 1994, he studied with M. Maurice Desselle and M. Henri Tracol, and enjoyed regular contact with Jeanne de Salzmann. In 1980 Moore was mandated to lead groups. In 1994 he constituted an independent but traditional group in London, with an off-shoot in Brighton; these he continues to guide.
Moore, James—continued.


The relationship between Gurdjieff and the short-story writer Katherine Mansfield was falsified and sensationalised by the French press in 1923 when she died shortly after coming to his Fontainebleau Institute with terminal tuberculosis. The misconception that Gurdjieff was in some way responsible for her demise was revived in 1954 with the publication of French journalist Louis Pauwels’ *Monsieur Gurdjieff* (Q.V.) Moore thoroughly examines their relationship in the context of Mansfield’s life amid the many 1920s intellectual and artistic figures variously influenced by Gurdjieff. Moore’s is the only book to squarely address the canard that Gurdjieff’s neglect hastened her death, and the longevity of that misconception—particularly in Europe—is phenomenal.


**Gurdjieffian Groups in Britain.** *Religion Today* (London) III (2), May-September, 1986, pp. 1-4. The first differential critique of four contemporary organisations purporting to transmit Gurdjieff’s influence in Britain, some responsibly and some not.


Moore, James—continued.

Moore’s biography ‘provides an articulate, lively, deeply informed, admiring, and sardonic portrait. Gurdjieff’s story is framed in the context of historical events and in relation to his struggle with a compulsion to act as an abrupt awakener and psychospiritual teacher. Despite the formidable obstacles he faces as a Gurdjieff biographer, Moore succeeds in providing as clear and balanced a picture as we are likely to have of a man who carefully covered most of the personal tracks he didn’t erase. His chapter The Revelation in Question offers a penetrating synopsis of Gurdjiff’s teaching, particularly what is contained in his writings.

Interview with James Moore. Telos (Fairfax, CA) [ I (4) April, 1993] pp. 1-2, 5-8. Moore considers the challenges and impediments to historicity that he encountered in writing his biography Gurdjieff: Anatomy of a Myth. He also examines some of the conscious and unconscious forces that continue to percolate within and without the Gurdjieff community.

Moveable Feasts: the Gurdjieff Work. Religion Today (London) IX (2), Spring 1994, pp. 11-16. Moore’s study in the academic press critiques innovations felt within The Gurdjieff Society in Britain commencing in the early 1980s. These entailed a shift away from the canonical ideal of effort towards one of grace, emphasis on lengthy supervised communal ‘sittings’ redolent of Kundalini Yoga, and adoption of an ‘improved’ American English-language revision of Beelzebub’s Tales.

Katherine Mansfield and Gurdjieff’s Sacred Dance. in Katherine Mansfield: In From the Margin edited by Roger Robinson. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994, pp. 188-200, index, notes. Examines Mansfield’s final months, spent in Gurdjieff’s Institute. “The facts are singular enough: Katherine Mansfield, a young woman walk or breath, absorbed in sacred dances that lie on the very cusp of human possibility.”

Seekers for Truth. The Friend CLIII (29), 1995, pp. 9-10. A comparison of similarities and differences between Quaker and Gurdjieffian practices, and of George Fox and Gurdjieff. Notes that both ‘centre down’, renewing their attention-lead search to fathom the profoundest level of individuality. Yet, there are undeniable differences.

Moore, James — continued.

A thoughtful examination of the five ‘Obligolnian’ strivings or aims of human existence, promulgated in Beelzebub’s Tales by Gurdjieff’s ultimate wisdom figure, Ashiata Shiemash.


Henriette Lannes: 1899-1980. GIR II (1), Fall 1998, pp. 42-46. “That the Work in England is today so firmly established is preponderantly owed to one woman. Active in London for nearly three decades; coping with all the difficulties of exile and a foreign language; subsuming the powerful resistance which any powerful affirmation lawfully evokes – this remarkable human being guaranteed here the Work's ethos, dynamic, and trajectory. Her name was Henriette Lannes.”


The Spirit of Things: Esoteric Masters—George Ivanovitch Gurdjieff. Interviews with James Moore, Anthony Storr, and Janet Taylor. Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2000. Moore is provided with sufficient air-time to provide an articulate introduction to Gurdjieff, while countering Storr’s facile dismissal. Janet Taylor, a member of an Australian Gurdjieff group, is also interviewed.

A Biographer Digresses. With characteristic clarity and vigor, Moore describes his meetings with Jesse Orage and his thoughts about several prominent writers and figures in the Gurdjieff pantheon during the period that lead up to accepting the challenge of writing his 1991 biography, Gurdjieff: Anatomy of a Myth.
Morris, Lawrence S.

Unpublished typescript. Lawrence (Larry) Morris was—along with C. Daly King, Sherman Manchester, Gorham Munson and Wlm Nyland—a key member of Orage’s New York circle and Gurdjieff group during the late 1920s while Orage was editing the English edition of Gurdjieff’s typescript of *Beelzebub’s Tales*. Morris’ notes cover thirty-two weekly meetings in New York City, interspersed with breaks, from January 17th to December 27, 1927 and from March 19 to May 28, 1928. Most of Orage’s discussion focuses on *Beelzebub’s Tales*.

