

Oxford University Press, Ely House, London W. 1

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FIRST PUBLISHED 1927
REPRINTED LITHOGRAPHICALLY IN GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
BY VIVIAN RIDLER
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY
1969

KINGSHIP

BY

A. M. HOCART

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

*'All criticism cripples and destroys
itself, that sets out with denying what
is contained in song and story.'*—Grimm

PREFACE

THE present work is an attempt at applying to customs and beliefs the methods that have been so successful in the study of language. The attempt is necessarily a crude one ; for first attempts are always crude ; but there can be no progress if we live in perpetual fear of those critics who esteem a work more for the absence of faults than for any positive endeavour.

The meticulous scholar who never publishes because he does not feel that he has attained perfection is often held up to us for admiration. In point of fact he has no right to exist : he is not doing his share of the world's work ; whether from idealism or sluggishness is immaterial : the result is the same. In science, as in politics, finance, and war, he who risks nothing achieves nothing. Let us be careful, but not timorous.

The conclusions arrived at in this book may be right or may be wrong ; but in any case they make sense out of apparent nonsense without in the least distorting or doubting the statements of the ancients themselves. A method which makes sense cannot be far off the right track ; and this is half the battle. For he who sets out in the right direction with only the stars to guide will reach his goal sooner than one who goes off in the opposite direction equipped with the most perfect compass, sextant, and chronometer.

I do not profess to trace religion to its first beginnings : there are no first beginnings ; there are only beliefs, older

beliefs and yet older beliefs. I have merely tried to discern the main features of a religion (prehistorians and Egyptologists may think it quite a late religion) which a long time ago attained to such a vogue that by degrees it overspread a considerable part of the world, probably influenced the whole, was dispossessed only by its own offspring, and continues to determine our thoughts, words, and actions to a degree we scarcely as yet realize. It may be, as Professor Elliot Smith has suggested, that at the back of this religion there is yet an earlier set of ideas which turns less upon the phenomena of nature, but more on speculations concerning sex and the principle of life. Let us, however, be content with one thing at a time: let us first make sure of the later before we venture on the earlier.

The point of view of this book is largely the result of a long and intimate intercourse with various peoples of the South Seas, and the consequent habit of taking all beliefs seriously. For the opportunity I am indebted to the generous support of Exeter and Jesus Colleges, of the Royal Society, and of the Trustees of the Percy Sladen Trust. My friends in the South Seas, but especially in the Lau Islands of Fiji, I have to thank for their keenness and the patience with which they endured my often Boswellian questions. I make no claim to have penetrated by a kind of intuition the mysterious recesses at the back of the Black Man's mind. I have merely set down word for word what they have told me, esteeming as I did that they are probably best acquainted with their own thought.

The criticisms and advice of the Clarendon Press evolved order out of chaos. Professor R. R. Marrs, Principal of University College, Colombo, kindly acted as critic for the first few chapters, and would have continued to do so but for my leaving the island on furlough. Prof. J. L. Myres looked through the manuscript. Prof. J. H.

Rose, Dr. C. G. Seligman, Dr. A. M. Blackman, Mr. G. D. Hornblower, and Mr. W. H. Perry have contributed facts from their different spheres. Professors A. A. Macdonell and E. J. Rapson have helped me on points of text and translation. For the photographs of Ceylon I am indebted to the Government of Ceylon.

A considerable part of the book is rewritten and expanded from papers scattered in the *American Anthropologist*, the *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G,¹ *Folk-Lore*, the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, the *Indian Antiquary*, and *Man*.

A. M. H.

1926.

¹ Dulau & Co., Ltd., 34 Margaret Street, Cavendish Square, W. 1.

CONTENTS

| CHAPTER | PAGE |
|--|------|
| I. PROLOGUE - - - - - | I |
| ✓ II. THE DIVINITY OF KINGS - - - - - | 7 |
| III. GOD SAVE THE KING! - - - - - | 21 |
| IV. THE KING'S EVIL - - - - - | 32 |
| V. THE KING'S JUSTICE - - - - - | 47 |
| VI. AMBROSIA - - - - - | 58 |
| ✓ VII. THE CORONATION CEREMONY - - - - - | 70 |
| VIII. THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY - - - - - | 99 |
| IX. OFFICIALS - - - - - | 113 |
| X. THE PRIEST - - - - - | 119 |
| XI. THE POLITE PLURAL - - - - - | 130 |
| XII. INITIATION - - - - - | 134 |
| ✓ XIII. SIGNS OF DIVINITY - - - - - | 162 |
| XIV. BARROWS - - - - - | 168 |
| XV. MYTHS AND MOUNDS - - - - - | 182 |
| XVI. THE CREATION - - - - - | 189 |
| XVII. JOSHUA - - - - - | 204 |
| XVIII. THE GODS - - - - - | 207 |
| XIX. EPILOGUE - - - - - | 236 |

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

| | PAGE |
|---|-------------------|
| Kava for presentation. Namata, Fiji - - - | <i>facing</i> 58 |
| Initiation Kava. Navatusila, Fiji - - - | „ 58 |
| Preparing the chief's Kava. Mbatiki, Fiji - - - | „ 72 |
| The cup bearer. Mbatiki, Fiji - - - | „ 72 |
| The chief's cup. Mbatiki, Fiji - - - | „ 99 |
| Nuptial couch. Lakemba, Fiji - - - | „ 99 |
| Polonnaruva, Kiri Vehera - - - | „ 126 |
| Representation of a tope. From Burgess <i>Amaravati and Jaggayapeta</i> - - - | „ 170 |
| Temple of Nautu Utu. After Thomas Williams, <i>Fiji and the Fijians</i> - - - | „ 170 |
| Elevation of Great Stupa of Sānchi (restored). From Sir J. Marshall, <i>Guide to Sanchi</i> - - | „ 171 |
| Recent painting of Mount Meru - - - | „ 179 |
| Greek tumulus - - - | 181 |
| Chief's tomb. Moala, Fiji - - - | <i>facing</i> 184 |
| Round house. Somosomo, Fiji - - - | „ 184 |
| Capital of a tope at Bhājā. After Burgess, <i>op. cit.</i> | 203 |
| Vishnu's Three Steps, Seven Pagodas. By kind permission of the Director General of Archaeology in India - - - | <i>facing</i> 214 |
| The Rondanini Medusa - - - | „ 227 |
| Perseus and Medusa. From Selinus - - - | „ 227 |

I

PROLOGUE

A FIERCE battle is now raging between the historians of two parties which may best be defined by their extremes: on the one hand, those who deny that the same thing is ever invented twice, and therefore assert that if two customs in parts of the world ever so remote from one another show some resemblance, they must come from the same source; on the other side are ranged the die-hards, mostly men of immaculate scholarship, who automatically turn down every attempt at tracing common origins with the equally confident assertion that similar ideas occur to men independently in different parts of the world.

Controversy waxes hottest when we know least. It is a sure sign that our facts are not sufficiently established. Such contradictory views would be impossible if we had first determined the origin and growth, say, of our own religion and its collaterals, and then ascertained the processes by which they have evolved and diverged; for we might be quite certain that any process not brought to light by so extensive an enquiry does not exist.

Our first duty then is to trace the actual course of events, thence to deduce our laws of development. The present work is intended to assist in this task by suggesting in broad outlines the development and ramifications of a system of ideas which we may most conveniently express by the term, "Divine Kingship." This investigation can

of the article in Greek : in Homer the demonstrative is frequently used as an emphatic article ; in Classical Greek it has dwindled to a mere article which is obligatory ; the Latin language did not repeat the same process till many centuries later. Sanskrit was tending the same way as Greek, but Sinhalese went back on Sanskrit and lost even the germ of the article. On the other hand, Melanesian languages though totally unconnected with Indo-European languages have an obligatory article which once appears to have been a demonstrative. It can be asserted then that demonstratives have a tendency to weaken into mere articles, and that this tendency becomes a fact as soon as certain conditions occur of which we know nothing except that they are common throughout the world.

Students of comparative architecture are familiar with the idea of convergence because they are so used to consider their art as the solution of problems, and they are therefore ready to note cases where the same problems have been solved in the same way. The church of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, and the porch of a Jaina temple supply us with an instance : in both the ground plan is a square with four pillars a side ; the inside pillars of each side are connected at their tops by beams which reduce the square to an octagon, and on this octagon is raised the circular dome. The English and the Indian architects have both hit upon the same plan of providing a transition from the square to the circle via the octagon. The resemblance, however, is only one of form. We might say, paraphrasing the naturalist, that " we have only to consider what an Indian temple really is, what under all the diversities of form and size there is common to all Indian temples, and we see that in everything that characterizes a true Indian temple and separates it from other classes, as Gothic and Renaissance churches, the church of St. Stephen's resembles the last and differs from the Jaina porch."

I may almost claim to have caught a Fijian in the act

of converging. A zealous lay preacher of the Methodist Church in Fiji relieved his feelings of distress at the decline of his race by setting them down in writing. He traced that decline to the neglect of the old Fijian gods ; he did not, however, propose to abrogate the new religion, but he thought the proper spheres of the old gods and the new one had become confused and should be defined. The Christian God was a god of spirit and should be prayed to for spiritual benefits only ; his temporal power had been delegated to the old gods, and to these and these alone the Fijian should turn for temporal advantages. An authority on early Church history who read a translation of this essay in the *Hibbert Journal* of 1912 remarked to me that it was exactly like Gnosticism, and it was also pointed out to me that the very same number of the *Hibbert* contains, under the title of " The Daemon Environment of Primitive Christianity," an account of the same problem as it presented itself to the Roman Empire and of the same solution. Yet our Fijian had never heard of the Gnostics or of the spiritual difficulties of the Roman Empire ; the Methodist Mission was the very last to encourage his speculations, so much so that he kept them most secret. The structure of his religion definitely connects it by origin not with Gnosticism, but with Fijian paganism on one hand, and Nonconformism on the other : his gods are the old Fijian ancestor gods and Jehovah, whereas the Gnostics talked of Zeus, Adonai, Osiris, and a supreme God largely modelled by Greek philosophy.

So much for convergence. Of the contrary process of divergence it is needless to quote examples here. The following pages will abound in customs and beliefs which have so far diverged from their common parent that we should never at first sight believe them to be in the very least related.

So long then as we confine our attention to outward resemblances we shall never make more progress than did

zoology before the days of anatomy. It is the purpose of the present work to anatomize customs, and since it is concerned entirely with structure it will almost invariably end in common origins; not that there is no convergence, but that it lies beyond the immediate scope of the present enquiry.

II

THE DIVINITY OF KINGS

THE earliest known religion is a belief in the divinity of kings. I do not say that it is necessarily the most primitive; but in the earliest records known, man appears to us worshipping gods and their earthly representatives, namely kings.

We have no right, in the present state of our knowledge, to assert that the worship of gods preceded that of kings; we do not know. Perhaps there never were any gods without kings, or kings without gods. When we have discovered the origin of divine kingship we shall know, but at present we only know that when history begins there are kings, the representatives of gods.

In Egypt "as far back as we can go," says Mr. G. Foucart,¹ "we find ourselves in the presence of a conception of monarchy based solely upon the assimilation of the king to the gods." The king was the embodiment of "that particular soul that came to transform the young prince into a god on the day of his anointing." He was known as the "Good God."²

Professor S. Langdon tells³ us that "before 3000 B.C. ancient Sumerian city-kings claimed to have been begotten

¹ Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Ethics and Religion*, s.v. "Kings."

² J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 74.

³ *The Museum Journal* (Philadelphia), viii. 1917, p. 166 f. Cp. L. W. King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 203.

by the gods, and born of the goddesses. . . . Although the rulers of that period were not deified, and did not receive adoration and sacrifice as gods, nevertheless their inscriptions show that their subjects believed them to be divinely sent redeemers, and the vicars of the gods." Later they are worshipped, but it is most important to note that in Sumer kings were not deified after death, but "worship of dead kings was forbidden unless they had been deified while living. Evidently some kind of consecration of the living mortal alone gave the possession of immortality. Temples were built everywhere to these kings in Sumer." Hammurabi called himself the Sun-god of Babylon.¹

Among the Hittites "the king is always spoken of as the sun."²

It is a pity that our Hebrew chronicles are coloured by late theology; yet we can find in them traces of divine kingship, or shall we say chieftainship? The judges were certainly vicars of God or gods. The phrase, "And the Spirit of the Lord came upon him," which is used of Othniel, Jephthah, and Samson,³ ought, I think, to be taken literally. The story of Samson suggests that originally he was thought to have been begotten by the deity, a point left vague by later compilers. Their hereditary kings were anointed by the Lord,⁴ and when David was so anointed the spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him from that day forward.⁵

In Greece also it is the earliest religion on record. The Homeric kings are called divine. This used to be taken merely as an expression of admiration; but the same was once thought of the titles bestowed upon Egyptian kings,

¹ B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, i. p. 47.

² Garstang, *The Hittites*, p. 340. Cp. Sayce, "A Cappadocian Seal," *J.R.A.S.* 1922, p. 266.

³ Judges iii. 10; xi. 29; xiii. 25.

⁴ 1 Samuel x. 1.

⁵ 1 Samuel xvi. 13.

and these have now been proved to have a literal meaning. "None of these epithets," says Mr. Foucart of Egyptian kings, "should be regarded (as they too often are) as arising from vanity or grandiloquence, for each corresponds theologically to a very precise definition of a function or force belonging to one or other of the great gods of Egypt." This warning should be remembered in dealing with Greece or any other country. The Homeric king was descended from gods, he was a priest, and a good king "caused the black earth to bring forth wheat and barley, the trees to be loaded with fruit, the flocks to multiply, and the sea to yield fish." All these attributes are symptomatic of divine kingship, as we shall see.

We know less about ancient Roman kingship, and possibly could never guess at the divinity of Romulus, Numa, Tarquin and the rest, did not other countries show us how to interpret its survivals. The priestly character of the ancient kings is well authenticated; Nettleship and Sandys in their *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities* define *Rex Sacrorum*, "the King of Sacrifices," as "the name given by the Romans to a priest who, after the abolition of the royal power, had to perform certain religious rites connected with the name of king. He resembles the *archon basileus* of the Athenian constitution. He was always a patrician, was elected for life by the *pontifex maximus* with the assistance of the whole pontifical college and was inaugurated by the augurs. . . . He . . . had an official residence in the regia, the royal castle of Numa. His wife participated in the priesthood." The title of *Rex Nemorensis*, "King of the Forest," was given to the priest of Aricia, and this dignity Sir James Frazer has successfully traced to the divine priest-king; in fact it is the starting-point of the great theory unfolded in the *Golden Bough*.

The ancient German kings and princes traced their lineage back to individual gods. The Goths "called their

chiefs by whose good fortune, as it were, they conquered, not simple men, but semi-gods."¹

The Indian theory of divine kingship is clearly stated in Manu's *Law Treatise*, Book VII. verse 3: "The Lord created the king for the protection of this world, having taken immortal particles from Indra, the Wind, Yama, the Sun, and Fire, and Varuna, the Moon, and the Lord of Wealth. Inasmuch as the king is formed of these particles of these chiefs of the gods, he surpasses all beings in brightness. Like the sun he burns the eyes and minds, nor can any soever on earth behold him. He is Fire and Wind, he is the Sun, the King of Law, he is Kubera, Varuna, Indra the Great in majesty. Though he be a child the Lord of the Land is not to be despised." In Book V. verse 96, we read: "The sovereign has a body composed of Soma (or the Moon), Fire, the Sun, the Wind and Indra, of the two Lords of Wealth (Kubera) and Water (Varuna), and Yama, the eight guardians of the world." Manu is well supported by the Epics.² One practical application of this theory is that the king is addressed as *deva*, god, and his queen as *devī*, goddess.

True, Manu and the Epics are late, and scholars inform us that there is no trace of divine kingship in the Vedic hymns, our earliest Indian records. It does not follow that divine kingship was unknown: the Vedas are not a treatise on manners and customs, but allusive lyrics, which assume in the hearer a considerable knowledge of the traditions of the wise men, to say nothing of those fundamental institutions which were familiar to the most ignorant. We must, therefore, fall back on the Vedic prose literature which, as it makes a special point of stating the why and wherefore of every detail of ritual, will very likely tell us something about kings. We are not dis-

¹ Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, trs. by Stallybrass, p. 4. Jornandes ap. M. Bloch, *Les Rois Thaumaturges*, p. 56.