Munson, Gorham. (1896–1969)

*Orage in America*  
*Dynamic America* (New York), Part I, X May 1940, pp. 17-20; Part II, X (6), June 1940, pp. 12-16.

A vivid account of A. R. Orage’s catalytic influence in the U.S. particularly during his years as Gurdjieff’s representative in New York City between 1924 to 1931.

“Orage . . . profoundly influenced American life in three ways: he initiated a movement for supermen, he revived journalism, he initiated a new movement for economic freedom.”

*Beelzebub’s Tales in Gurdjieff’s All and Everything*. A review by Gorham Munson.

First published in Louis Pauwels’ anthology *Monsieur Gurdjieff* (1954). Munson writes, “Beelzebub is an extraordinary creation; he has been given a cosmic point of view, and a historical perspective that goes back almost as far as the origins of mankind. . . . He manages to discuss almost everything that has exercised the human mind in the past. . . . On reading *All and Everything* one soon realises that it is a strange kind of allegory. . . . It is safe to predict that at first *All and Everything* will not make much of a stir and will probably be considered a heavy book, but I believe it will endure, attract more and more readers and prove a rich source for future writers.”


It is obvious from the skill with which these memoirs are crafted, that Munson’s artfully crafted memoirs demonstrate his skills as a professional editor who taught writing for 35 years. He was a friend, literary colleague and member of Orage’s Gurdjieff group in New York. Munson provides an articulate, informed, social and
literary record of this decade in America. He describes how both Gurdjieff and Orage affected many in Greenwich Village during the 1920s. His account of a summer month at Fontainebleau in 1927 while Gurdjieff was writing Beelzebub’s Tales is of particular interest.

Needleman, Jacob


The first edition contained the essay “Gurdjieff, Ouspensky and Esoteric Philosophy” in which Needleman emphasizes the near impossibility of bridging the gap between philosophy and the esoteric, identifying the problem as one of relating thought and energy. He attempts to sum up Gurdjieff’s ideas, largely though a précis of In Search of the Miraculous. In the essay “Magic, Sacrifice and Tradition,” he interprets Ouspensky’s novel, Strange Life of Ivan Osokin. The revised edition replaces the first essay described above, with the essay “Gurdjieff, or the Metaphysics of Energy” (which was later issued in Gurdjieff: Essays and Reflections, entry 37 in this Chapter). Here Needleman examines Gurdjieff’s idea that humanity has an unavoidable planetary and cosmic role as a potential source of finer energies. He focuses on five key factors of microcosmic existence, through which this role can be fulfilled—action, materiality, understanding, transmission and love or ethics.


Needleman’s light-hearted yet deeply serious examination transcends the modern ‘time management’ syndrome. He shows how time has, in contemporary society, become so meaningless and how it might become what it is—our most meaningful commodity and the soul’s ally. In so doing, he offers a compact and powerful presentation of what Gurdjieff called “The Terror of the Situation.”


Needleman surveys the life, ideas and influence of the school Gurdjieff established, particularly as promoted by the Salzmann family through the Gurdjieff Foundation in the U.S., the Gurdjieff Society in London and the Institute Gurdjieff in Paris.
This essay “G. I. Gurdjieff and His School” was revised and issued as Gurdjieff and the Metaphysics of Energy in *Gurdjieff: essays and reflections on the man and his teaching* edited by Jacob Needleman and George Baker (1996) pp. 70-85. [See main entry under title on page 16 herein.] In this revision, Needleman includes an examination of Gurdjieff’s idea that humanity has an unavoidable planetary and cosmic role as a potential source of finer energies.

**Nicoleșcu, Basarab**


Nicoll set aside his career as the leading Jungian psychiatrist in London, to join Gurdjieff at the Prieuré between Nov. 1922–Aug.1924 when Gurdjieff closed the Institute. Nicoll was invited to go to New York with A. R. Orage and teach “the System” as he referred to it, but he declined and never saw Gurdjieff again. He worked closely with Ouspensky for about a decade, then in 1931, at Ouspensky’s urging, Nicoll established his own study groups.

In this exceptional book, Nicoll provides a glimpse beyond the two-dimensional temporal world of striving for goals in the illusory ‘future’ of time by drawing heavily on Hermetic and Christian traditions. Ouspensky’s formulations of higher dimensions of space/time and states of consciousness, as well as Nicoll’s own practice of Gurdjieff’s teaching are in evidence throughout “Our true future is our own growth in now, not in the tomorrow of passing time. Something must be brought into every moment, the cumulative effect of which is to create now. Now is not given. While living our ordinary life we must always be doing something else – internally.”

The *New Man* is a revolutionary exploration of the psychological power of Christ’s parables, inspired by the insights and understanding of esoteric Christianity, derived by Nicoll from his practice as a psychiatrist and his study with Gurdjieff and Ouspensky. He demonstrates how scripture is designed to awaken us from sleep and presents the central ideas of temptation, righteousness, wisdom and prayer in this light.


This six-volume encyclopaedic set contains hundreds of brief, sharply focused, penetrating essays and commentaries on a wide range of topics connected with Nicoll’s presentation of the psychospiritual teachings he gathered from his year with Gurdjieff and particularly from Ouspensky’s theories of psychological evolution. The first two volumes contain letters written to guide the author’s groups when personal visits were interrupted by war conditions in Britain. In volumes 3–5 he continued the practice of writing epistle-essays to groups until his death in 1953.

*Nott, C[harles] S[tanley]*


A concise vivid account of the author’s sustained and intense years of inner work as a student of Gurdjieff with A. R. Orage, at Fontainebleau and New York between 1923 and 1928. This classic account relies on the notes Nott kept of many of
Gurdjieff’s talks and a 90 page summary of Orage’s commentary on Beelzebub’s Tales that was recorded while Orage was editing the English typescript of the book through the late 1920s.


In this companion volume and sequel to Teachings of Gurdjieff (entry 41), Nott chronicles his difficult re-entry into ordinary life and the world of business in 1928, after four years at Gurdjieff’s Institute at Fontainebleau. He documents his relationship with A. R. Orage, P. D. and Sophie Ouspensky and Frank Lloyd Wright in England as well as the United States. Concludes with a description of his meetings with Gurdjieff in the late 1940s.


Equipped with the barest formal education, a formidable natural intelligence and an unquenchable yearning to understand, Orage emerged from British 19th Century poverty to survey the significant literary, psychological, political and spiritual issues of the early 20th Century. He brought The New Age to prominence as one of London’s premier literary magazines, and launched several important writers as well as the Social Credit movement. Orage met Ouspensky in 1914 when the latter was returning to Russia after his early search for the miraculous. Orage sold The New Age in 1922 to join Gurdjieff at the Prieuré. Between 1924 and 1930, he acted as Gurdjieff’s representative, editor and chief expositor in New York. He broke with Gurdjieff in 1930, returned to journalism and renewed his connections with an influential network of intellectual, political, artistic and literary contacts in London until his death on the night of November 5, 1934.

Are We Awake? First published as one of “Fifteen Exercises in Practical Psychology”, a series of articles in Psychology Magazine (New York) between April 1925 and January 1926.

Orage examines sleep and waking as facts and as metaphors of our psychological and spiritual condition. He concludes “to be aware that we are only partly awake is the first condition of becoming and making ourselves more fully awake.”
Orage, A. R., continued.

**Economising Our Energy.** First published as one of "Fifteen Exercises in Practical Psychology" in *Psychology Magazine* (New York) between April 1925 and January 1926.

Orage examines how we loose a large portion of our physical, mental and emotional energy each day. He makes suggestions about how it can be economised for the purpose of serving conscious development.


Orage’s most anthologised essay has a complex publishing history, see also the title *Essays and Aphorisms* in this section. It is said that he wrote ‘On Love’ after a late night conversation with Gurdjieff. Orage advises that we “learn to distinguish among at least three kinds of love… instinctive love, emotional love, and conscious love. There is not much fear that you cannot learn the first two, but the third is rare and depends upon effort as well as intelligence.” Orage also examines how people manifest the first two kinds of love and describes how we might begin to develop the third.


The ‘active mind’ essays were first published as “Fifteen Exercises in Practical Psychology” in *Psychology Magazine* (New York) between April 1925 and January 1926. Some essay titles: “The control of temper,” “How to read men,” “On dying daily,” “Economising our energy,” “Are we awake?” The rest of the book contains about one hundred thirty psychological exercises to focus mental, sensory, vocal and visual acuity. These are based on exercises employed at Gurdjieff’s Institute for the Harmonious Development of Man.
Orage, A. R., continued.


Orage’s ideas and aphorisms express his vision of the potential for conscious development of being. He was authorised to teach Gurdjieff’s ideas in New York and in places, Orage’s formulations, cosmology and themes, employ Gurdjieff’s phrases and expressions.


Orage characterizes religion as an ancient science that possessed the now lost art of self-observation. He concedes that self-knowledge is not the sole aim of religion, but emphasizes that it is at least "an implied pre-requisite of the main aim which appears to be the understanding and service of the Creator, God."


Two books; the Janus Press and Weiser editions of Orage’s *On Love: With some Aphorisms & Other Essays* as well as *The Active Mind: psychological exercises and essays* are issued here, separately paged in one paperback volume.

**Essentials:** Same Aphorisms and Observations of A. R. Orage edited by J. Walter Driscoll. These extraordinary fragments provide an introduction to Orage's vision of the human potential for a conscious development of being.

**Regarding A. R. Orage:**

**A. R. Orage: Introduction and Bibliography** by J. Walter Driscoll.

Ouspensky was a noted theoretical mathematician and independent philosopher when he met Gurdjieff in Moscow in 1915. Ouspensky kept scrupulous notes of their meetings until the 1917 Russian revolution drove both men out of Russia. He rejected Gurdjieff as a person but spent much of the rest of his life lecturing on the ‘system’ he garnered from Gurdjieff.