² E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 64.

appointed. The king, we are told, "is Indra for a twofold reason, namely, because he is a noble, and because he is a sacrificer."¹ For, on the one hand Indra is sovereignty and the royal noble is sovereignty;² on the other hand the sacrificer passes from the men to the gods.³ Thus the king is specially connected with Indra, but his consecration also puts other gods into him; the priest informs him that he is Brahman, Savitri, Varuna, Indra, Rudra.⁴ Thus in the age of those ritual treatises known as the Brāhmanas the king was already divine, and as those treatises revolve round the Vedic hymns it seems most likely that kings were already divine when those hymns were written.

Since Ceylon derives its civilization from India it goes without saying that its kings also were of divine origin, though their divinity was very much obscured by Buddhism. They claimed to belong to the line of Ikṣvāku which was descended from the Sun,⁵ and they styled themselves *cakravartin*, that is Wheel-kings or Emperors, the wheel being a solar symbol.

Since the Malays have borrowed their word for king from India it is only natural that the Malays should hold the same views as India. "The theory of the king as Divine Man is held perhaps as strongly in the Malay region as in any other part of the world. . . . Not only is the king's person considered sacred, but the sanctity of his body is believed to communicate itself to his regalia and to slay those who break the royal taboos."⁶

The Japanese standard to this day reminds us that their Emperor is a descendant of the Sun and a god.

¹ *Satapatha Brahmana*, v. 4. 3. 7.

² *Ibid.* v. 1. 1. 11.

³ *Ibid.* i. 1. 1. 4 ff. Cp. iii. 2. 2. 19; iii. 3. 3. 10; iii. 4. 3. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.* v. 4. 4. 9.

⁵ *Mahavamsa*, II. vi. ff. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, i. ff., pp. 47 and 52; ii. pp. 109 and 115.

⁶ Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 23.

Whether we look north, east, south, or west in the Pacific Ocean everywhere we find divine kings or chiefs. The sovereigns of the Sandwich Islands "were supposed to derive their origin by lineal descent from the gods."¹ So did those of Samoa,² and indeed to this day there is a Samoan chief who bears as title the name of the great god, Ta'aloa. The Tokelau group lies north of Samoa: its king shares with the god the title of Tui Tokelau; the king was the high priest and the only one who ever saw the idol of the god.³ The king of Tonga and another chief, whom Mariner calls the Veachi, were "divine personages, or those who are supposed to be peculiarly of high divine origin."⁴ Taylor says that among the Maori of New Zealand "a descendant of the elder branch of the family is *papa* (father) to all other branches, and the eldest child of the main branch is an *ariki*, lord, to all that family and is supposed to have the spirits of all his or her ancestors embodied in himself or herself, and to be able to converse with them at pleasure."⁵ In Futuna, a Polynesian island to the north-west of Fiji, the high chief is called *Sau*. "In the olden days the god abode with the *Sau* and revealed to him the things that would happen." If the *Sau* was absent at a kava drinking ceremony they poured out his cup at the foot of the post for the god who was supposed to be in the absent *Sau*. If the *Sau* offended against the god they would "give the *Sau*-ship and the god to another." So present was this divine and celestial character to the Polynesian mind that they called their chiefs *lan'i*, heaven, and the same word *marae* is used of a temple and a chief's grave.⁶ In Tahiti the king was evidently

¹ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, p. 101.

² Krämer, *Die Samoa Inseln*, ii. p. 22.

³ Turner, *Samoa*, p. 268.

⁴ *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, 2nd ed., iii. p. 32.

⁵ Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 458, note.

⁶ Tregear, *Comparative Maori Dictionary*, s.v. "*rangi*." A. M. Hocart, "Polynesian Tombs," *American Anthropologist*, 1915, p. 256.

identified with the sun, since he was called "the man who holds the sun," and on the transfer of his temporal power they said, "The Sun has set."¹ Dr. Codrington quotes a Fijian chief from the North-West as saying, "I am a god" or "spirit." In that same tribe I was told that of old "only the chief was believed in; he is a human god; spirits are only useful in war, in other things no." One intelligent chief of the main island told me he bore the names of all the gods of his tribe. Mr. A. B. Brewster says that among the hill-tribes "the first known progenitor was styled *Kalon vu* or originating spirit. . . . At his death he passed into the realms of the gods . . . whilst his spirit entered his successor who became his shrine in this world."² I am not aware that the chiefs of Fiji now claim a connection with the sky, but an extinct dynasty called the lords of Lakemba derived their title from a god who came down from heaven.

One example from North America: the Natchez call their chief the Great Sun, and believe him to be descended from the sun.³ One from South America: the Incas of Peru claimed to be the "Children of the Sun," and the sovereign, "as representative of the sun, stood at the head of the priesthood, and presided at the most important ceremonies."⁴

We know that ancient Egyptian influence has travelled up the Nile. We are not surprised therefore to find that the chiefs of the Dinka and the kings of the Shilluk "are regarded as beings almost divine, upon whose correct conduct the preservation, or at least the welfare of the people depends. In fact they belong to that class of ruler to whom Professor Frazer applies the name Divine Kings, believed to incarnate the divine spirit." It seems exceedingly probable that the people

¹ Tregear, *op. cit.* s.v. "*ra*."

² *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, p. 69.

³ Sir J. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2nd ed., ii. 332, note.

⁴ Prescott, *The Conquest of Peru*.

of Uganda at the present day preserve ancient Egyptian notions concerning the after-birth and the umbilical cord of the divine kings of Egypt.¹

It is not my intention to track this institution into every nook and cranny of the globe, but only to establish the fact that it extended from the North Sea to the Eastern Pacific.

If we abide by the principles that were laid down for guidance in the first chapter we shall reserve our verdict on the question whether the institution of divine kings has spread over the whole of this area from a common centre or whether it may have sprung up independently in various places; for we have not yet analyzed the structure of this institution. But, without committing ourselves, we shall have to try at the very start the supposition that it all comes from the same source, in order to see if this supposition fits the facts, and fits them better than the other. The essence of science is to guess and then set about to accumulate facts bearing on this guess, to prove it or disprove it, or, in more learned language, science advances by means of working hypotheses. If we are not allowed to use these, then we might as well pack up our learning, for we shall never achieve more than collections of facts.

There is no harm in trying the hypothesis of common origin; but numerous scholars and historians of high repute refuse even to go so far. This is partly due to a fear of losing caste by being confounded with those wild men who seized upon the most superficial resemblances in every part of the world to prove that the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel had been there. Partly this reluctance springs from very vague or erroneous notions about the races of

¹ C. G. Seligman, "Some Aspects of the Hamitic Problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan," *Journ. Roy. Anthropological Institute*, 1913, p. 664. Seligman and Miss Murray, "Note upon an Early Egyptian Standard," *Man*, 1911, No. 97. A. M. Blackman, "Some Remarks on an Emblem upon the Head of an Ancient Egyptian Birth-goddess," *Journ. Egypt. Archaeol.* 1916, p. 189.

the world east of India. We all know that a single family of languages has long extended from Iceland to the Brahmaputra; but we are in continual danger of forgetting that another family, even more homogeneous, stretches from Madagascar through Indonesia as far as Hawaii and Easter Island, and that the eastern or Polynesian dialects of that tongue are spoken by the most wonderful navigators that have ever been, beside whom even Columbus was a timid coaster; for they did not aim with a compass at a vast continent, but sailed in search of tiny islands in the widest ocean of the world where a miss was as good as a thousand miles. Now, if two languages could between them in less than four thousand years cover two hundred and fifty degrees out of the three hundred and sixty that go round the globe, how much easier for a single religion which has had at least six thousand years in which to do so! For we know that religion spreads with far greater rapidity and more widely than languages, as witness Christianity, Buddhism, Mahommedanism; and the reason is that we learn our language as infants, our religion first as children, but not properly till we reach the age of discretion.

There would be nothing extraordinary in a world-wide diffusion of divine kingship: the doctrine evidently has exercised a great fascination over the human mind. Greece and Rome shook it off in their youth, but returned to it in their old age. When Alexander claimed to be the son of Zeus he was merely continuing, reviving, or borrowing from the East an ancient belief that the first-born of the king was really the son of a god who had assumed bodily form in order to lie with the Queen,¹ a belief which was current in Egypt under the Early Dynasties of the Empire, if not earlier.² The later Romans had to accept

¹ J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 16.

² W. Budge, *History of Egypt*, vi. 21 ff.; vii. 146.

the divinity of kings with their empire ; in the words of Gibbon, " The deification of the emperors . . . was easily transferred from the kings to the governors of Asia,¹ and the Roman magistrates were frequently adored as provincial deities, with the pomp of altars and temples, of festivals and sacrifices. It was natural that the emperors should not refuse what the pro-consuls had accepted ; and the divine honours which both the one and the other received from the provinces attested rather the despotism than the servitude of Rome." The emperor Elagabalus actually called himself by the name of his god.² Having thus re-established their sway over Western Europe the divine kings of the world did not again surrender it except to another Divine King, a Spiritual King, incarnated once for all in order ever after to rule over the souls of men. Even so they did not give up their divinity altogether : they merely declined from being present gods, to being the Vicars of God ; and after all it is a very fine distinction between a king who is the incarnation of the Deity and one who is only His representative. The chief distinction seems to be that the ancients were very precise and literal in their conception of the relations between god and king, whereas the moderns have purged those relations of all that was material and made them purely mystical, in other words so sublimated them as to satisfy the emotions without offending the intellect. And satisfy the emotions they evidently did even in this ethereal form, since men were ready as late as the seventeenth century to die for the doctrine

" That Kings are by God appointed,
And damned are those that dare resist
Or touch the Lord's Anointed."

¹ The same thing happens in the British Empire ; see Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 36. In Ceylon the Governor's wife is spoken of as *devi*, goddess.

² *Decline and Fall*, Bury's ed., i. 69 ; i. 85, note 1.

It was a dying effort, and like all dying efforts it was marked by an impracticable exaggeration. As Macaulay says, " At the very moment when a republican spirit began to manifest itself strongly in the Parliament and in the country, the claim of the monarch took a monstrous form which would have disgusted the proudest and most arbitrary of those who had preceded him on the throne." Monarchists of the seventeenth century were no longer content to claim for the king a reflected divinity, he became himself a god, a "corporeal god." The Bishop of Chartres in 1625 says that kings " are ordained by God ; and not only so, but they are themselves gods, which cannot be said to have been invented by the servile flattery and desire to please of the Heathens, but truth itself shows it so clearly in Holy writ that no one can deny it without blasphemy or doubt it without sacrilege." ¹

At the present day the doctrine is so dead in England that the British public was shocked and talked of blasphemy when the German Emperor posed as God's representative. Nevertheless from sheer force of habit we still put *Dei Gratia* on our coins ; still pray on behalf of the king that the King of Kings, Lord of Lords, may replenish him with the grace of His Holy Spirit ; and still couple the sovereign and the Deity in the commandment to " fear God and honour the King."

The bare proposition " kings are divine " could evidently not have sufficed to gain such an ascendancy on the human mind ; an institution to take root so deeply must have wide ramifications, it must be a whole system. Part of this system will unfold itself in the following studies. It is necessary, however, first to notice a few of its dogmas which are fairly constant all over the world, and which will constantly recur in the course of the argument.

Some of these have already been indicated. For instance, the dogma that the king is the Sun-god : we

¹ M. Bloch, *Les Rois Thaumaturges*, p. 351.

have found it in Egypt, Asia Minor, India, Tahiti, Peru ; and we are therefore forced to conclude that it is an original feature of the religion of divine kings. In fact, it could scarcely be otherwise since the earliest gods known are mostly placed in heaven and connected specially with the sun, or heavenly light in general. Hence the parent Indo-European language in order to express godhead used a root *div* which meant "to shine." In the Mongolian language the terms for "sky" and for "god" were the same.¹

The Indian king was the sun several times over, since of the gods that enter into his composition besides the sun, several are solar : "Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Fire they say ; he is the sun ; that which is but one they variously call," says the *Rig-Veda* ;² besides Savitri and Yama are also the sun.³

The king was the sun and also descended from the sun. Legends of people descended from the sun are too common to detain us. I will content myself with one example related by Hiuen Tsiang :⁴ "At this time a king of Persia took a wife from the Han country. She had been met by an escort on her progress so far as this, when the roads east and west were stopped by military operations. On this they placed the king's daughter on a solitary mountain peak, very high ~~and~~ dangerous, which could only be approached by ladders, up and down ; moreover, they surrounded it with guards both night and day for protection. After three months the disturbances were quelled. Quiet being restored they were about to resume their homeward journey. But now the lady was found to be enceinte. . . . Then his servant addressing the envoy

¹ Koeppen, *Die Religion des Buddhas*, ii. 87.

² *Rig-Veda*, i. 164, 46, quoted by Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 63 Cp. S.B. vi. 1. 2. 20 ; vi. 4. 2. 2 ; vi. 5. 1. 7 ; i. 6. 1. 4. 18.

³ S.B. vi. 3. 1. 20 ; xiv. 1. 3. 4.

⁴ Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, ii. 300.

said, 'Let there be no enquiry ; it is a spirit that has had knowledge of her ; every day at noon there was a chief-master who came from the sun's disc, and, mounted on horseback, came to meet her.' . . . Her time having come she bore a son of extraordinary beauty and perfect parts ; . . . he was able to fly through the air and control the winds and snow. . . . From that time till now his descendants have ever recollected their origin, that on their mother's side they were descended from the king of Han, and on their father's side from the race of the Sun-god."

In early times the solar nature of the king was very real. I will repeat the words of Manu which I have already quoted : "Like the Sun he burns the eyes and minds, nor can anyone soever on earth behold him." These words give support to the opinion held by Egyptologists that in saluting their king with their hands held out before their faces the Egyptians were protecting their eyes against the glare of his solar radiance. In course of time, however, as religion became more and more spiritualized and the physical sun evaporated, as it were, the solar attributes of the king became less and less real and degenerated into what might sound mere bombast to those who do not know the origins. Sinhalese inscriptions are full of such grandiloquence as this : "He scattered his enemies even as the sun rising over the Orient Mount dispels darkness."¹ Yet the Sinhalese distinctly remembered that their kings were of Solar descent, so that such preambles were still far from being mere high-flown compliments. In Europe the sun was so completely eliminated that when the French courtiers hailed Louis XIV. as the "Roi Soleil" they probably attributed to their fertile imagination what they really owed to a very ancient religion, forgotten indeed, yet still influencing human speech and thought.

Though the sun is the most important god incarnate in the king, yet he is not the only one. There is the Moon

¹ *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, ii. 175.

also, and in India we hear of a lunar dynasty, the Soma vaṁsa, which is closely connected with the solar.¹

The doctrine of the plural incarnation should be noticed, as it will be of importance in the sequel : we have found it clearly stated in India² and in New Zealand. It was held in Egypt, for we hear of an enumeration "of high-flown titles which identify Thothmes with the gods."³ After death each of the twenty-six limbs of the king is identified with a different god.⁴ An ancient tale tells of a woman who "was perfect in her limbs . . . for all the gods were with her."⁵ This idea leaves no doubt whatever that Egypt and India did not think independently, for ancient Indian literature regards the eye, the ear, and other parts of the body or senses as gods or connected with a deity,⁶ for instance, "the sun is the eye, the all gods are the ear."

¹ *Mahavaṁsa*, lxxx. 50. *Līlāvatim . . . candādiccakuloditam*. Dowson, *Dictionary of Hindu Mythology*, s.v. "sūryavaṁsa, chandravaṁsa."

² Cf. *Satapatha Brahmana*, ii. 3. 2. 1.

³ Breasted, *Development*, p. 111.

⁴ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, vol. iii. p. 377; quoting Maspero, *Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*, p. 5.

⁵ *Sat. Br.* ix. 3. 1. 22; viii. 7. 3. 15 ff., i. 1. 2; etc.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii. 2. 2. 13.

III

GOD SAVE THE KING !

ALMOST down to our own generation war was the sport of kings and success in war their highest ambition. The most suitable prayer their people could make on their sovereign's behalf was that the Almighty might make him victorious. We are still so near those days that by sheer force of habit we still utter the same prayer although our kings no longer have anything to do with the declaration, conduct, or close of a war, unless it be ceremonially.

The ancient peoples of Bactria and the Near East were not content with wishing victory to their kings, but ascribed it to them in various titles such as Conqueror, Bearer of Victory, Invincible.¹ In Mongolia the title king properly means conqueror.² The Indians perhaps laid more stress on victory as an attribute of kings than any other people. They greeted their monarchs with the exclamation, "Be victorious," as we should say "Good morning"; and "victorious" was the constant epithet of an emperor.³ Several Sinhalese kings even called themselves at their accession Jaya or Vijaya, that is, Victory; and others named themselves Vikrama or Parākrama, that is, Conquering Advance. This insistence on victory

¹ P. Gardner, *Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*.

² Koeppen, *Geschichte des Buddhismus*, ii. 133.

³ *Pa'i Dictionary*, s.v. "jayati." *Digha*, ii. 16.

is really extraordinary on the part of a people for the most part very unwarlike, who place their fighting classes very much below their priests and scholars, and who from early times have ever denounced violence and the taking of life as sins which bar the way to heaven. Yet this same people can be heard at the present day greeting one of the most consistent apostles of non-violence with the old acclamation, "May Gandhi conquer." Are they hopelessly inconsistent or have they something different in mind from what the word, victory, means to us? Victory must mean something different to them since they call the year of accession of a king "the year of victory" even though he ascended the throne quite peaceably;¹ and the accession of a Cambodian king, which is in Indian style, is described as a "victorious day" and is full of suggestions of a victory, which in our sense never existed, since the king was appointed by the French Government. There is, however, such a thing in India as a peaceful victory; an emperor may "conquer the sea-encircled earth without club or sword by the moral law."² Listen to the Buddha:³

"In the first place, O Ananda, when the king Mahāsudassana on the sabbath, the fifteenth day, had bathed his head and retired to the upper storey of his fair palace to keep the fast, there appeared the heavenly treasure of the wheel complete with a thousand spokes, with felly and nave and all its parts. When the king Mahāsudassana saw it he thought, I have heard the saying, 'When to an anointed king of royal lineage who on the sabbath on the fifteenth day has bathed his head and retired to the upper storey of his fair palace to observe the fast, there appears the heavenly treasure of the wheel complete with a thousand spokes, with felly and nave and all its parts, that king

¹ e.g. of King Uttiya, *Mahavamsa*, xx. 22.

² *Anguttara*, iv. 89.

³ *Digha*, ii. 172 ff. Translated by Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Suttas* (*Sacred Books of the East*), xi. 251.

will become a wheel monarch.' May I now become a wheel monarch.

"Then, O Ananda, the king Mahāsudassana arose from his throne, bared one shoulder, and holding in his left hand a pitcher sprinkled the wheel treasure with his right, saying, 'Let my Lord the Wheel Treasure roll on; let my Lord the Wheel Treasure conquer.' Then, O Ananda, that wheel treasure rolled on towards the eastern region; the king Mahāsudassana followed with an army consisting of the four arms.¹ In whatsoever country, O Ananda, the wheel treasure came to a stand, there the king Mahāsudassana took up his abode with his army consisting of the four arms.

"Then, O Ananda, whatever rival kings there were in the eastern region, these came to the king Mahāsudassana and said, 'Come, Great King; welcome, Great King; this belongs to thee, Great King; teach us, Great King.'

"The king Mahāsudassana spoke thus:

'Ye shall slay no living thing.'

'Ye shall not take what has not been given.'

'Ye shall not act wrongly in sensual pleasures.'

'Ye shall not speak a lie.'

'Ye shall not drink intoxicating drink.'

'Ye shall eat as has been eaten.'

"Whatsoever rival kings, O Ananda, there were in the eastern region, they became subject to the king Mahāsudassana.

"Then, O Ananda, that wheel treasure having plunged into the eastern sea, rose up again and rolled on to the southern region." Here everything is repeated as in the eastern region, and so the wheel makes its way by the west to the north. "Then, O Ananda, that wheel treasure having conquered the sea-encircled earth turned back to the royal city of Kusāvati and remained fixed, I deem, in the court of judgment by the door of the inner apartments

¹ Elephants, chariots, cavalry, infantry.

of the king Mahāsudassana adorning the inner apartments of the king Mahāsudassana."

It might be argued that Buddhist pacificism has taken traditions of a more warlike character and has reduced their victories to moral triumphs; but if we turn to the old Brahmanical writings, which are not concerned with morality, we find that there too the king's accession is marked by a victory which is not "by the club or the sword." In the course of his consecration the king makes an offering of ghee, that is, clarified butter, whereby he "smites the fiends... and thus gains the victory, thinking, 'May I be consecrated when safety and security have been gained.'" Then follows another offering in which he smites the fiends and gains the victory; then a third; then he seizes a fire-brand and says, "Encounter the arrays, Fire, encounter the battles! Beat off the enemy!" and so he goes on defeating demons.¹ At a later stage the king has a mock fight, after which he "wheels round in a sunwise direction with the words, 'I have become endowed with energy and vigour!'"²

Thus the victory which the king must win on ascending the throne turns out to be really a magical victory in a magical contest. Such contests are common in the Brahmanic writings: the gods and the demons are represented as constantly seeking to get the better of one another by excelling in the performance of the sacrifice. Here is an example: "The gods and the demons, both descended from Prajapati, were contending together. Then the demons, even through arrogance, thought, 'In whom shall we offer sacrifice?' and went on offering it into their own mouths. They, even through arrogance, were worsted.... But the gods went on making offerings

¹ *Satapatha Brahmana*, vi. 2. 4. 7 ff.

² Eggeing's note on *Sat. Brah.* v. 4. 3. 9, in *Sacred Books of the East*, xli. p. 100, quoting *Taittiriya Samhita*, 8. 15.

to one another.... Thus the sacrifice became theirs."¹ Here is another: "Now the gods and the demons, both descended from Prajapati, were contending; it was for this very sacrifice... they were contending, saying, 'Let it be ours, let it be ours.' Then the gods went on singing hymns and practising austerities...; they seized upon the Soma services, they possessed themselves of the whole sacrifice, and excluded the demons from the sacrifice."² These legends are merely told as precedents by following which a man can "take possession of the whole sacrifice of his envious adversary, shut out his envious adversary from the whole of the sacrifice."³ Thus the Vedic sacrifice involves a contest between the sacrificer and his enemy, which if properly conducted will give the victory; but if there be any flaw in the ceremonies he plays into the hands of his adversary.

Koeppen⁴ describes a ritual victory such as still takes place in Tibet at the present day. At a certain festival "a monk represents the person of the Dalai Lama; a man from among the people is dressed up as King of the Demons. The latter meets the former in the neighbourhood of the convent of Labrang and says to him mockingly, 'What we perceive through the five sources of knowledge (the five senses) is no illusion; all that you teach is untrue.' The supposed Dalai Lama opposes this thesis: both dispute some time with one another. At last the dice are used to decide who is right. The Dalai Lama throws three times sixes; the King of the Demons three times ones; for the former's dice bear six sixes, the latter's six ones. Then the Demon is seized with fear and takes to flight. The people follow him with cries."

Magical contests are not confined to the Indian world. It is clear that the great battle between Marduk, the Babylonian god, and the demons was a battle representing

¹ *Sat. Brah.* v. 1. 1. 1 f.

² *Ibid.* xi. 5. 9. 3.

³ *Ibid.* v. 5. Cf. xiii. 3. 4. 2.

⁴ *Die Religion des Buddhas*, ii. 315.

"the return of the sun from the regions of winter darkness, the victory of light over the dragon of storm and night." It was won by charms: first, Ea perceiving the demon's plan, "devised for himself a curse having power over all things and he made it sure. He made skilfully his pure incantation, surpassing all. He recited it and caused it to be upon the waters. . . . Then he bound Apsû and slew him. Mummu he tied and his skull he crushed."¹ The Finnish Kalevala is full of such contests. We expect such things in fabulous epics, but we scarcely expect to find them practical politics in Europe at the time of the Hundred Years' War; yet so it is. When Brother Francis was sent to win over the Venetians to the side of Edward III. in the coming struggle against the French Crown he stated that his sovereign had, in order to avoid bloodshed, made to Philip of Valois the following proposal: "If he is, as he asserts, the true king of France let him prove it by exposing himself to hungry lions who never wound a true king; or let him perform the miracle of healing the sick, as other true kings are wont to do; otherwise he will admit himself to be unworthy of the Kingdom of France."²

Why should it have been so generally held that the king must gain a victory ritual or otherwise before he could ascend the throne? I think the clue has already been given by the *Satapatha's* words, "he wheels round in a sunwise direction." The Vedic king is Indra, and Indra is the sun; the demons whom he defeats represent darkness. It is essential to the prosperity of the nation that the sun should gain the upper hand over darkness so that there may be abundance in the land. It is therefore as sun-god that the king conquers; the regal attribute of victory is really the sun's.

The victoriousness of the sun is not pure inference: to

¹ Langdon, *The Babylonian Epic of Creation*, p. 32, and Tablet i. vv. 60 ff.

² M. Bloch, *Les Rois Thaumaturges*, p. 10.

this day it is commemorated in Ceylon in such names as Jayasuriya, Vijayasuriya, "Sun of Victory," or Vikramasuriya, "Sun of Conquest." In more ancient times Jaya, that is, Victory, was one of the names of the sun.¹ The Egyptians also enumerated victory among the qualities of the Sun-god. The Romans adopted from the Phoenicians the worship of Sol Invictus, the Invincible Sun, and the Roman Emperors adopted his name as a title. When Diocletian divided the empire between two emperors he gave his colleague the divine title of Herculius with the duty of purging the earth of monsters and tyrants even as the god had done from whom he derived his new name.²

The history of *Sol Invictus* who thus invaded the Roman has been sketched by Mr. F. Cumont in his *Mysteries of Mithra*.³ The Persians believed that their kings "ruled 'by the grace' of the creator of heaven and earth. The Iranians pictured this 'grace' as a sort of supernatural fire, as a dazzling aureole, or nimbus of 'glory,' which belonged especially to the gods, but which also shed its radiance upon princes and consecrated their powers." This nimbus was called *hwarenō* from *hware*, sun. It "illuminated legitimate sovereigns. Those who were deserving of obtaining and protecting it receive as the reward unceasing prosperity, fame, and perpetual victory over their enemies. . . . The Invincible Sun identified with Mithra was, during the Alexandrian period, generally considered as the dispenser of the *hwarenō* that gives victory. . . . After the reign of Commodus we see the emperors officially taking the titles of *pius*, *felix*, and *invictus*. . . . The monarch is *pius* because his devotion alone can secure the continuance of the special favour which Heaven has bestowed on him; he is *felix*, happy or rather fortunate, for the definite reason that he is illuminated by

¹ *Sanskrit Dict.* s.v. "Jaya." Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 88.

² Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, iii. 36.

³ pp. 93 ff.

the divine *Grace* ; and finally he is invincible because the defeat of the enemies of the empire is the most signal indication that the tutelary *Grace* has not ceased to attend him. Legitimate authority is not given by heredity or by a vote of the senate, but by the gods and is manifested in the shape of victory. . . . The celestial fire which shines eternally among the stars, always victorious over darkness, has as its emblem the inextinguishable fire that burned in the palace of the Caesars. . . . This lamp also served the Persian kings as an image of their power. . . . *Invictus*, 'Ανίκητος, is the ordinary attribute of the sidereal gods imported from the orient, and especially the Sun. . . . In assuming the surname *invictus* (invincible) the Caesars formally announced the ultimate alliance which they had contracted with the Sun, and they tended more and more to emphasise their likeness to him." The word *invictus* may have come to mean invincible, but it properly means unconquered ; and this is no doubt all that was meant originally ; for if the sun was unconquerable why perform rites in order to ensure his victory ?

When at the conclusion of every public function we pray to God to save the King, to

"Send him victorious,
Happy and glorious,"

and arise and

"Scatter his enemies
And make them fall ;
Confound their politics,
Frustrate their knavish tricks,"

are we quite as free agents as we imagine ourselves to be ? If we are asked why we express ourselves in such terms we shall almost certainly answer because it is a perfectly natural thing to do : what could be more natural than to wish victory to our king ? But that word " natural " is a most dangerous word which we cannot admit into com-

parative history : it explains nothing but serves merely as a cloak to our ignorance ; when we look closely into the matter we shall usually find that a custom merely seems natural because we are used to it ; it does not seem natural to those who are not. When we think of it, is it so very natural for us to wish victory to the king ? It may have been natural in ancient times and in the East when the king commanded in person, when the wars were his wars, and the mass of the people had no interest in them but would plough their fields by the side of contending armies ; but is it so very natural in these days when the king has no more stake in a war than the meanest citizen ? To the French revolutionaries it seemed so contrary to reason that they eliminated the king from their anthem as from their state, and addressed their good wishes to the nation as a whole. Doubtless that is all that we mean when we pray God to grant victory to our king ; we are wishing ourselves victory ; but why this roundabout way ? Can it be called natural to wish victory to some one else on our behalf ? It may be solemn, it may be dignified, but it is not the effect of an instinctive reaction which is all we can mean by natural. Would it be considered natural to wish a school good luck on the football field by shouting, " May your Headmaster win " ? We cannot help suspecting that when we say the king is merely the symbol of the whole nation and that is why we concentrate our wishes on him, we are really doing what the psychologists call rationalizing. When we are asked the reasons for our actions and cannot tell, either because we do not know them or because we do not want to know them, we rationalize, we invent a reason ; subconsciously, for we are quite unaware of the process.¹ In this case we cannot know the reason why we sing " God Save the King," because it is buried under the ruins of the past ; and therefore we invent one. It is only after laborious grubblings that we dis-

¹ B. Hart, *The Psychology of Insanity*, p. 64.

cover that the ultimate cause is a forgotten theology ; the immediate cause is the force of habit which compels us to repeat a formula of which sometimes only the meaning, sometimes even the very form, has been handed down to us by that ancient theology. Thus the words, " God Save the King," can be traced directly or through Byzantine rites to the coronation of the Roman Emperors or of Joash, King of Judah : ¹ On the other hand the imprecations on the king's enemies play around the theme which the Byzantine ritual expresses more briefly by the formula " Thou conquerest."

It may be objected that the enemies referred to in our national anthem are enemies of flesh and blood, at one time Germans, at another Frenchmen, or it may be Spaniards. The enemies of early kings are rather imaginary demons. How can there be any connection between the two ? The gulf between spirits and men seems insuperable. As a matter of fact, in ancient times it was most easily bridged. Just as the gods are impersonated by the king, so the demons have their human representatives. Thus in India any uninitiated man represents the demons ; the fourth caste which is not admitted to initiation stands for the demons ; ² foreigners were so much identified with the demons that they were constantly referred to as *yaksha*, *pisacha*, and such-like terms which describe varieties of demons. An easy way of routing the demons is thus to destroy their human representatives, a sure and visible way, not left largely to conjecture like ceremonial success. The ancients in fact did not distinguish between religious and secular wars. " Even the foreign policy of the Pharaohs," says Mr. Moret, " had no other apparent end than to maintain the sacred buildings : if we believe the official documents, the Asiatic wars undertaken by the

¹ R. M. Woolley, *Coronation Rites*, pp. 4. 8. 13 f.

² *Pancavimsa*, v. 5. 17 ; *Taittiriya Brahmana*, i. 2. 6. 7, acc. to Weber, *Indische Studien*, x. 4 f.

Pharaohs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties were conquests of Amon." ¹ As a matter of fact the complete separation between spiritual and temporal victory seems to be quite a modern one. In the Roman Imperial Coronation Rite of the ninth century the earlier Byzantine ejaculations of " Thou conquerest " are represented by a series of acclamations : " Christ, our King, conquers ; let Christ reign : Christ, our hope, conquers. Christ, our glory, conquers," and so forth. Throughout the mediaeval rites, as we shall see in a later chapter, the enemies of the Church are invariably bracketed with those of the king, and both not infrequently with the powers of evil.

The identity of God's and the king's enemies was a most comfortable doctrine for those kings and peoples, whose pugnacious instincts and love of glory only wanted an excuse to translate themselves into action. It provided an excellent solution of the conflict between the fundamental lust to kill and the equally fundamental reluctance to be the aggressor. The doctrine is responsible for a great deal of national hypocrisy, but not more than the present-day doctrines of self-determination and protection of the backward races. On the other hand, it has probably done more good than evil by imposing upon war those forms and limitations which have considerably abated the inevitable rigours of conflict.

¹ *Du Caractère Religieux de la Royauté Pharaonique*, p. 196.