Provides a vivid glimpse of Ouspensky’s attitude then, towards Gurdjieff and his group in France. “Gurdjieff and I have reached our present stage of knowledge by long and hard work in many lands . . . . My book, telling of our discoveries so far as they have gone, should be out this summer . . . . I am thinking of calling it Fragments of an Unknown Teaching. In the meantime I am lecturing before small private classes, which is as much as my command of English permits.”


This precise and vivid record of Gurdjieff’s talks in Moscow, St Petersburg and Essentuki between 1915 and 1918, was undertaken in 1920 with Gurdjieff’s approval. The oldest manuscript dates from 1925, but Ouspensky continued to work on it into the 1930s and began having it read to his groups. As he intended, it remained unpublished at his death in 1947, perhaps because he refused to allow public circulation of any information about ‘the system.’ The manuscript was brought to Gurdjieff’s attention by Ouspensky’s wife Sophie after the latter’s death and with Gurdjieff’s encouragement, it was first published in the autumn of 1949.

Ouspensky’s scrupulous record of events and his personal observations can be characterised by an early comment about Gurdjieff’s being and knowledge:

About schools and about where he found the knowledge, which he beyond a doubt possessed, he said very little and just hinted at it. He mentioned Mount Athos, Sufi schools in Persia, Tibetan monasteries and Chitral schools in central Asia and eastern Turkestan. He referred to dervishes too, but all this was always in a very indefinite manner.
Ouspensky, P. D., *In Search of the Miraculous* —continued.

There was one question which I was never able to answer, namely, what had he been born with and what had he been given by schools, if he had passed through a school. I often thought about this and at times it seemed to me, and some of us came to the conclusion, that G. was a genius in his own domain, that he scarcely had to learn, that what he knew could not be learned and that none of us could hope to expect to become like him.

But when I thought thus, another voice always said in me that though I could indeed never learn much that G. knew, this did not in the least deter me because I could undoubtedly learn many things.


These private introductory lectures were not written for publication, but to provide Ouspensky’s readers with an account of the direction his work had taken subsequent to the publication of *Tertium Organum* (1920), *A New Model of the Universe* (1931) and his work with Gurdjieff. Ouspensky indicates in his 1945 introduction to these lectures, that they are an invitation to “follow the advice and indications given . . . which referred chiefly to self-observation and a certain self-discipline.” These deeply considered talks present the author’s long struggle to transmit a living system in the hope of attracting the support of the same higher sources from whom Ouspensky believed Gurdjieff had received his teaching.
Ouspensky, P. D.  Interviews and adaptations.

**In Anti-Bolshevist Russia.** A visit with P. D. Ouspensky by Carl Eric Bechhofer Roberts. *The New Age* (London) Edited by A. R. Orage.  XXVIII (10), Jan. 6, 1921, p. 113. Also contained in Roberts **In Denikin’s Russia and the Caucasus** Q.V.

Stranded in the midst of the Russian revolution, the author stayed several days in a barn with Ouspensky and Zaharov, another of Gurdjieff’s followers. Over a bottle of vodka, Ouspensky engagingly relates some of his light-hearted Moscow and Essentuki adventures.


A valuable key to the ideas transmitted by Ouspensky in his record of Gurdjieff’s talks between 1915 and 1918. A thorough inventory of the diagrams, chronology of events, people and places mentioned, the stories and allegories as well as the incidents and ideas.


The readings consist of thoughtfully chosen excerpts which introduce some of the essential points from Ouspensky’s book and Gurdjieff’s ideas.


A documentary style film that telescopes Ouspensky’s book, glimpses of the ideas he received from Gurdjieff and a brief characterization of their relationship. It is interspersed with archival footage of Russia and the 1917 Revolution. The script consists of excerpts from Ouspensky’s book.
Owens, Terry Winter

All and Everything: *Meetings with Remarkable Men*: Commentary. *Mystic Arts Book News* No. 82 (New Hyde Park, N.Y.), [1965], 7 p. “It is an adventure of the mind — growing, being formed, setting out after inner knowledge, discovering it and putting it to the test of practice. Thus it is an adventure in two worlds, and it will be the reader’s delight and enrichment to discern where one world ends and the other begins.”

Owens, Terry Winter and Suzanne D. Smith.

*All and Everything: Beelzebub’s Tales: Commentary.* I (2), Winter 1997-1998, pp. 5-10. [University Books] *Mystic Arts Book News Number 78*, (New Hyde Park N.Y), 1964, pp. 1-11. “Despite all the inherent difficulties which Gurdjieff has implanted in the book — complexities in writing and in concepts, the rewards are there also. But in keeping with Gurdjieff’s philosophy, the rewards are commensurate with the reader’s struggle to find them.”

Patterson, William Patrick


‘The Rope’ was a group of women Gurdjieff met with in Paris beginning in the mid 1930s. It included Margaret Anderson, Jane Heap, Kathryn Hulme, Georgette Leblanc and Solita Solano. Patterson’s account draws on published sources and notably on unpublished archival material in several United States University Libraries, consisting of notes that members of the Rope kept of their meetings.