IV

THE KING'S EVIL

HISTORIANS are mostly drawn from the ranks of the rationalists, men who have an inborn aversion to the supernatural and prefer to trace all things to natural causes. This prejudice has rendered invaluable service to mankind by forcing enquiring spirits to seek out laws in the material world, but in history it has given rise to a fallacy which is one of the greatest obstacles to the discovery of those laws that govern human society. Historians have confounded miracles with belief in miracles; from their opinion that miracles do not affect the course of natural events they have slid unconsciously into the error that a belief in miracles can have no influence to speak of on the course of human affairs. We hear much in their writings of the wars of kings, their diplomacy, their laws and enactments, but little or nothing of their power to work miracles. Yet we need only glance at the wide distribution of this belief and its persistence through the ages to feel convinced that it must have played a very much greater part in the fortunes of kings and states than our conventional histories suggest. This belief over-spreads the whole of our area from Europe along the shores of the Indian Ocean as far as the Pacific.

Throughout Polynesia it is believed that the kings or chiefs have power over the crops. In Futuna, an island between Fiji and Samoa, they are all Roman Catholics,

yet they constantly depose their chiefs because the food does not grow and the land is hungry. They deposed one about 1913 because there was a hurricane which damaged the crops; then they deposed a whole series in quick succession; but all this time they caught no herrings;¹ so they held council together and said, "When Toviko was chief we had plenty of herrings; now there are none; let us set up Toviko again." And, sure enough, the herrings returned. The people of Savage Island, which lies east of the Tonga Islands, were as confirmed revolutionaries as the Futunans: "Of old," says Turner, "they had kings, but as they were high-priests as well and were supposed to cause the food to grow the people got angry with them in times of scarcity and killed them; and as one after another was killed the end of it was no one wished to be king."² So dependent are the crops on the kings in Polynesia that the same word, *sau*, means king, peace, and prosperity.

This supernatural efficacy of chiefs or kings is throughout Polynesia known as *mana*. It is an attribute of gods and spirits generally.³ It is then in virtue of the equation,
kings = gods,

that kings can perform wonders.

Both the word and the idea of *mana* extend to Melanesia also. The Fijians believe that the food supply depends on the chief, though they have too much respect for authority to depose their chiefs as the Futunans and Savage Islanders do or used to do. On the other hand, the belief also prevailed that too close a contact of the chief with plants might blast them instead of promoting their growth. Thus the chief of Suva could not go into the plantations or the crops would die, and when a certain chief of Naitasiri bathed in the river after a war all the fish perished

¹ I suppose Father de Lorme, to whom I am indebted for this information, means the *Kanae* or mullet.

² *Samoa*, p. 304.

³ See "Mana" in *Man*, 1914, No. 46.

for some distance down stream. The same opposite effects are traceable in the chief's power over disease: if any one lies on the bed of a Fijian chief or uses his clothes the supernatural efficacy¹ of it infects the man so that he gets a swollen neck or belly; the chief touches the belly to remove the swelling.

Of the Malays, Mr. W. W. Skeat says,² "It is firmly believed that any one who seriously offends the royal person, who touches (even for a moment), or who imitates (even with the king's permission) the chief objects of the regalia, or who wrongfully makes use of any insignia or privileges of the royalty, will be *Kena daulat*, i.e. struck dead by a quasi-electric discharge of that Divine Power which the Malays suppose to reside in the king's person, and which is called Daulat or Royal Sanctity." The Malay kings "are usually invulnerable, and are gifted with miraculous powers such as that of transforming themselves, and of returning to (or recalling others) to life."³ The Malay king "is firmly believed to possess a personal influence over the works of nature, such as the growth of the crops and the bearing of fruit trees. This same property is supposed to reside even in the person of Europeans in charge of districts."

The supernatural efficacy of kings is writ large over the pages of Indian literature. Pali books call it "the king's *iddhi*." *Iddhi* is a word of which the meaning closely corresponds to that of *mana*; etymologically it means success, which is the most prominent idea in all definitions of *mana*.⁴ As examples of the king's *iddhi* the following stories will serve.⁵ King Dhananjaya and his court observed so carefully the five commandments which made up the Moral Law of the Kurus, "that in his kingdom it rained every ten days or a fortnight." In the same story

¹ "Mana."

² *Malay Magic*, p. 23.

³ *Ibid.* p. 36.

⁴ "Mana again," *Man*, 1922, No. 79.

⁵ *Jataka*, No. 276, Fausböll's ed., ii. 368.

when a famine afflicted the kingdom of Kalinga the king consulted his councillors, who said, "The kings of old, if it did not rain, gave gifts, kept a fast, observed the commandments, and entering their royal bed-chamber lay on a wooden couch for seven days; then it rained." The old chronicle of Ceylon relates that Elāra, a Tamil king who reigned about 140 B.C., was exceedingly righteous. A woman complained to him that the rain falling out of due season had spoilt the rice she had spread out to dry. Elāra reflected, "A king who observes righteousness surely obtains rain in due season." So by penance he obtained from the gods that rain should only fall at night and once a week.¹ As in Fiji kings bore a title which means prosperity; that title was *Śrī*. *Śrī* is sometimes defined as food;² it is also a goddess. The touch of Indian kings is divinely healing.³ As in Malaysia so in Ceylon the mantle of ancient kings has descended on the British official: one Government agent tells me he was once thanked on leaving a province for having given them rain in his time.

The Babylonians believed that the king's justice caused prosperity.⁴

In Genesis we read,⁵ "And the Lord was with Joseph, and he was a prosperous man. And his master saw that the Lord was with him, and that the Lord made all that he did to prosper in his hands." Taught or encouraged by the Bible the Puritans measured God's favour by success: when Cromwell joined Fairfax before the battle of Naseby he was "hailed with the liveliest demonstrations of joy by the general and his army. 'For it had been observed,' says an onlooker of those days, 'that God

¹ *Mahavamsa*, xxi. 27 ff.

² *annam u Śrī*, *Sat. Br.* viii. 6. 2. 1.

³ Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, quoting Mahābhārata (Bombay), 15. 3. 68.

⁴ Bruno Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, i. 65 ff.

⁵ xxxix. 2 ff.

was with him and that affairs were blessed under his hand.' " ¹

Homer held kings responsible for the food supply. "Thy fame," says Odysseus to his wife, "shall reach the wide heavens, like that of some blameless king who, in the fear of god ruling over men many and stalwart, upholds the right, and the black earth bears wheat and barley, the trees are laden with fruit, the flocks bear young without fail, the sea provides fish, by reason of good government, and the people prosper under him." ²

Of the early Roman kings we know nothing direct, and it is only by following the devious tracks of the *Golden Bough* that we could establish their power over the crops. When the Romans brought back divine kingship from the East they also brought with it a belief in the king's influence over the food supply and the general prosperity. The Romans had all along worshipped certain divinities of crops and prosperity such as Ceres and Fortuna, corresponding to the Indian *Srī*. Under the Empire these became specially connected with the Emperor, and other similar tutelar powers were added such as Annona, or the Annual Crops, Abundantia introduced by Elagabalus, the Syrian. From Augustus onwards we find on Roman coins such inscriptions as: the Prosperity of Augustus, the Yearly Increase of Augustus, the Welfare of Augustus, ³ the Ceres of Augustus. Most significant is the inscription *Fortuna Redux Caes. Aug.*, "the returned prosperity of Caesar Augustus," which first expressed the fact that after his final triumph Augustus brought back the goddess, Prosperity, with him to Rome. His successors repeated the phrase to show that Prosperity followed them, a doctrine accepted by the Romans, for they "were accustomed to render thanks and perform sacrifices to Fortuna

¹ Morley, *Oliver Cromwell*, p. 185.

² *Od.* xix. 109 ff.

³ *Felicitas Augusti*. See Stevenson, *Dictionary of Roman Coins*, s.v., and Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie*.

Redux, whilst celebrating the return of the reigning prince from his visit to distant provinces." ¹

Cases are known of Roman Emperors effecting cures; for instance, Vespasian at Alexandria in Egypt, an ancient home of divine kings; Hadrian was said to have cured a blind man. ²

The ancient Germans also looked to their kings for abundance. Ammianus Marcellinus says that the Burgundian king "by ancient custom was removed and deprived of his power if under him the fortune of war tottered or the earth refused abundance of crops." ³ A Norwegian legend of the thirteenth century relates that "Halfdan the Black had been 'of all kings the one who had most luck with the crops'; when he died, his body, instead of being buried whole in one place, was cut up in four, and each piece was buried under a mound in each of the principal districts of the country, for 'the possession of the body seemed to those who obtained it an earnest of good crops.'" ⁴

It is curious that our mediaeval kings who on the one hand were heirs of the Germanic kings, on the other strove to emulate the pomp of the Roman Empire, should have lost the miraculous power of both except in one respect, namely the power of healing. It is true that some of the influence of kings over crops seems to be commemorated in the Archbishop's blessing after the second oblation at our coronation ceremony: "Almighty God give Thee of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine." The phraseology is obviously Biblical and therefore goes back to a time when kings did have some control over vegetation, but there is no longer any trace of such a miraculous efficacy. Even the gift of healing was

¹ Stevenson, *op. cit.*

² M. Bloch, *Les Rois Thaumaturges*, p. 63, giving authorities.

³ xxviii. 14, quoted by Bloch, *op. cit.*

⁴ Bloch, *op. cit.* p. 57, quoting Heimskringla.

only retained in a highly specialized form: the kings of France and of England could by their mere touch heal scrofula, but only scrofula, which was on that account known as the "King's Evil." They made all the more capital, however, of what was left them. This healing power is first recorded in England under Edward the Confessor. Shakespeare was well acquainted with the tradition, and the poet's words are well worth quoting, not as evidence in favour of the Saxon king, but as expressive of the conception of sacred kingship in Stuart times:

'Tis called the evil:

A most miraculous work in this good king,
Which often, since my here-remain in England,
I have seen him do. How he solicits heaven,
Himself best knows; but strangely-visited people,
All swoln and ulcerous, pitiful to the eye,
The mere despair of surgery, he cures;
Hanging a golden stamp about their necks,
Put on with holy prayers; and 'tis spoken
To the succeeding royalty he leaves
The healing benediction. With this strange virtue
He hath a heavenly gift of prophecy;
And sundry blessings hang about his throne,
That speak him full of grace.¹

The first royal healer recorded in France is Gontran, son of Clotaire I.² The power, however, first appears firmly established as an heirloom in both royal families under Philip I. of France (1060-1108) and Henry II. of England. The popularity of the king's touch grew as the kings raised themselves above the level of the nobility to a station of solitary splendour. Their miraculous touch was such a convenient and convincing proof of the immeasurable distance that separated the monarch from the greatest of his subjects. As usual in the history of

¹ *Macbeth*, iv. 3.

² My indebtedness to Mr. Bloch's exhaustive treatise, *Les Rois Thaumaturges*, is too great to be acknowledged in detail.

customs, its vogue was greatest just before its final extinction. Macaulay shall describe the ceremonial and its popularity in the times of the Stuarts. "The Stuarts frequently dispensed the healing influences in the Banqueting House. The days on which this miracle was to be wrought were fixed at sittings of the Privy Council, and were solemnly notified by the clergy in all the parish churches of the realm. When the appointed time came, several divines in full canonicals stood round the canopy of state. The surgeon of the royal household introduced the sick. A passage from the sixteenth chapter of the Gospel of Saint Mark was read. When the words, 'They shall lay their hands on the sick, and they shall recover,' had been pronounced, there was a pause; and one of the sick was brought up to the King. His Majesty stroked the ulcers and swellings, and hung round the patient's neck a white riband to which was fastened a gold coin. The other sufferers were then led up in succession; and, as each was touched, the chaplain repeated the incantation, 'They shall lay their hands on the sick, and they shall recover.' Then came the epistle, prayers, antiphonies, and a benediction. The service may still be found in the prayer books of the reign of Anne. Indeed, it was not till some time after the accession of George the First that the University of Oxford ceased to reprint the Office of Healing together with the Liturgy. Theologians of eminent learning, ability, and virtue gave the sanction of their authority to this mummary; and, what is stranger still, medical men of high note believed, or affected to believe, in the balsamic virtues of the royal hand. We must suppose that every surgeon who attended Charles the Second was a man of high repute for skill; and more than one of the surgeons who attended Charles the Second has left us a solemn profession of faith in the King's miraculous power. One of them is not ashamed to tell us that the gift was communicated by the unction administered at

the coronation; that the cures were so numerous and sometimes so rapid that they could not be attributed to any natural cause; that the failures were to be ascribed to want of faith on the part of the patients; that Charles once handled a scrofulous Quaker and made him a healthy man and a sound churchman in a moment; that, if those who had been healed lost or sold the piece of gold which had been hung round their necks, the ulcers broke forth again, and could be removed only by a second touch and a second talisman."¹

Not many years later the Hanoverians ascended the throne. They realized that to claim the healing virtue was useless. The Stuarts continued to touch in Rome, thus manifesting their divine right to the throne of England, until with Henry, cardinal of York, their line became extinct, and with it the healing touch. The belief, however, still lingered on. It is recorded that an old Scotch shepherd afflicted with scrofula used to complain that he could not approach Queen Victoria close enough to touch her and so cure his disease.²

It comes as a surprise to find that as late as 1825 France numbered such convinced believers in the healing power of their king that they persuaded the reluctant Charles X. to renew a miracle which the French Revolution had interrupted. The times, however, had changed; plenty of sufferers turned up, but the ceremony fell flat among the educated classes, and was never renewed.

Thus from one end of our area to the other we find kings endowed with miraculous power. How did they come by it? It is not sufficient to answer, "Because they are gods," for that is merely removing the problem one step further. Why should gods have this gift of miracles? We are so accustomed to think of gods as beings whose

¹ *History of England*, chap. xiv., A.D. 1689 (vol. v. p. 244 f. in Albany Edition).

² Miss Sheila MacDonald, in *Folk-Lore*, 1903, p. 372, quoted by Bloch.

powers transcend nature that we take it for granted. The Bible, the classics, and fairy tales have accustomed us to the idea from our tenderest infancy so that we go through life without questioning it. Yet when we reflect upon it, it is by no means obvious; it has to be explained like any other belief. Since it does not advance our case to throw the responsibility on to the gods, we must recur to the original question, "Why do kings perform miracles?"

Kings are gods, but they are more particularly sun-gods. Now the sun shines from afar and by his invisible touch causes all things to grow, but sometimes too, if his touch is too heavy, he withers vegetation and causes famine. Are those intangible emanations of the sun, light and heat, the archetypes of all miraculous power? Is it in imitation of the sun that kings radiate that energy which in moderation causes growth and health, but in excess decay and death?

Such a conception is actually to be found at the Eastern end of our area. A legend of the Gilbert Islands relates that "when Te-Ika grew up he was for ever lying on the surface of the sea watching the sunrise. When the sun's first beams shot up over the horizon, it was his daily endeavour to catch a beam in his mouth and bite it off. So for many days he tried to do that thing, and at last he was successful; he caught a sunbeam in his mouth, and swam away with it to his father, Bakoa. When he came to his father's house he went in and sat down with the sunbeam beside him; but behold, when Bakoa came in he was amazed at the heat of the place, and said to his son, 'Get hence, thou art burning hot and the house smokes where thou sittest.' So Te-Ika left his father's house and took his sunbeam to another place; but, behold, wherever he sat it was the same; the house began to smoke and everything that was near him shrivelled up with the heat . . . for the sunbeam was burning hot and its heat had

entered the body of Te-Ika also." This legend explains the Tahitian king's title of "Sun-Eater," and that title assures us that Te-Ika did nothing unusual in swallowing a sunbeam, but only what was normally done by a king.¹

The ancient Indian king had fire or heat put into him at his consecration in this manner: the priest made an offering to fire; "fire is heat; with heat he thus sprinkled him."² He also sprinkled him with the radiance of the sun. No wonder that, as *Manu* says, "the king excels all beings in heat, and burns, like the sun, the eyes; burns the whole tribe, as fire burns the foolish individual that touches it."³

The word I have translated "heat" in the above Sanskrit quotations is *tejas*. The word deserves closer study, because it gives us the whole gamut of meaning from fire to miraculous power. If we look up our Sanskrit dictionary we shall find it defined as "sharpness; edge; heat, fire, bright flame, light, brilliance; splendour, beauty; energy, moral, or magical power." In the following examples of its use it is represented by the word "heat":

The sun's *heat*; the element of *heat* (or fire); Kasyapa V., King of Ceylon, fills the world with the sun and moon of his fame and *heat* (or glory);⁴ by the *heat* of the Buddha's virtue, when in a previous existence he was a hare, the stone throne of Sakra in heaven became hot;⁵ by the *heat* of a sacred thread a follower of Vijaya's renders the Circe of Ceylon powerless to devour him;⁶ Vishnu is thus invoked in the *Mahābhārata*: "Thou didst attain the sky and the atmosphere and stand in the abode of the sun, O soul of the universe, thou didst surpass the shining orb by thy *heat* (or splendour)."⁷

¹ A. Grimble, "Myths from the Gilbert Islands," *Folk-Lore*, 1923, p. 371. Tregear, *Comparative Maori Dict.* s.v. "ra."

² *Satapatha Br.* v. 3. 5. 8; 4. 2. 2; 3. 4. 13.

³ *Manu*, viii. 9.

⁴ *Epigraphi Zeylancia*, vol. i. p. 46.

⁵ *Jataka*, No. 316 (iii. 53).

⁶ *Mahavamsa*, vii. 14.

⁷ *Vanaparva*, 486, ap. Muir, *Skt. Texts*, iv. p. 136.

The royal title of *Śrī* tells the same tale. It means properly "splendour; prosperity; glory, majesty." It is derived from the verb *śri*, to diffuse light, and its original meaning is preserved in the phrase *viroca siriya*, "shine with thy glory." When then a Sinhalese is styled *Śrī Parākrama* it means in effect "His Effulgence Parākrama." It closely resembles, therefore, our title Serene, and the German *Durchlaucht*.

The goddess *Śrī* also goes under the name of *Lakshmi*, which means "mark, good fortune; good genius of a king, royal dignity; wealth." Now the *Satapatha* tells us that "Yonder sun is the same as those gifts of good fortune."¹

The Ancient Egyptians at the beginning of the new year solemnly crowned their statues and sometimes exposed them to the rays of the rising sun to receive a renewal of life from the embraces of the solar light. The king was likewise at his consecration embraced by the sun-god, who thus communicated to him a "magic fluid," as M. Moret calls it.² Nothing could be clearer than that the Egyptian pharaoh, the Indian king, and the Gilbertese hero all derive their efficacy from the sun.

But what about the Greeks, the Romans, the Germans? No evidence has been adduced to show that in that Western group miraculous power had the same derivation. It must be understood plainly that we cannot expect to find clear indications of origins in every place. Some people forget, and it is only from those that remember that we can reconstitute the parent form. Those who remember may be a small minority, as in this case; but that is no matter: comparative history is not a matter of counting heads. The philologist does not, for instance, count the number of Indo-European languages that have a

¹ *lit.* "those good fortunes" (*puṇya lākṣmya*), viii. 4. 8.

² Moret, *Du Caractère Religieux de la Religion Pharaonique*, pp. 178, 221, 244.

locative case and those that have not and say, "Two for, six against, the noes have it; therefore there can have been no locative in the parent tongue." Even if there were only one of the family to have a locative, say Sanskrit, still the philologist would remain unmoved, and he would judge by quality rather than by numbers. The question he would ask would be, "In view of the evidence is it easier to believe that all the other languages have lost the locative or that Sanskrit has developed it after its separation from the rest? If we assume that the locative belonged to the parent language, shall we be in a position to explain as survivals of the locative certain Greek and Latin forms hitherto unexplained?" Other branches of comparative history besides language must proceed in the same manner. In the present case we must ask ourselves, "Which is likelier: that all the other peoples have forgotten the derivation of miraculous power from solar radiation or that the Indians and Egyptians added it as a theory of their own to the inherited belief? Does the first hypothesis supply a simple and easy explanation of the facts, and would the second one explain nothing or only explain it by means of supplementary hypotheses? Finally, does the assumption that the Indian view is primitive enable us to explain as survivals obscure tales and memories that have hitherto defied interpretation?" I think it may give us the clue to the Phaethon myth. Phaethon, son of the Sun, "demanded of his father as a proof of his birth the privilege of driving the chariot of the sun for a single day. He proved, however, too weak to restrain the horses, who soon ran away with him and plunged, now close up to heaven, now right down to the earth, so that both began to take fire. At last, to save the whole world from destruction, Zeus shattered the young man with his lightning."¹ I am not aware that any satisfactory explanation of the myth has been offered by

¹ Nettleship and Sandys, *Dict. of Classical Antiquities*, s.v. "Phaethon."

various schools of mythology. The radiation theory does hold out some promise that we may make sense of it as the record of some particular king who failed miserably in his control of the elements, or, better still, of some recurrent custom of setting up for one day a temporary king to direct a period of misrule such as is prescribed in so many countries.

The idea of action at a distance by the means of invisible forces has assumed increased importance once more in Europe since the discovery of electricity and especially of wireless. By following different methods we have achieved immeasurably greater success in the physical sphere, and we are therefore inclined to despise the humble efforts of our remote predecessors, but that contempt is scarcely justified. They might be wrong in supposing that by spells you can filch some radiance from the sun and implant it in man, and they may have wasted some energy in pursuing the wrong track. But were they altogether wrong in their main conception that animal or vegetable energy on this earth is after all little else than bottled sunshine? Were they altogether wrong in believing that this bottled sunshine manifests itself again in other forms of action at a distance by look and by voice? After all, man does act at a distance by means of the light and sound waves that emanate from him, if not by other forces yet unknown. The Egyptians might not express their deductions quite in the same words, or even arrive at them by the same way as we now do after centuries of scientific schooling; but that they did conceive an analogy or identity between the distant action of the sun and of man is a fact. "They recognized," says M. Moret, "the divine and vivifying force of the Pharaoh, especially in his possessing like the gods 'the creative voice. . . .' This creative power which the gods had exercised in the earliest times of the world by the *eye* and the *voice* in *seeing* and *naming* beings and things, had devolved on the king each

day by the rites which introduced the divine worship and which made of Pharaoh a god, 'Horus with the creative voice.'"¹ It will be remembered that the Indian king burns the minds as well as the eyes. We shall see in the next chapter that the analogy of heat and moral action was not foreign to the Greeks.

The invention of a man who did no work with his hands, but merely existed and acted on his environment at a distance, like the sun, was one of the most momentous in the history of man; it was nothing less than the invention of government, and if we cannot always find a scientific justification for the forms which the doctrine of the sun man has impressed upon the institution of monarchy, yet the extraordinary persistence of those forms and their amazing vitality suggest that they are less to blame than the imperfection of our moral science, and that monarchical government has a psychological value we are not yet in a position to understand.

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 297.

V

THE KING'S JUSTICE

HOMER in his picture of the ideal king, quoted in last chapter, would have us note that the prosperity of his people is the effect of his justice. To leave no doubt on the point he places the words "in the fear of god" and "upholds the right" in emphatic positions at the end or beginning of a line; then at the beginning of the last line he returns to the idea with a suddenness that forces on our attention the fact that all this prosperity is the result of good government. Of course we also believe in good government as a condition of prosperity; but not to the extent of thinking that it causes the fish to multiply in the sea or the trees to bend beneath their load of fruit. Clearly, in Homer's view, the king promoted the prosperity of his people not by making them work in harmony and with energy, but by the direct action of his justice upon nature. The word "justice" perhaps does not quite render the meaning of the Greek *dikē*, which is much wider in application: it means custom, whatever is fit and proper, justice, law, virtue, piety; it goes hand in hand with the fear of god: those who are "insolent, savage, and do no right are opposed to the hospitable and god-fearing."¹

We have seen the dependence of prosperity upon justice even more crudely expressed in India and Ceylon. The

¹ *Odyssey*, ix. 175.

king's justice regulates the rainfall, and hence the crops. Here again I am using an inadequate word to render the Indian *dharma*, which covers much the same ground as the Greek *dikē*; our expression "law and order" perhaps renders best its meaning.

The following story from Khotan shows how much the course of nature was considered to depend on the king's virtue: "To the south-east of the capital about two hundred *li* or so is a great river flowing north-west. The people take advantage of it to irrigate their lands. After a time this stream ceased to flow. The king, greatly astonished at the strange event, ordered his carriage to be equipped and went to an *arhat* (saint) and asked him, 'The waters of the great river, which have been so beneficial to man, have suddenly ceased. Is not my rule a just one? are not my benefits (virtues) widely distributed through the world? If it is not so, what is my fault, or why is this calamity permitted?'"¹ The *Mahābhārata* declares that "any king by good conduct can produce the age of bliss and perfection, or that of evil."²

The kings of Bactria in the Greek and Scythian period which followed the conquest of Alexander were fond of styling themselves *dikaioi*, that is, "Just."³

We found the idea among the Babylonians. It is indicated in Isaiah xi.: "And there shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse, and a branch out of his roots shall bear fruit. . . . And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins. And the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them."

¹ Beal, *Buddhist Records*, ii. 319 f.

² v. 132. 16, quoted by Burnell in his translation of *Manu*, p. 299, note 2.

³ P. Gardner, *Coins of the Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria*, pp. 10, 21 ff.

Ammianus Marcellinus noted that both the Egyptians and the Burgundians blamed the king "if under him the fortune of war tottered or earth refused abundance of crops."¹ In Sweden they traced bad crops to some negligence of the king's in the performance of the sacrifice.²

The first king of France who is recorded to have performed miraculous cures is Gontran in the sixth century; Gontran was a saint. The first king of England who is known to have had the healing power is Edward the Confessor; Edward was also a Saint.³ The gift does not in those days appear to have been infallibly hereditary; it was conditional on the king being pious. From Louis VI. of France on the power becomes strictly hereditary; his father, Philip I., practised the healing miracle with zeal at first, but, "owing to the commission of some fault or other," says a mediæval writer, "lost it." The fault in question was an adulterous marriage in consequence of which he was excommunicated.⁴ After him the healing power seems to have been unconditional in the French royal family. The same change took place in England, beginning with Henry II.

From the Eastern end of our area the evidence is less satisfactory, though some trace of it can be found. A petty Fijian chief told me of his overlord: "Under Finau's rule there have been no famines; perhaps it is that his government is acceptable in Heaven, inasmuch as he has renounced his right of imposing statute-labour and of receiving the first-fruits." Thus the prosperity of the island was ascribed to the chief's remission of two heavy burdens. However, the traces are very faint in the Pacific; and this is not to be wondered at, since South Sea Island chiefs do not dispense justice and can hardly be said to govern in our sense of the word; their main function is to receive and give feasts, and to order people

¹ xxviii. 14, quoted by Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 582.

² Bloch, *loc. cit.*

³ Bloch, *op. cit.* pp. 33 and 43.

⁴ *Op. cit.* p. 30.

to work for a public festival, to build a nobleman's house or a state canoe ; there is scope for benevolence, but hardly for justice ; there are also opportunities of making ceremonial mistakes. Among the Wainunu tribes the chiefs were so afraid of making such mistakes that they would after a time abdicate in favour of another. The Fijians laid stress chiefly on right lineage : one tribe were suffering from scarcity when I visited them ; they put it down to the fact that the Government had placed over them a man of the herald caste instead of the chiefly caste, and they complained that the late chief " had buried all the food with him when he died." Matrilineal tribes might put down a scarcity to the fact that the chief belonged to the male, instead of the female, line. In India also rightful succession was considered a condition of prosperity because it was bound up with law and order. The Buddhist Revelations thus describe the decadence that is to end this age : " In the course of time kings who are not of the right lineage will become unjust ; the ministers and others will become unjust. By their injustice the god will not rain at all, then the crops will not flourish at all." ¹ Thus it was considered in India that usurpers could not rule justly, a conviction which the Fijians fully shared. The connection between justice and right succession is presented to us from a different point of view in the story of the two brothers Devāpi and Santanu : Santanu, the younger, " crowned himself king, and the elder, Devāpi, practised penance. In Santanu's kingdom it did not rain for twelve years. The Brahmans said to him, ' You are guilty of sin, since passing over the eldest brother you got yourself crowned ; therefore the god does not send rain for you.' " ²

¹ " *Anagatavamsa*," *Journ. Pali. Text Soc.*, 1881, and Anderson's *Pali Reader*, p. 102.

² *Nirukta*, ii. 10-12, quoted by P. V. Kane, " The Vedic Basis of Hindu Law," *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. (Bombay)*, 1922-3, p. 76 f.

The Sinhalese in the thirteenth century were of opinion that a people could not flourish except under a king chosen from the royal caste. King Nissanka Malla thus admonishes his people : " If you are minded to increase prosperity, allay fears, preserve the station of your own family, to follow the ancestral customs, and protect your adherents, do you raise to sovereignty royal families, but no other caste." ¹ Thus the dependence of prosperity on right lineage is but one particular application of the wider law that a king must conform in everything to what is right if his people are to prosper.

How came men to believe that their cattle would multiply and their crops bear abundantly if the king was righteous and upheld righteousness among his people ? At first sight it might seem to be the result of experience badly interpreted : men noticed that the people usually fared better under a just king than under a tyrant, but they did not analyse this general impression, and vaguely extended the king's influence beyond the limits which a careful observation would fix. But on further consideration the problem does not appear as simple as all that. In order to observe the effects of a king's rule people must first set up a king, and secondly invest him with the administration of justice and the defence of religion and the moral law. Neither the first step nor the second are as obvious as habit first makes them seem. There are peoples on the earth who have never thought of doing either. Some never have had kings ; others, and highly intelligent ones, having had them, discarded them because, as they alleged, they are contrary to reason and to nature. There are peoples that have kings, but those kings have nothing to do with justice, and merely lead the state ceremonial ; as a Fijian would put it, " they merely abide " ; we on the other hand once had kings who ruled and administered justice, but we have

¹ *Epigraphia Zeylancia*, vol. ii. p. 162.

thought it more expedient to strip them of all judicial and executive power.

Suppose, however, that men have for some reason or other set up a king who really rules, is it so very easy to observe the effects of his rule? As a matter of fact, it is most difficult to appraise the effects of a ruler's policy and character. Historians who are in a far better position to do so than contemporaries often find it hard to agree: did Caesar do more good or more harm? Tiberius was once thought to be a monster, now he is praised for his wisdom. If it is so difficult to judge when time has at once abated passions and enlarged the vision, how much more difficult is it at close range in the turmoil of party feuds? There are those who will assure you that Lloyd George won the war; others are equally positive it was no fault of his that we did not lose it. One party blames the Government for the prevailing depression of trade; the supporters of the Government hotly retort that their predecessors in office are the cause of the trouble; but the view of the vast neutral mass which swings like a pendulum at elections is very much that of the ancients, namely, that if things go wrong the Government must be a bad one. In all this uncertainty there is one fact that stands out as quite certain, and that is that a just and moral king is seldom the most successful. The character of Louis XI. of France cannot be defended, yet the work which he did for France is praised by all historians, whereas grave doubts are expressed as to the benefits conferred on his country by Louis surnamed the Saint. The greatest rulers have seldom, if ever, been saints, yet it is the saint to whom popular opinion looked for successful crops.

If men did not arrive at the idea by observation, it must have been by the way of deduction; they must have derived it from some already acknowledged doctrine. Let us therefore get back to our premises: the king is a god, more particularly the sun-god. To that premise we

traced the power of miracles, and that power is intimately bound up with the king's justice; it is dependent on it. Let us try then if we can derive the king's justice from some attribute of the sun.

In India the evidence is, I think, not so direct as it was for the king's miraculous efficacy, but it is sufficient. The Indians fully recognized the analogy between the unvarying course of the sun and moon and the seasons on one hand, and of the ritual and the moral order on the other. In fact the Vedic singers used but one word, *ṛta*, for both natural and moral law.¹ Varuna was the celestial god who upheld both, and he was therefore entitled "Lord of Law." Now Varuna was pre-eminently a kingly god;² he is constantly referred to as King Varuna; he was the sovereignty just as Mitra was the priesthood; he was one of the gods who entered into the composition of the king; and there was a special sacrifice called Varuṇapraghāsa which identified the king with Varuna. It is inevitable then that sacred kings should also bear the title of Lord of Law, a title which survives to this day in Bhutan. Varuna's place in nature is difficult to define: he appears to be connected with the sun, and he may be merely the sun in its capacity of regulator of the world; philologists suggest that his name really means sky, though that is not certain; this much is certain, that he is related to heaven, the law of nature, and the moral order. The *Satapatha* directly connects law and order with the sun: "Right is this Fire, Truth is yonder Sun; or rather Right is yonder Sun, and Truth is this Fire."³ Fire being the earthly counterpart of the sun, both statements are interchangeable. The Buddhist Wheel of the Law is a transparent solar symbol; when the new emperor, as described in our third chapter, performs the ceremony of setting in motion the Wheel of the Law, he is merely launching the

¹ A. A. MacDonell, *Vedic Reader*, p. 9.