Draws on published sources to sketch the Nazi occupation of France and excerpts extensively from undocumented notes of some of Gurdjieff’s Paris talks during World War II.

Pauwels, Louis

The almost forty articles included in Pauwel’s inconsistently edited anthology, *Gurdjieff* provide a wide and qualitatively uneven range of accounts. Pauwels mixes his notions of the occult and politics to suggest a conspiracy. He casts Gurdjieff as “scandalous” and possibly (Pauwels is never sure) a Black Magician. The original French edition appeared in 1954 when it was one of the first books available about Gurdjieff. Pauwels’ decidedly negative tone and accusation that Gurdjieff groups were cults, widely influenced public opinion, particularly in France. Pauwels later acknowledged the “false” elements in this early book. Despite its misleading errors and accusations, Pauwels’ anthology contains some exemplary writings about Gurdjieff that are unavailable elsewhere. The accounts of Georgette Leblanc, Gorham Munson, Denis Saurat, and Pierre Schaeffer, are noteworthy.

**Pentland, John (1901–1984),** Henry John Sinclair, Lord Pentland


Shortly before Gurdjieff’s death, he appointed John Pentland as his literary representative in America. Pentland became president of the New York Gurdjieff Foundation from the time it was established in 1953 until his death in 1984. He played a major role in publishing English editions of Gurdjieff’s and Ouspensky’s books. The 200 posthumously edited excerpts in *Exchanges Within* show how the essential ideas in Gurdjieff’s psychology are to be practised, in the moment, with attention, sensation and energy.

**Perry, Whitall N.**


A critical assessment of Gurdjieff, from the perspective of the traditionalist school of Frithjof Schuon. Despite his admiration for the consistency of Gurdjieff’s ideas in *Beelzebub’s Tales*, Perry condemns his influence as a “deviated shamanism” without roots in the great religious traditions.
Peters, Fritz [Arthur Anderson]


In 1924, at the age of eleven, Peters was placed at the Prieuré by his aunt, Margaret Anderson. Except for occasional periods, he lived there under Gurdjieff’s supervision until he was fifteen. He presents a quasi-fictionalised portrait of daily life there, describes how Gurdjieff worked with young people and relates numerous anecdotes about Gurdjieff, for whom he had great respect and affection.


In this sequel to *Boyhood with Gurdjieff* (see previous entry), Peters describes and broods about his occasional experiences with Gurdjieff in New York and Chicago from 1932 to 1937 and in post-war Paris.

Pogson, Beryl


Twenty extended chapters containing Pogson’s commentaries, interpretations and extrapolations of symbols and ideas in *Beelzebub’s Tales*. These excerpts from her notes are interspersed with Hunter’s reminiscences of her meetings.

Popoff, Irmis B[arret]

Popoff sketches her development as a student of P. D. Ouspensky’s during his period in New York between 1941 and 1947 and his followers’ consternation at his abrupt return to England. She describes her introduction to Gurdjieff’s Movements classes and her growing devotion to him and his teaching in 1948–1949. She concludes by describing how the surviving front rank of students were faced with the responsibility of transmitting what they had learned.

Roberts, C. E. Bechhofer, [Carl Eric Bechhofer Roberts]

*In Denikin’s Russia and the Caucasus, 1919–1920: Being the Record of a Journey to South Russia, the Crimea, Armenia, Georgia and Baku in 1919 and 1920.*

Roberts, a professional journalist who spoke Russian and had previously traveled Russia and the Caucasus, was acquainted with Ouspensky when he undertook an assignment to report on conditions there in 1919. As well as an informed assessment of the volatile social and political situations he encounters throughout the Caucasus, Roberts engagingly describes his ‘journey through Georgia’ (pp. 65–69) and a series of meetings he had with “a curious individual named Georgiy Ivanovich Gourjieff.” His skeptical but admiring observations provide the first published account in English about Gurdjieff, who gave Roberts an insider’s tour of Tiflis, especially the baths and restaurants. He also sketches the three days he spent living in a barn with Ouspensky in Rostov-on-the-Don (pp. 81–93).


Carl Eric Bechhofer Roberts describes his several visits to Gurdjieff’s Institute but concluded that he "preferred to remain an intimate and disinterested spectator."

Rosenblatt, Kathleen Ferrick


A richly detailed, engaging and thoughtful examination of Daumal’s short life (1908–1944), his literary group Le Grand Jeu, as well as his independent mastery of
Sanskrit and profound assimilation of Hindu scripture and spiritual traditions. Rosenblatt’s is the first knowledgeable treatment of Daumal’s decisive involvement with Alexandre and Jeanne de Salzmann from 1930 and, through them, with Gurdjieff. Rosenblatt elucidates the impact of Gurdjieff’s teaching on Daumal’s inner life, scholarship and particularly his poetry and major novels, Mount Analogue and La Grande Beuverie.