² *Sat. Br.* iv. 1. 4. 1 ff.

³ v. 4. 4. 10. Right = *ṛta*.

sun on an orderly course which beats time for the universe and for man. "The king whose forehead has received the royal consecration," says the *Lalita Vistara*, "having thrown his mantle over one shoulder, and placed his right knee on the ground, with his right hand pushes the divine wheel, saying, 'Turn, venerable and divine treasure of the wheel, with the Law, but not against the Law.'"¹ The conception of the sun as the upholder of law and order has left to the Sinhalese such names as Vimaladharmasuriya, "Sun-of-the-Spotless-Law." It has penetrated even among the aboriginal tribes of India, for to this day the Oraons worship the sun under the name of Dharm-devatā, God of Right, and address him as Dharmi, the Righteous one.²

Mr. S. Langdon tells us that in Sumer "the divinity of justice was gradually usurped by the sun-god."³ As early as 2,400 B.C. one of their kings tells us that "in accordance with the laws of the Sun-god he caused justice to prevail."⁴

Like Varuna, the Egyptian sun-god Ra was entitled "Lord of Judgment"; stability and obedience were among his characteristics. His daughter Maat was "the goddess of absolute regularity and order, and of moral rectitude and truth."⁵

Plato in his *Cratylus*⁶ makes Socrates complain of the earlier Greek philosophical schools in these terms:

"One says that justice (*dikaion*) is no other than the sun; for he alone by permeating (*diaionta*) and burning it (*kaonta*) governs nature. And when in my delight at

¹ iii. 15. Foucau's translation.

² Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, i. 9 f.

³ *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 72.

⁴ King, *History of Sumer and Akkad*, p. 282.

⁵ Breasted, *Development*, pp. 171, 250, 45. Budge, *Book of the Dead*, p. 4, note 5.

⁶ 413. I am indebted for this reference to Prof. R. Marrs.

having heard a fine saying I repeat it to some one he laughs at me when he hears it and asks me if I imagine there is no justice among men whenever the sun has set. When I entreat of him to know what he pronounces it to be he says, 'fire'; but this is no easier to understand. A third says it is not fire, but the heat that is in the fire. Another ridicules them all and says that justice is what Anaxagoras declared it to be, namely, mind, for while itself independent and unmixed with anything it orders all things by permeating them (*diaionta*)."

Incidentally this passage shows that the Greeks, as well as the Egyptians, recognized an affinity between the action of the sun, or the wider genus fire, and between mind; both have a pervasive power and both are causes. We also gather that Justice was conceived as a force which permeated and so controlled all things. Though some might consider it to be an emanation of the sun, others held it to be independent of it and indeed to include the sun among its subjects. Heraclitus declared that "the sun would not overstep his limits; otherwise the Avenging Goddesses, the helpers of Justice, would find him out."¹ Whether, however, Justice was the Sun or over the Sun its rule extended alike over nature and human affairs.

The general consensus then among the people we have reviewed seems to be that the sun is law in so far as he imposes it upon all things, but at the same time law is something distinct from the sun, inasmuch as it governs even him.

The king's justice is the inevitable consequence of his being the sun. In fact, the whole point of his being the sun was to make the earth and men fruitful by imposing regularity on the universe and the tribe. The earth will

¹ Diels, *Die Fragmenta der prae-Sokratiker, Heraclitus*, No. 94.

not bear abundantly if the sun shines or brings rain out of season ; neither will it if the king is irregular in his conduct, but rather calamities will ensue. He has not only to be orderly and punctual in the discharge of his ceremonial and judicial functions, but he has, like the sun, to impose the observance of his law upon nature and man alike. Any breach of the moral law among his subjects disturbs the course of nature ; therefore a deed of violence or sacrilege is an offence against the king's Peace and has to be atoned for by a fine.¹ A woman who commits adultery sins against Varuna, the Lord of Law, and therefore against the king who is Varuna.² A breach of the peace and impiety are one and the same, or in the words of Aeschylus, "Wanton violence is the child of impiety."³

When Kant stated that two things filled him with awe, the starry heavens above and the moral law in men's hearts ; when Meredith sang how

" Around the ancient track marched, rank on rank,
The army of unalterable law,"

both the philosopher and the poet were merely speaking in terms of an old religion, a religion which has only recently been rediscovered, but which none the less continues to provide men with modes of expression and forms of pageantry, if nothing more. The aroma still hangs about after the substance has disappeared. The ancient parallel of the heavenly order and the moral law is now nothing more than a beautiful conception susceptible of beautiful expression. The early pioneers of thought who first discovered this parallel were in quest of more solid, if less sublime, results. They were not seeking to give themselves poetic thrills, but to abolish the uncertainty of existence by solving the eternal problem of the weather.

¹ MacDonnell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, s.v. "dharma."

² *Sat. Br.* ii. 5. 2. 20.

³ *Eumenides*, 534.

To some extent they did succeed in abolishing that uncertainty, not in the way they thought by controlling the forces of nature, but by controlling themselves and by presenting a more united front to the buffets of fickle nature.

VI

AMBROSIA

AMONG the many pleasing ways of the Polynesians, the ceremony of kava drinking is one of the most pleasing. The drink itself is vile, but it forms the basis of many a friendly evening party or dignified state function. It is prepared from the root of a kind of pepper which is chewed, scraped, or pounded ; it is then placed in a bowl and kneaded ; then the solid particles are caught up in a bunch of hybiscus fibre, strained and shaken out on a mat. During the pressing hymns are sung. The whole procedure is directed by a master of ceremonies who is a member of the herald caste. When the master of ceremonies considers the liquid is clear he then apportions it among the guests and it is presented to them by a cup-bearer. In Fiji the cup-bearer on state occasions is always a young man of rank and fine physique ; in Samoa young girls bear the cup. At the present day in Fiji kava is freely drunk as we drink spirits, but never without the prescribed ceremonial, though the form may be simpler at private parties than at public functions. It was not, however, always drunk so freely : it is asserted that of old only chiefs drank of it ; it was also used for libations to the gods. This is all one and the same since chiefs were gods. The chief's kava was clearly religious and was accompanied by hymns and prayers. We may say then that kava was the drink of the gods. With the kava food



KAVA FOR PRESENTATION
Namata, Fiji



INITIATION KAVA
Navatusila, Fiji

is generally distributed which is called "the apportionment of the kava."

The kava ceremonial was the central point of the chief's installation, so much so that in Fijian "to be installed" is rendered "to drink." It was also used at the installation of a priest, and this use deserves to be considered in detail since it reveals the function of kava. At the demise of the priest of the goddess, Hurricane-Skirt, if he had a younger brother, "they would discuss and say to him, 'You shall drink kava'. They made kava in the temple so that Hurricane-Skirt might enter him. The kava in question was done in chiefly style because the priests used to be chiefs, being respected on account of the gods; for the gods used to be feared and were chiefs." I have myself experienced the deifying effects of kava, for I was initiated into the cult of the water-sprites; this cult is a recent one, but is imitated from older cults, one object of which was to make men invulnerable. This cult also goes under the name of *tuka*, which means immortality. The kava was prepared "in the Fijian style for chiefs," as they themselves express it; it was then prayed over, then we drank, and became possessed by water-sprites. A stick of mine was anointed with kava and thus became the shrine or residence of my own particular water-sprite, who was to bring me good-luck. The effect of ceremonial kava is thus quite plain: it brings the god to the man, it makes the god and the man one, and has something to do with immortality.

In India too they had a ceremonial drink which was pressed and strained, and was therefore called *soma*, that is, pressing. Beside it figures a spirituous liquor, let us call it brandy. It plays, however, a very minor part; I only mention it here because of an important statement made by the *Satapatha Brahmana* to the effect that "Soma is drink, brandy is food."¹ What exactly is meant by

¹ xii. 7. 3. 8.

calling brandy food is not clear; the term food is evidently here used in a ritual sense. The important thing to remember is that the Vedic ritualists recognized two elements, food and drink, though by food and drink they did not necessarily mean solid and liquid. Soma was the really important ceremonial drink; in fact, it was one of the most important sacrifices in the Vedic ritual. The ritual was controlled by the priestly caste.¹ It was accompanied by soma hymns, very much loftier in tone than the Fijian hymns. In one of the hymns addressed to Soma they sang, "We have drunk soma; we have become immortal; we have gone to the light, we have found the gods."² In other words, the soma drinkers ascend *spiritually* to heaven and take their place among the gods; they become immortal. The function of soma is then the same as that of kava: it makes men into gods.

It is not surprising that soma should raise men to god-head, since soma is itself a god, a royal god, and therefore constantly spoken of as King Soma. He is identified with sovereignty. This is merely one particular application of the general rule that the sacrifice is a god, be it Prajapati,³ Agni,⁴ Vishnu,⁵ or Soma; that the sacrificer becomes the sacrifice,⁶ and therefore logically "passes from men to the gods."⁷ In the case of Soma the process is somewhat materially described in the hymn already quoted: "The drop that is drunk in our hearts, immortal had entered us mortal men." Soma becomes "the protector of the body," and "settles in every limb." Being immortal, it confers immortality; not that those who drink of it do not die; but it protects from disease: "Ye glorious, freedom-giving drops, as I drink you, you have

¹ See my "India and the Pacific," *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Sect. G., vol. i. p. 61.

² *Rig-Veda*, viii. 48. 3.

⁴ *Ibid.* v. 2. 1. 1 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 5. 1. 7.

³ *Sat. Br.* iii. 2. 2. 4; cp. v. 1. 1. 2.

⁵ *Ibid.* vi. 7. 2. 11; i. 1. 3. 1.

⁷ *Ibid.* i. 1. 1. 4 ff.

knit me together in my joints as straps a car. Let those drops protect me from breaking a leg, and preserve me from disease." Freedom from disease leads to long life: "These ailments have departed, diseases have sped away. Soma has mounted us with might: we have gone where men prolong their life." Long life is part of immortality: "He indeed who lives a hundred years or more, he attains immortality," says the *Satapatha*.¹ The rest of immortality lies in the next world; after death the soma drinkers gain a place among the gods. So potent was soma in conferring immortality that it was called *amrita*, "the immortal" or "immortality." Like the kava of the water-sprites it brings wealth; its devotees become "lords of riches." I do not know of any external use of soma, but it is curious that the *Satapatha* ² conceives the drinking of soma as a kind of unction: "He consumes soma; in this way he anoints himself (*i.e.* the immortal part of himself); ³ this self of his being anointed by soma becomes anointed by immortality."

In order to prepare soma they have first to crush it but soma is a god, and thus they crush a god and a king, and "in pressing out the king, they slay him."⁴ King Soma is thus conceived as a victim that is immolated. But sin would be incurred by slaying a god, and therefore when they strike the soma in crushing they say, "Here-with I strike So-and-So, not thee"; thus no guilt is incurred.⁵ But the victim, though slain, does not die, but arises again; for Soma's body is also "the same as the mountains, the same as stones"; now they crush him with stones and the stones are his body; therefore the priest "with that body perfects him, makes him whole; . . . thus he rises thence, thus he comes to life."⁶ This

¹ x. 2. 6. 8.

² ix. 4. 4. 8.

³ *Ibid.* ix. 1. 2. 33 ff.; 3. 3. 13; 5. 1. 1 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 2. 2. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.* iii. 9. 4. 17.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii. 9. 4. 2.

resurrection of the sacrifice is made even clearer in the case of the other element : they crush rice and thereby slay it ; then by suitable formulae they bestow on the crushed rice breath, life, eyes, "for those are the attributes of the living." ¹

The resemblance of kava to soma is no superficial one, in fact there is scarcely any resemblance on the surface, and it is only when we dissect the doctrine and ceremonial that we find a striking correspondence of parts : method of preparation, hymns, two elements, unction, royalty, deification, immortality, prosperity. It is true the substances are not the same : kava is not soma ; but neither is modern Indian soma the same plant as the ancient. The ritual can then be the same although the substance used is different.

The elixir of immortality was not peculiar to India. It was already the possession of that unknown people whose language overspread the greater part of Europe and of India. The Greeks had lost it, but they had memories of it. They called it *ambrosia*, which is the same word as *amrita* and means immortality. They were somewhat confused about it : usually they called it nectar, and reserved the term *ambrosia* for food, but sometimes they spoke of eating nectar and drinking *ambrosia*.² Sappho describes how "he brewed a cup of *ambrosia*, and Hermes took the flask and acted as cup-bearer to the gods." The uncertainty is easy to understand if originally the terms, food and drink, were used in a purely ritual sense as in India. Anyhow, the Greeks remembered that there were two elements. They regarded *ambrosia* and nectar as the special food of the gods. That great rationalist, Aristotle, thought he had here caught tradition in default : "How could the gods be immortal," he argued, if they needed food ? But he was taking his start from later conceptions of immortality. For the philosophers

¹ *Sat. Br.* i. 2. 1. 21.

² *Athenaeus*, 39a.

"immortal" meant indestructible by its own nature ; but that was not the meaning, as we have seen, of their remote predecessors ; these were not metaphysicians ; they merely aimed at raising man above the attacks of disease and old age, and securing continued existence even after death had done its work ; immortality consisted in keeping death at bay, and this was to be done by the drinking of *ambrosia*. It was done in the past when the kings were gods. In those days the gods did drink *ambrosia*. Tradition was right, and the rationalist was wrong.

Ambrosia or nectar was usually served out to the gods by a beautiful youth or a blooming maiden, in fact by the goddess of youth herself. Like kava, *ambrosia* was useful not only for internal, but also for external use. Thus Hera "with *ambrosia* first from her desirable body cleansed all stains." ¹

Of the old Germanic custom of minne drinking, that is drinking to the memory of a god or of the dead, we know little ; yet that little includes one most important statement as to the underlying doctrine. A Christian writer says that Columban found the Suevi drinking, and that "it is given us clearly to understand that a devil was hidden in that vase who through the heathen praying-man captured the souls of the sacrificers." ²

If we would understand ancient religions we must approach them through the gateway of modern creeds ; we must first fix our attention on what is common to both and use this as our starting-point to explore what is peculiar to the ancients. So long as we refuse, as is too often done from fear or prejudice, to treat modern religions as the historical continuation of the old ones, we shall be prone to condemn these latter as childish fables and foolish

¹ *Iliad*, xiv. 170.

² Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, p. 59. For Indo-European peoples in general, see G. Dumézil, *Le Festin d'Immortalité*.

inventions ; but in so doing we shall condemn ourselves, or at least millions of our contemporaries, including some of the choicest spirits of our age, who continue to practise in a refined and spiritualized form the rites of ancient times. For ambrosia is still drunk by the vast majority of Europeans, though they no longer call it by that name. In fact, they have so refined and spiritualized it that the leaders of the faith would repudiate any relationship with the grosser notions of remote antiquity ; yet for all that they are so near to them that the ignorant masses, especially in the South of Europe, are apt to interpret their beliefs in a sense which is little less crude than that of the Vedas, perhaps cruder. It is, however, by the study of the texts that we shall realize how little and yet how much we have advanced since the earliest known speculations of the Indo-European culture.

At the present day we commune in two elements. The elements are the body and blood of God, the Son, who is offered in sacrifice : *quam oblationem tu, Deus, in omnibus quaesumus benedictam . . . acceptabilemque facere digneris ; ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi*. "Which oblation, O God, we beseech Thee in all things to bless . . . and make acceptable ; that it may become for us the body and blood of Thy well-beloved Son, Jesus Christ, ~~our~~ Lord." Note that the god is styled like a king, "Lord." The god is the victim that is immolated : *sanguinis, mysterium fidei ; qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum*, "the blood . . . mystery of faith that is spilt for you and many for the remission of sins." The victim while dying does not die, but rises again and lives for ever : *qui vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum*, "who livest and reignest for ever and ever." Note again the idea of kingship. Immortal, the victim confers immortality : *panem sanctum vitae aeternae, et calicem salutis perpetuae*, "the holy bread of life and the chalice of everlasting

salvation." The words are little more than an amplification of the word ambrosia. *Sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat animam meam in vitam aeternam*, "may the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul to immortal life." Eternity is indeed the constant refrain of the Mass : the consecration begins and ends with the words, *per omnia saecula saeculorum*, "for ever and ever," and the communion beginning with the same aspiration ends on the words, *in vitam aeternam*, "unto eternal life." The Mass is indeed a mystery play on the theme : "So God loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son to the end that all that believe in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life."¹ The Missal and the Prayer Book are wisely reticent as to the exact nature of the relations between the god and the worshipper. The exhortation before the communion tells us that "we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ and drink His blood ; then we dwell in Christ and Christ in us ; we are one with Christ, and Christ with us." God and communicant become one as in the soma ritual, but in a different sense ; to give precision to that sense is contrary to the spirit of Christianity in its purer form ; but there are always minds that require precision, and wish to visualize ; witness these two lines of Hymn Ancient and Modern No. 324, one of the communion hymns :

" Jesu, gentle Saviour,
Thou art in us now."