Saurat, Denis


Saurat visited the Prieuré for a weekend in February 1923. He describes contradictory impressions of Gurdjieff who appears alternately contemptuous, provocative, irritable then finally serious and "extraordinarily courteous." This skeptical article stimulated critical discussion about Gurdjieff among French intellectuals and journalists. Saurat revised his opinion of Gurdjieff and came to applaud Beelzebub’s Tales as a major work. The English spelling of Gurdjieff’s name was not yet fixed and is here given as 'Gourdyev' in keeping with the Russian pronunciation.

Gurdjieff’s All and Everything: Letters to C. S. Nott and Louis Pauwel’s “Regarding Beelzebub’s Tales.”

Segal, William


Segal was a successful New York entrepreneur and publisher with a passion for Zen Buddhism. He was a follower of Ouspensky while the latter was in the United States between 1941 and 1946, then met Gurdjieff occasionally between 1947 and 1949. This compilation offers revisions of five privately published monographs that contain essays, poetry, aphorisms, drawings and conversations that record the author’s life-long Zen and Gurdjieff influenced meditative practices.

This unabashedly hagiographic compilation—assembled by Segal’s widow—offers some of his interviews and transcribed recollections interspersed with reminiscences of him by others. As a wealthy urbane executive, Segal appreciated the chance for physical labour as a regular visitor at the Ouspensky’s estate at Franklin Farms. Segal went on to meet Gurdjieff and become a senior member of the Gurdjieff Foundation of New York. Segal describes how he introduced Jeanne de Salzmann to his Zen Buddhist contacts, particularly D. T. Suzuki, and how, with Segal’s encouragement, she imported Zen Buddhist techniques into the repertoire of the Gurdjieff groups she directed. Segal was convinced that Zen had "something that we [Gurdjieff’s followers] didn’t have" . . . that "formal sitting . . . was lacking in the Gurdjieff Work at that time. [after Gurdjieff’s death in 1949]. Then Madame de Salzmann did institute it. She probably had that practice going in its own way, but I felt it needed a more formal adherence. We needed more ‘sittings.’” (p. 197).

Seton, Marie

The Case of P. D. Ouspensky. Quest (Calcutta) No. 34, July-Sept. 1962, pp. 36-44.

Seton, a Russian translator, was Ouspensky’s secretary and confidante during the 1940s. Although convinced of his goodness and honesty, she writes pointedly about the corrupting influence of being a guru.

Sharp, Clifford


Sharpe responds to misleading journalistic reports then circulating about Gurdjieff’s Institute and provides informed comment on its workings. The title of this piece had by then became a journalistic catch-phrase for Gurdjieff and his followers.

Shirley, John


A modest, admiring yet thoughtful account of Gurdjieff by a contemporary novelist and screenwriter. “I wrote this little book, not as a person well schooled in Gurdjieff’s ideas but as a student trying to understand them by researching the book and by writing about them.”
Solano, Solita


Solano’s open letters and photo-package—describing the events of the few days leading up to Gurdjieff’s death and until the funeral—were circulated to her friends, particularly Lib (Elizabeth Jenks Clark) Dorothy Caruso, Margaret (Martie) Anderson, Alice Rohrer and Kathryn (Katie) Hulme. They were members of Jane Heap’s group that Gurdjieff dubbed ‘The Rope’ while he met regularly with them between 1935 and 1938.

[[Louis Pauwels, Gurdjieff and Pierre Schaeffer]] An exchange of letters between Solita Solano, and Margery West of Times Press, publishers of the 1964 English edition of Louis Pauwels’ *Gurdjieff*. After reading Pouwels’ anthology, Solano writes, “Mr. G. was no saint, the contrary, but his aim was saintly; a man of all human moods, the best was foremost. The last chapter of Pierre Schaeffer best expresses what I felt for him.”

Staveley, A. L (1907–1997)


A. L. Staveley met Ouspensky briefly just before he left England in 1941. During the remaining five years of the second world war, she met with Jane Heap in London. These simply told, lucid personal memoirs describe her impressions of Gurdjieff at his Paris flat and during Movements classes at the Salle Pleyel between 1946 and 1949.


These three volumes contain a wide range of concise themes that were a focus of discussion, practical study, and inner work in Staveley’s group.
[Stennett-Wilson, Ronnie]


Stennett-Wilson was a member of a London group established in 1949 after Gurdjieff’s death. He started his own group in the early 1970s. This compilation presents thirty-four brief excerpts from notes of exchanges during group meetings he led by over a period of twenty-five years. Most are focused on such practical topics as remembering oneself, aim, energy, attention, emotion, and being quiet.

Sulzberger, Jean [editor]


Fourteen thoughtful essays—most from members of the New York Gurdjieff Foundation—examine traditional spiritual texts and the search for self knowledge. Contributors include D. M. Dooling, James George, Roger Lipsey, Jacob Needleman, William Segal and P. L. Travers.

Tamdgidi, Mohammad-Hossein


A critical analysis and assessment of three utopian systems that, in the author’s opinion, failed to bring about a just global society—the politics of Marx, the mysticism of Gurdjieff, and the sociology of Mannheim. Chapter II, pp. 249-598, “Gurdjieff and Mysticism”, provides critical analysis of Gurdjieff’s system and what Tamdgidi feels went wrong with it. This lengthy section details Tamdgidi’s thoughts on Gurdjieff’s uses of hypnotism in his writings, his transmission through feelings, in Beelzebub’s Tales and Gurdjieff’s sexual conflicts. His chronology of Gurdjieff’s life diverges from James Moore’s and he even suggests that Gurdjieff was born in Tiflis not Alexandropol. Tamdgidi provides a unique, detailed examination of Gurdjieff’s cosmic laws and the enneagram developed from Gurdjieff’s rather than Ouspensky’s writings. He also proposes that “The Material Question” chapter at the end of Meetings with Remarkable Men and Gurdjieff’s Herald of Coming Good booklet, are missing portions of the ‘Third Series’.
Tart, Charles


Professor Tart is a prominent experimental psychologist who has focused on the study of parapsychology and consciousness for decades. He examines the possibility of higher states of consciousness, details the conditioning and identifications that he believes prevent these states and examines such practices as self-observation, self-remembering and group work as means of awakening higher states. Tart acknowledges that “this book focuses on Gurdjieff’s ideas. Why Gurdjieff? Because he was a genius at putting Eastern spiritual ideas and practices into useful forms.”

Taylor, Paul Beekman


Taylor’s rambling memoir is rich in biographical narrative and informative details. His mother, Edith Annesley Taylor, was close to Jean Toomer and to Jessie Dwight who married A. R. Orage. Taylor is in the unique position of growing up with a fondness for Jean Toomer as a long-time if occasional father-figure and having a half-sister who was Gurdjieff’s daughter. Despite his proximity to and frequent access to Gurdjieff and his circle—particularly during the late 1940s—Taylor is disinterested in Gurdjieff’s teaching and found that “As a person, he was as unreadable to me as his book.” He contrasts Gurdjieff’s apparent inscrutability with Toomer’s warm affability.


Drawing on a wealth of unpublished Orage family archives, Taylor assembles the most comprehensive Orage biography to date. He vividly reconstructs the 1922–1933 period to demonstrate that A. R. Orage’s involvement with Gurdjieff was the natural evolution of his own search and not an aberration as presumed by Orage’s literary biographers. Taylor details Orage’s work on *Beelzebub’s Tales* to demonstrate that he fulfilled his essence commitment to Gurdjieff to complete the English translation. Taylor concludes by examining Orage’s contribution to literature, self study, and economics then speculates about sources for the ideas of Gurdjieff and Orage.
Taylor, Paul Beekman (Continued)

Gurdjieff and Prince Ozay. Gurdjieff was a man of many masks. Biographer Paul Beekman Taylor examines the conflicting evidence surrounding whether or not Ozay was one of Gurdjieff’s personas, and concludes that he was not.


Taylor’s new research chronicles Gurdjieff’s visits to America and impact on literary and cultural figures there between 1924 and 1935 more accurately and fully than earlier biographers. In the process he reveals important new information about Gurdjieff’s life.

Thomasson, Henri


A powerful, lucid record of Thomasson’s thoughts, feelings and inner struggles during his twenty years of group work in France.

Thomson, Garrett


Thomson, a Professor of Philosophy, has authored several books including studies of Aristotle, Descartes, Kant, Leibniz and Locke. He is a prominent member of the World Subud Association. This succinct undergraduate-handbook on Gurdjieff is one of about 40 volumes in the publisher’s ‘Philosopher’s Series’. Thomson’s admiring but skeptical synopsis of Gurdjieff’s life and key ideas, relies on Ouspensky, Nicoll, Bennett and Moore. Thomson also draws on his own academic background and thoughtful examination of Gurdjieff’s books, to compare and contrast his ideas with those of other philosophers.

Thompson, William James


Thompson regards J. G. Bennett ‘heterodox’ presentation of Gurdjieff’s teachings as a valid transmission. He examines the difficulties of defining criteria of valid lineage.
that stem from the teaching’s ‘ahistorical origins’. Thompson’s thesis is that Bennett’s experience of Subud helped him to pass a developmental stage on the Gurdjieffian path and emerge as a ‘master in his own right’.

Thring, M. W.


This useful compilation provides brief excerpts—drawn from 26 key books, particularly Gurdjieff’s writings and *In Search of the Miraculous*—arranged alphabetically with page numbers, under a wide range of subject headings.

Tracol, Henri


A journalist, photographer and sculptor, Tracol was a member of Gurdjieff’s Paris group during the last ten years of Gurdjieff’s life. He was president of the Institute Gurdjieff in France when he died in 1997. This anthology of thirteen essays, talks and interviews—the earliest from 1938 and many previously published only in obscure sources—are interspersed with Tracol’s answers to questions put to him by the prominent French novelist, poet and photographer, Luc Dietrich (another pupil of Gurdjieff’s) in 1943. These compact articles, including one on *Beelzebub’s Tales*, are unified by Tracol’s sustained study of Gurdjieff’s teaching.