This spatial conception yields little in crudity to the Vedas, and it shows how easily we fall back into the ideas of ancient times ; it only requires that we should express modern dogmas in terms of space and matter ; and in the Roman Catholic world this is widely done, both by the believing masses and their free-thinking opponents. How near and yet how far away ! The forms of the new may

¹ John iii. 16.

be strangely reminiscent of those of the old, but the spirit is entirely different. It is the difference between matter with a touch of the spirit, and spirit expressing itself in terms of matter. We no longer expect from ambrosia exemption from disease or broken limbs; the Italian peasant may place his lottery ticket on the altar to make it lucky, the Wallis Islander may imagine that you can say a mass to make your enemy die,¹ but these are degradations of the Mass, points of view surviving from old times. Immortality is no longer freedom from all the ailments that diminish life in this world, and survival with the help of rites and spells in the next; immortality means now what Aristotle wished it to mean, that is, imperishableness. The soul is immortal by nature, not by the sacrifice; the only question now is whether it is going to be immortal unto bliss or unto suffering. But the texts say nothing about a good or a bad immortality; they merely pray for eternal life without any qualification. If we had only the texts to go by we should infer that the purpose of the Mass is, like that of the soma-sacrifice, to make the soul immortal. The fact is that the texts are old forms of expression which have not changed with the doctrine.

Benefits are indeed asked for in this world, but they are of a spiritual kind: *diesque nostros in tua pace disponas*, "and order our days in thy peace." The remission of sins appears in Vedic ritual, but their sin is rather ritual error than wrong-doing before God; there is no trace of that contrition which gives to Christian worship so much of its spiritual power.

One of the chief differences I have already touched upon, the relation between God and man, is not a spatial one; in fact, it is not precisely defined. We might expect from the premises and the form of words that the communicant should become a god; but this would be quite inconsistent with the worship of one only god, and with the

¹ "Mana," *Man*, 1914, No. 46.

exalted notion we have formed of that god. A Vedic worshipper could reasonably claim to have become a god at a time when a god was nothing more than the essence or double of some object such as the sun, or the moon, or a plant; the Fijian initiate may make us smile when he imagines himself to have become an elf of a very common kind, he does not shock us; but for any one to claim to be identical with the eternal and infinite Creator of this vast Universe is both preposterous and shocking. The logical conclusion is therefore not drawn: the communicant may be one with Christ, but he is not Christ. How this can be is not explained; mystery is substituted for logic; and that is where we chiefly differ from the founders of communion. Contrary to all accepted notions it is they who are inexorably logical and we who are sentimentally illogical; I do not mean in all things; for what can be more severely logical than our science? I mean only in those things which the ancients thought out in their rude way and which we have preserved because, in some way we do not understand as yet, they contain much of psychological value, though the original reasons have long been abandoned. The ancients were thinking out means to an end; they had a definite purpose in view, health and prosperity; and when men are devising means to an end they all think according to certain laws of thought which we call logic. But the end has long been abandoned, because it was found the means were quite inadequate; much of those means, however, have been preserved on account of their high emotional value; much having no such value, was discarded at the risk of inconsequence. It is impossible to satisfy emotional needs and at the same time be logical; when working out an idea to its logical conclusion we may hit upon ideas that do a great deal of spiritual good, but we shall probably as often come to others that are indifferent or even distasteful, and therefore presumably harmful. We may admire the

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thoroughness with which the Brahmanic writers worked out their principles to their minutest consequence, but we feel no enthusiasm for their results ; the argument frequently leads into trivialities that weary or even shock ; yet remove them and the whole logic is shaken. They have been removed and the logic has been so shaken that the Church no longer relies upon it for its justification : to attempt to follow out premises to their logical conclusion it opposes the *mysterium fidei*, " the mystery of faith." Tertullian is reported to have said, "*Credo, quia non intelligo*," " I believe because I do not understand," and rationalists have eagerly seized on what appears to be a serious indiscretion on the part of an apologist. Yet Tertullian was right : it is only as long as men cannot understand that they can have faith. We can see how in the present age the activity of reasoning is withering not only religious enthusiasm, about the value of which opinions might differ, but even those uncontroverted impulses such as the desire for offspring and the loyalty to tribe and race which logic was meant to assist, but not to control.

The difference between Vedism and Christianity is not one between primitive and advanced, between ancient and modern, but between the beginning and the end of a system. At first necessity shapes thought, because man will not strike out new lines of thought except for practical purposes, that is, to solve a problem ; necessity shapes it in a rude mould, the mould of reality, which is rough and uneven, and not according to our wishes ; but when man has by his thinking freed himself from bare necessity, he can trim his thought and improve its shape to conform better with his desires ; but the better it is to look upon the less useful it is, till, if the process is carried too far, it ceases to be any use at all.

Religion in this does but follow the same course as the arts. First men build to house themselves, or speak to convey information ; but in so doing pleasing effects are

often obtained ; these are developed and are often retained because of their beauty after they have ceased to be useful. The highest perfection is reached when bare use has been clothed, but not smothered with ornament. The earlier stages are too rude, the later too futile to please. What particular stage the Christian religion has reached we are all too ignorant and too much interested to be able to decide with knowledge and without prejudice.

VII

THE CORONATION CEREMONY

THE comparative philologists owe their success in great part to their analyzing language into its smallest elements which are sounds. They have treated words as groups of sounds of which some persist, others change or fade altogether, thus altering the complexion of the whole group till in time it becomes unrecognizable. We cannot do better than follow their example in dealing with other creations of the human mind. Let us therefore make an experiment with the coronation ceremonies. They are made up of numerous rites and observances, some of which are remarkably constant, while others vary to the point of disappearing altogether. For the convenience of the reader we shall give each of these components a letter so that it can be seen at a glance which are present and which are missing in each country, and compare those that are present with the forms they assume in other regions. A complete set of all the parts is not known to occur anywhere. If it did it would appear as follows :

A. The theory is that the King (1) dies ; (2) is reborn, (3) as a god.

B. By way of preparation he fasts and practises other austerities.

C. (1) Persons not admissible to the sacrifice, such as strangers, sinners, women and children, are kept away,

THE CORONATION CEREMONY

and are not allowed to know anything ; (2) an armed guard prevents prying eyes.

D. A kind of sabbath is observed ; the people are silent and lie quiet as at a death.

E. The King must fight a ritual combat (1) by arms, or (2) by ceremonies, and (3) come out victorious.

F. The King is admonished to rule justly and (2) promises to do so.

G. He receives communion in one or two kinds.

H. The people indulge at one point in (1) obscenities, or (2) buffoonery.

I. The King is invested with special garments.

J. He is baptized with water,

K. and anointed with oil,

L. when a human victim is killed,

M. and the people rejoice with noise and acclamations,

N. and a feast is given.

O. The King is crowned,

P. puts on shoes,

Q. and receives other regalia such as a sword, a sceptre, a ring, etc.,

R. and sits upon a throne.

S. He takes three ceremonial steps in imitation of the rising sun.

T. At the conclusion of the ceremonies he goes the round of his dominions and receives the homage of the vassals.

U. He receives a new name.

V. The Queen is consecrated with the King.

W. So are the vassals or officials either at the coronation ceremony, or in the course of the King's tour.

X. Those who take part in the rites are dressed up as gods, sometimes with masks,

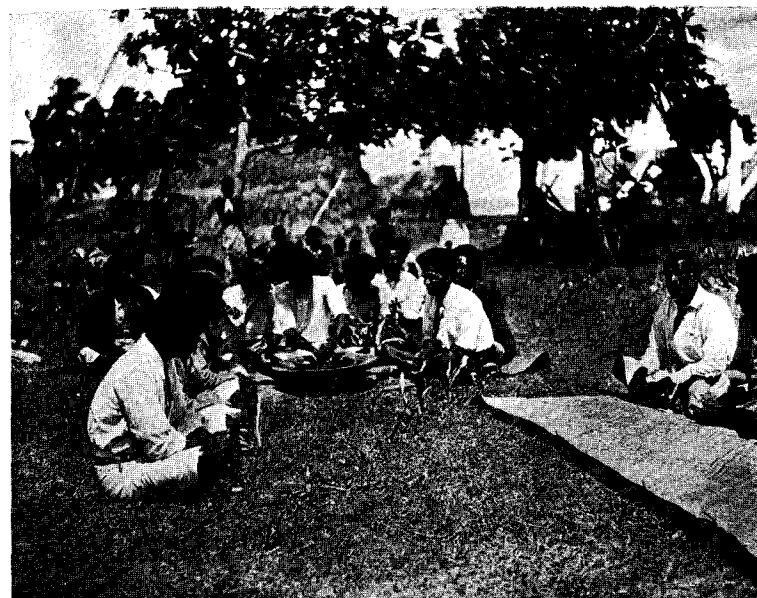
Y. which may be those of animals, thus identifying the wearer with some kind of beast.

Z. A king may be consecrated several times, going up each time one step in the scale of kingship.

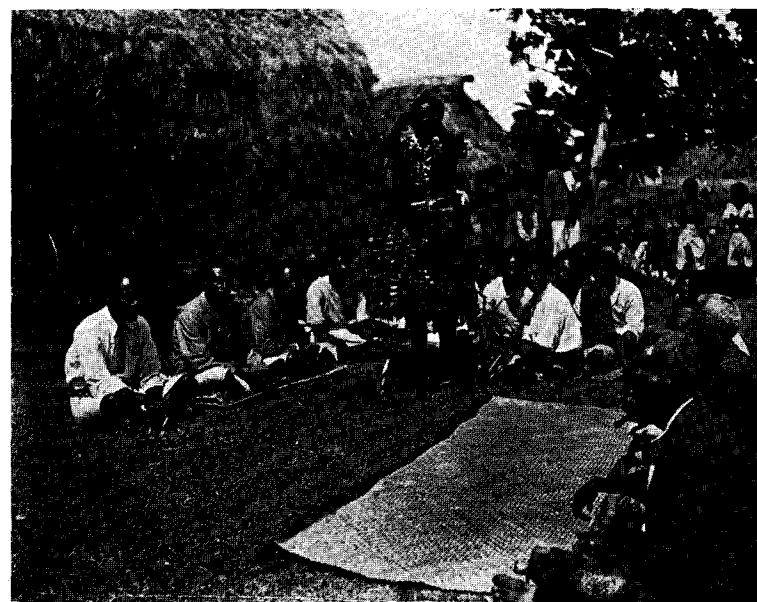
Items *V* and *W* will not appear in the present chapter because they require chapters to themselves. *X* and *Y* cannot be adequately discussed till we come to initiation.

We shall first pass in review the ceremonial in usage among the Fijians. I will leave a man of the tribe of Levuka in the island of Lakemba to describe how the Vunivalu, or War-chief of Mbau, was installed as Tui Levuka or King of Levuka.

"The Levukans brought with them to Mbau a big sheet of bark-cloth. A week before the ceremony the people cut firewood, drew water, and gathered leaves for plates so that every one being provided with necessities might remain indoors after the ceremony. The Kava ceremony is very difficult. All the nobles of Mbau and Tailevu foregathered on the Green. All the Levukans wore turbans; the other people might not wear a turban or any ornament on their arms. If a Levukan should see a man wearing a turban or other ornament he would at once remove it. There were three men making kava. When the cup was full the cup-bearer held it level with his shoulders and crossed his legs as he went; the people clapped hands, keeping time with his feet so that the setting down of his feet and the clapping should not be out of time. The chief had a sash on one arm; he may not take the cup with that hand or he will be fined. When he has had his cup the chiefs of the various villages drink also. At Thakombau's installation Ndaulakemba and Metuisela's father each took one end of a sash, folded it and tied it on the Vunivalu's arm saying, 'Let the bark-cloth be tied, to be the cloth of your food, the cloth of your riches; also reverence him since he is your Lord.' Then those who made the kava retired. The two of them brought four hundred whales' teeth; they walked up to the chief, carrying them, and half way each crossed over to the other side. The chief held out his arms sideways and they hung whales' teeth upon them till he no longer



PREPARING THE CHIEF'S KAVA
Mbatiki, Fiji



THE CUP BEARER
Mbatiki, Fiji

could bear the weight ; then he put them down ; then they loaded his arms again. The nobles of Mbau took off their clothes to those who made the kava ; each man got one bale.

" On the day on which the chief drinks until the drinking is over it is forbidden to any one to go out of doors or for any child to cry. This lasts four nights. After fetching water the men come to the house and call out, ' Water ! ' then the people inside open the door and one or two big jars are brought in ; then the door is shut so that no one may go out. Kava is made at the beginning of the night, then again at cockcrow. This is repeated on four successive nights. During those nights the Vuni-valu and Ndaulakemba slept out of doors. All those nights no lights are allowed (that is out of doors), and if any canoe comes in sight the men go out and seize it. That is why the kava is feared, for any one caught outside is fined. At the end of the four nights the chief bathes, then they fire off muskets that the whole land may hear that he has bathed ; then all the people are set free, and any one who wishes to come to Mbau by sea or land may come. When the chief of Mbau was about to bathe the men of Soso and of Lasakau used to go secretly to some village and kill a man for the bathing. Of old they had men for the bathing feast. The body was offered up to the chiefs of Levuka, baked and eaten."

Our narrator has omitted several details which were given me elsewhere, and were said to be universal in Fiji. Thus before the ceremony all the children are removed from the village lest they should cry, and all the women retire also. Men armed with clubs mount guard to see that no one speaks and to prevent any one coming that way after the ceremony has begun. Any one who does is fined. In the course of the ceremony a man, or it may be two, armed with clubs will in some cases come up to the new chief, and offer to fight for the chief and be his defence.

The admonition as given in the text is addressed to the people only, but other accounts state that the masters of ceremony while they tie the cloth on the chief's arm or before doing so admonish him "to be kind to the people, not to be choleric, to make the people of the land at home, to invite them often, to be kind to them that they may enjoy his company." The crossing of the legs was said to be universal, and elsewhere it was stated that the cup-bearer was deliberately grotesque, yet that any one who laughed would be fined. I must call attention to the fact that the Mbauan chief has been previously installed as Vunivalu. In the same way the chief of Lakemba is first installed as Roko Sau, then, after an interval, as King of Nayau. Such degrees of chieftainship are found elsewhere in Fiji.

The observances at a Fijian chief's consecration have much in common with those that follow a chief's death. When a chief dies the children are removed from the village and no crying, no wailing, no beating out of bark-cloth, or any noise is allowed. The mourners remain in the house of mourning till bark-cloth board is beaten to show that the making of cloth is once more allowed. Following the death there is a big feast and a kava ceremony is held on the village green at which "everything is done in noble fashion, because the dead are noble." On the last night of mourning the men go to the women's house and joke and make them laugh. So frequently is joking and buffoonery associated in various parts of the world with death that when we come across ceremonial joking it is advisable to consider whether we are not in the presence of death, real or mystical, or whether the spirits of the dead are not concerned. Finally, at the end of the mourning the people bathe and of old a man was killed and eaten. The obvious conclusion is that the chief's consecration and the death ceremonial are constructed on similar lines because their subject is the

same; the subject is death, in one case real, in the other fictitious.

There is, however, in the installation of Tui Mavana, a chief of the Windward Islands, a feature which I have not found elsewhere but which seems to supply a valuable clue to the meaning of the ceremonial. After the kava the chief is nursed for four nights in the lap of the elders, who take it in turns. Now this is exactly what happens at the birth of a chief's eldest son, except for the number of days: he is nursed by the ladies for ten nights and never allowed to touch the ground all that time; then they bathe. This suggests that the new chief is supposed to be reborn; but we have just suggested that he is supposed to die. How can we reconcile these two theories? No one who has any knowledge of ritual throughout the world will experience the slightest difficulty in doing so. The conception of death as a rebirth is one of the most widespread, and the Fijians were no strangers to it, for in Nakelo when a chief dies "they conduct the body to the river-side where the ghostly ferryman comes to ferry Nakelo ghosts across the stream. As they attend the chief on his last journey they hold their great fans close to the ground to shelter him, because 'His soul is only a little child.'" ¹ The installation of Tui Mavana so far from upsetting the theory of ceremonial death confirms it, for in order to be reborn you must first die.