Vaysse, Jean (1917–1975)


An informed introduction to the practice of inner quiet, relaxation, sensation of oneself as well as the attempt to remember and observe oneself. John Pentland points out in his foreword that this “book is one of the first accounts to hint at the practical approach to work through giving attention to the sensation of the body, a study of which is central in Gurdjieff’s method.”
Waldberg, Michel


Based on a 1966 lecture at the Musée de l’Homme in Paris, this book provides an accurate, sympathetic introduction to Gurdjieff’s ideas. Waldberg examines _Beelzebub’s Tales_ and Gurdjieff’s psychological ideas presented in Ouspensky’s _In Search of the Miraculous._

Walker, Kenneth (1882–1966)

_Gurdjieff: The Unknown Man._ _Tomorrow_ (New York) I (2), Winter 1952-1953, pp. 49-55. Walker’s vivid account, particularly of his first visit to Gurdjieff’s Paris apartment in the late 1940s, is distinguished by his keenly trained powers of observation as a physician. “Gurdjieff used to say that a man revealed himself most clearly in his reactions to sexuality and to money. I could add yet another signpost to a man’s personality, namely, his reaction to Gurdjieff himself.”


Bound for almost thirty years by a promise to Ouspensky to not speak publicly or publish anything learned at his meetings, the author was freed to write about his experiences with Ouspensky and Gurdjieff by the death of both men and the publication of _Beelzebub’s Tales_ and _In Search of the Miraculous._ Walker describes the impact of Gurdjieff’s system “on a man who had received an orthodox scientific education” as a physician. Offering autobiographical vignettes as well as explication of core ideas and practices, Walker also describes the strong impact Gurdjieff made on him during their brief encounters.


The author’s medical training comes very much to his advantage in this first informed attempt to provide an accessible survey of Gurdjieff’s ideas in the context of modern science. Walker compiled _Gurdjieff’s Aphorisms_ as chapter XIV, the
“Sayings of Gurdjieff”. Walker emphasises that “Gurdjieff had the capacity to convey so much in some forceful saying that his words echoed for a long time in the hearers’ minds. His maxims did not usually take the form of polished aphorisms . . . A great deal of the force in G’s maxims was imparted by the man who uttered them, and this force is absent from the written word.”


This autobiographical account of Walker’s experiences with Gurdjieff’s teaching begins with his days as a Medical student at Cambridge with Maurice Nicoll. It was through Nicoll that Walker met Ouspensky, with whom he studied for almost three decades. Walker emphasizes the importance of his meetings with Gurdjieff in 1948–1949. Anecdotal material is interspersed with examination of psychological and cosmological ideas. Also includes two thoughtful chapters that provide one of the earliest examinations of Gurdjieff’s Movements and of *Beelzebub’s Tales.*


This massively researched attempt to chronicle and assess the history of Gurdjieff’s person, influence and significance, remains a valuable source of information and opinion. A skeptic’s handbook, bursting with details and ambitious flights of speculation, it is pervaded by Webb’s deep conflict between a severely rationalist bias and his fascinated but agonised indecision about the value and stature of Gurdjieff’s significance and legacy.

**Welch, Louise**


The author studied with Orage during his years in New York and became a leader in the New York and Toronto Gurdjieff Foundations. She describes Orage’s life before he came to the United States in 1924, his continuing influence as an editor and writer, then provides a vivid personal account of his role as Gurdjieff’s representative and editor of the English editions of his books.
Welch, William J. (1911–1996)


Welch compactly describes his life both as a physician and as a student of Gurdjieff; provides a sardonic account of “The Fruits of Bureaucracy” in describing American political expediency and the resulting dehumanisation of medical practice and treatment. Welch came into contact with Gurdjieff’s ideas through C. Daly King in 1934 and gives a vivid account of Gurdjieff’s visits to New York in the late 1940s. He attended Gurdjieff at his death—“the death of a man ‘not in quotation marks.’ And I have seen many men die.” Dr. Welch succeeded John Pentland as President of the New York Gurdjieff Foundation from 1984 until his own death in 1996.

Wolfe, Edwin


Wolfe was a member of Gurdjieff’s entourage several times over more than twenty years. Some of these nineteen vignettes, first at the Prieuré but mostly in New York City, provide exceptionally vivid impressions of Gurdjieff.

Young, James Carruthers M. D.


Like his colleague-physicians Mary Bell and Maurice Nicoll, Dr. James C. Young abandoned the practice of Jungian therapy to study at Fontainebleau. Young’s essay describes the ideas presented by Ouspensky in London and his own practical experience with Gurdjieff at the Prieuré, as well as his reasons for leaving.

Zuber, René (1902–1979)


Zuber’s compact memoir draws on Christian aspects of Gurdjieff’s ideas, thoughtfully considers the impact of his teaching and offers richly observed anecdotes about him between 1943 and 1949. Zuber emphasises “that Gurdjieff’s teaching was purely oral, and that it sprang spontaneously out of life circumstances or from dialogues with his pupils … I never heard him ‘lecture.’ The very idea . . . seems absurd to me.”
Earlier drafts of this article and bibliography were featured in the 1st and 2nd editions of *Gurdjieff: a Reading Guide* (1999, 2003).

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