Reborn as what? The Fijians nowhere explicitly tell us; most probably they do not know. We are thus reduced to inference. We know that a chief represents the god. We know that the ceremonial drinking of kava introduces a god or departed spirit into the man who drinks. Lastly, we know that bark-cloth is frequently used to catch and secure gods and souls, and it was commonly hung in temples as the path followed by the gods when they came down to give oracles. A legend of

¹ Rev. L. Fison, quoted by Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2nd ed. i. 230.

Matuku makes it quite plain that this is the function of the bark-cloth in the installation ceremony. This legend tells us that a god presented to a man of Matuku a snake which was the ancestor-god of the nobles of that island. The god tied a piece of bark-cloth, saying, "Behold the cloth of sovereignty. If you take the snake and install a chief tie the cloth on his arm." The nobles followed these instructions, and ever since when they install a King of Yaroi they tie a piece of bark-cloth on his arm, and leave it four nights. At the end of that time the cloth is slipped off and the knot is pulled tight. The cloth is then kept in a box as "the cloth of the land." When the chief dies the cloth is buried with him. These facts lead us to interpret the Fijian rites as follows: the god is brought to the chief in the bark-cloth; he is put into the chief in the form of kava; the chief's old self dies and the god takes its place as a new self which is born, nursed into life, and bathed to cleanse it of the impurities of the womb.

The chief points of the Fijian ceremony of installation can now be tabulated as follows:

- A. Theory: death and rebirth as a god.
- C. Exclusion of women and strangers; armed guard.
- D. Silence, quiescence, as at a death.
- E. Champion offers his services to the chief. There is, however, no battle.
- F. Admonition to rule kindly.
- G. Drinking of ambrosia, and distribution of food.
- H. Antics.
- I. Tying on the cloth of sovereignty.
- J. Ceremonial bathing.
- L. A human victim is killed for the bathing.
- M. Noise and rejoicing after the bathing.
- N. Feast at the bathing.
- O. There is no investiture with the crown, but the chief is the only one allowed to wear a turban unless the privilege has been granted to some clan.

Q. There is no investiture with the regalia, but there are regalia such as the breast disc of pearl shell and ivory, and there are indications in legend and history that the possession of the regalia confers sovereignty.

T. Some time after the installation the chief goes the round of vassal lands to take possession. He is received with the usual kava ceremonial and offerings of produce of the land. The tour is not circular.

U. The chief cannot be said actually to take a new name, but his personal name is avoided, he will be referred to as the "Lord," or by his title, or people will say, "Word has come from the Great House."

Z. There are degrees of consecration.

The Indian coronation ritual is infinitely richer than the Fijian, so rich in fact that the difficulty is rather to pick out the more salient facts which will be of use to us for comparative purposes.

A. It is truly gratifying to find that the theory which was only inferred in Fiji is stated in plain terms in the *Satapatha Brahmana*.¹ We are there told that the officiating priest invests the king with a garment called *tārpya* "and says, 'Thou art the inner caul of sovereignty.' He thus causes him to be born out of what is the inner caul of sovereignty." He then puts on a second garment, "saying, 'Thou art the outer caul of sovereignty.' He thus causes him to be born from what is the outer caul of dominion. He then throws over him the mantle with 'Thou art the womb of sovereignty.' He thus causes him to be born from what is the womb of sovereignty. As to why he makes him put on the garments; he thereby causes him to be born." Could anything be more explicit? I cannot indeed find any reference to death, but rebirth

¹ v. 3. 5. 20 ff. The quotations describing the old Indian rite are from that book when not otherwise stated.

presupposes death ; you cannot be reborn without dying first.

B. The preparation for the consecration ceremony includes fasting. The Indian with his ascetic tendency lays great stress on fasting and penance as the road to godhead. The Fijian, who likes the good things of the material world and hates an empty stomach, very seldom stints himself even for ceremonial purposes. In India it is absolutely necessary that the aspirant to Empire should fit himself for his duties by a period of seclusion and fasting, as we have seen Mahasudassana do in the third chapter of this work.¹ In the Brahmanic ritual fasting is part of the *dīkshā* or preparation to any big sacrifice.

C. The uninitiated, the *sudras*, that is the common people, the women and the children, are excluded from the Indian king's consecration.²

E. In the third chapter of this book we have already described the magical fight the king wages with the demons and its victorious issue, as well as his mock combat with another man. Nothing could demonstrate more clearly how essential victory, whether by spells or by arms, was to a king's accession than the following note on Tamil customs which I owe to Sir P. Ramanathan : "From Nachinarkiniyar's commentary on the *sutram*, it would appear that a king besieging an ~~enemy~~'s city used to crown himself on entering the city."

F. We possess a detailed description of the consecration of the first Buddhist king of Ceylon. A representative of each of the three aristocratic castes in turn admonishes the king to rule justly.³

G. Soma, which we have identified with the Polynesian kava, figures several times in the Indian consecration ;⁴

¹ *Digha*, iii. 60 *et. seq.*

² *Sat. Br.* v. 3. 2. 1.

³ *Mahavamsa Tika*, p. 213.

⁴ *Sat. Br.* Eggeling's translation, *Sacred Books of the East*, xli. pp. 42, note 1 and 68, note 2, and p. xii.

but it is not like kava the culminating point ; indeed it would be easy to miss it in the mass of minute prescriptions and endless commentaries.

I. The garments with which the Indian king is invested have already been described together with their function : they represent the various membranes of the womb into which the king is supposed to enter in order to be born again. They are termed the cauls and the womb of dominion or sovereignty. After putting on the womb the priest hands to the king five dice, saying, "Thou art the master ; may these five regions of thine (*i.e.* the four points of the compass and the zenith) fall to thy lot." Sovereignty is thus acquired by the decision of the dice, and this reminds us of the game played for supremacy between the Dalai Lama and the King of the Demons in Tibet, and thus leads us back to the idea of victory.

J. The lustration with water is in Fiji merely the winding up. In India, it is the climax of the whole consecration and therefore gives its name to the whole sacrifice which is known as *abhisheka*. The method is illustrated by one of the frescoes at Ajanta : the king is seated on a throne and a man on either side pours water upon him out of a pitcher. It is important to note that in all lustrations, whether royal or otherwise, there are always *two* streams of water. The only exception I know is in Ceylon, where water was poured on the king successively out of a golden chank, a silver one, and a natural one with spiral running clockwise. The king faces the East, the quarter of the sun.¹ The lustration is quite definitely a baptism after birth, for as he puts on the womb garments the priest thinks, "I will anoint him when born."

K. After he has been anointed with various kinds of water the king is anointed with clarified butter. This is

¹ Lady Herringham, *Ajanta Frescoes*, Pl. xii. *Mahavamsa Tika*, p. 213. *Sat. Br.* v. 4. 2. 1. *Rajatarangini*, iii. 239 ff.

evidently part of the lustration, and oil is merely one of the liquids used. In the installation of a king of Kosala's queen, oil was poured out of three conches just like the water in Ceylon.

L. In early times a human victim was immolated on the day of the lustration ceremony.¹

O. A gold plate is placed on the king's head. This plate represents the sun.

P. A year after the consecration the king's hair is cut and he puts on shoes.

Q. The king is given a wooden sword which is called thunderbolt. Now a thunderbolt is any sacrificial object that repels the demons.

R. The king is made to sit on a throne which represents the womb.

S. Some time after the crowning the king takes three steps in imitation of the god, Vishnu and thus paces out the three worlds, earth, air, heaven, and ascends to the region of the gods.

T. We have already described how Mahasudassana on becoming emperor set out to circumambulate his new realms, beginning at the East and following the course of the sun. At each of the four quarters he received the homage and fealty of the vassal kings. In the ritual as laid down in the Brahmanas the king is made to "ascend" successively the East, the South, the West and the North, but this circumambulation takes place immediately round the altar on the sacrificial ground.

U. Evidently the king after his consecration receives a new name, for it is said, "He who is consecrated by the consecration ceremony has two names."

Z. There are various degrees of sovereignty, and therefore also of consecration, the highest of all being the very difficult horse-sacrifice which confers universal

¹ Eggeling's Introduction to *Sat. Br. Pt. v. (Sacred Books of the East, xlv.)*, p. xxxv.

dominion. Among Buddhists the highest rank is Wheel-monarch.

The modern Cambodian rite is derived from the Indian. It is in fact called *aphisék*, from the Sanskrit *abhisheka*.¹ It is therefore, so to speak, merely a dialect of the Indian family and not, like the Fijian rite, a separate language. Nevertheless it is worth study because it represents a somewhat different line of descent from the Brahmanic; it is a collateral branch. We shall in effect find in Cambodia features which undoubtedly come from India but which are not there recorded or have not been noticed by Indian authors because they were not regarded as parts of the true priestly ritual.

A. The theory of the Cambodian consecration is not indicated. As the Cambodians are Buddhists, doubtless the king's godhead is much attenuated, as in Ceylon and other Buddhist countries, but he is very much in touch with the gods and there is a special deity that abides in the throne room and gives him good counsel.

E. The idea of victory is much in evidence: there is a candle of victory, a flag of victory, a gong of victory, an elephant of victory; the fifth day, which is the day of the lustration proper, is called "the favourable, happy, victorious and glorious day." No mention, however, is made of any combat with men or with demons; perhaps it survives in the rite of brandishing the sacred sword, which the king must perform in order to become king.

F. The kingdom salutes its king, who on the other hand takes some engagement towards his kingdom, but though the form of the engagement is described, the purport is not.

G. Soma seems to have dropped out altogether. Buddhism does not recognize soma.

I. The ministers place on the king's shoulders a royal

¹ A. Leclère, Cambodge, "*Fêtes civiles et religieuses*" (*Annales du Musée Guimet*, 1917).

mantle, red, with gold embroidery. If this is the old "mantle of dominion" it has got misplaced because the theory has been forgotten: theory requires that the womb garments should come before the lustration, but in Cambodia the mantle comes after.

J. As in India, the lustration is the central point of the ritual. It is not poured directly on the head but down a gutter which discharges on his head.

K. After the lustration the king is anointed with oil on the forehead, the chin, and the palms. The purpose is to show that the whole person of the king is henceforth sacred.

M. As soon as the water has been poured on the king, conches are blown, music is played, and guns are fired.

N. The lustration is followed by a distribution of cooked rice as alms.

O. After the lustration the king receives the various insignia of his rank: a crown;

P. shoes of an Indian pattern which he alone may wear;

Q. a sword which he has to brandish or he may not become a king; a seal; a sevenfold parasol;

R. a throne.

T. The day after the lustration the Cambodian king, like Mahasudassana, goes on a circumambulation with a mighty retinue which includes infantry, horses, elephants. The king goes round the city in the direction of the hands of a clock, and at each of the cardinal points he is received by dignitaries, washes his face and sprinkles the earth to show that he takes possession of the ground. Our authority seems to imply that, like Mahasudassana, he promulgates rules of conduct.

The above account shows a great many blanks; many features of the Indian rite are either not mentioned or do not exist; yet we know as a matter of fact that the Cambodian rite is of Indian origin. We have no cause

then to be uneasy if rites which we do not *positively* know to be Indian in origin do not reproduce all the features of the Indian rite; we should give more weight to the agreements than to the differences. There are excellent reasons why coronation ceremonies should alter rapidly: they are as a rule exceedingly complicated, yet the opportunities for rehearsing them are few and far between. When, therefore, we find as many correspondences between Fijian and Old Indian ritual as between Old Indian and Modern Cambodian, we have no justification for rejecting a common origin, but every reason in favour of one. The ceremonies immediately accompanying the lustration strongly support a common origin. If we supplement the Brahmanic account with the Cambodian we find that the lustration rite was followed by a human sacrifice, noisy rejoicings, and a feast. Exactly the same group is found in Fiji. Is this mere coincidence?

Very little is known about the actual coronation of the kings of Egypt; but fortunately they were daily recapitulated in the ritual of the House of the Morning, or, as M. Moret calls it, the Chamber of Adoration. The great Sed festival held every few years repeated in full the coronation ceremony which was abridged in the daily worship.¹ We can thus complete the coronation rite from its repetitions.

A. The idea that death is a rebirth was so consistently carried out in Egypt that from the earliest period "all the episodes of the divine nativity, such as they are found applied to kings in the temples," were also applied to the dead: they were conceived and born, Isis suckled them, they became kings. The funerary rites which consecrated the dead as gods were identical with those which made him a god during his lifetime. We may either say that

¹ Authorities: A. Moret, *Du Caractère Religieux de la Royauté Pharaonique*; A. M. Blackman, *Luxor and its Temples*, p. 119 ff., and "Osiris or the Sun-God?" (*Journ. of Egyptian Arch.* xi. p. 6), and verbal information.

when the living king is represented on monuments as being suckled by the wife of the principal god after the daily ritual he is imitating the rebirth of the dead, or that when the dead are suckled by Isis they repeat the king's consecration. It is all one since

death = birth = coronation.

The king was reborn as the result of lustration.

E. The king's Horus names "ascribed to him the personality of the celestial god or of the son of Osiris, conqueror of Set."

I. In the daily ritual the Pharaoh was clothed after the lustration and before the anointing. This does not agree with the Brahmanic theory of the coronation garments.

J. The king is sprinkled with holy water which endows him with life, good fortune, stability, health and happiness. As in India the water is always poured from two vases.

K. The king is then clothed, and then anointed.

L. At great festivals the king sometimes sacrificed a group of prisoners after the completion of the rites of the chamber of adoration.

N. The rites of the chamber of adoration were followed by a repast, the obligatory conclusion of every sacred service. The king alone appears to partake; in the countries we have studied so far others partake.

O. After the lustration the king receives the white crown of Upper Egypt, then the red crown of Lower Egypt. These crowns were goddesses. The meaning of the various parts of the crown is doubtful, but Egyptologists are of opinion that some are solar symbols.

P. At the Sed festival, after the coronation, the priests tied under the king's feet lotus and papyrus to symbolize the union of North and South. (Note that in Indian sculpture the gods constantly have lotuses underneath their feet.)

Q. Among the many royal insignia we may note the shepherd's crook and the sceptre.

R. The throne was evidently of considerable importance, for such expressions as the following are common: "The king on the throne of Ra"; "He arises like a king on the throne of Horus of the living," and so forth.

T. The circumambulation immediately followed the imposition of the crown. As there were two crowns there were two circumambulations. "The procession went round the walls, going round on the eastern side. This commemorated the triumphal procession of Menes round the walls of Memphis in celebration of his conquest of Lower Egypt."

M. Moret gives another theory, namely, that it represents the sun's course in heaven. Doubtless this is the true origin of the rite, but since Menes performed it when he became king of Lower Egypt it attached itself to that particular event. It is not uncommon in the history of customs for some old practice to become connected with some late event.

U. The Pharaoh at his accession received a second name. He may also receive a new name after a victory.¹

X. Y. We should carefully note a feature which has not appeared so far nor will recur in any coronation ceremony, but to which we shall have to return when dealing with initiation. The priests impersonate various animal-headed gods such as Horus, Set, etc.; and in order to do so wear masks.

There is one rite of the Sed festival which is not found in coronation rites of other countries, but which must be described because it has an important bearing on the question of common origins. The exact interval at which this festival recurred is not finally settled, but this much seems certain, that after the first thirty years of the king's reign it was repeated at intervals of two to four years. The king at this festival arrayed himself in the garments peculiar to Osiris and the Osirian gods. He took a bow

¹ H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 239.

and shot an arrow to each cardinal point of the compass. A little temple near the sanctuary of Medinet Habu explains that the arrows are shot "against his enemies which the god has delivered to him."¹ Now the story of the king of the Indian tribe of Kurus whom we already know as the great upholder of the five commandments, describes how every three years he held a festival at which, decked in all his garments and assuming the garments of a god, he stood in presence of the demon Citraraja and shot an arrow towards each of the four quarters.²

Unction with oil was in use in ancient Syria and Cyprus.³

The Hebrew rite is of the greatest importance to us. Unfortunately our information is meagre because we have no description of it, but only allusions to such of its features as come into narratives.

A. The theory is clear: after the unction the Spirit of the Lord came upon Saul and he was turned into another man. The Spirit of the Lord also came upon David after his anointing.

F. Jehoiada made a covenant "between the Lord and the King, and the people . . . between the King also and the people." It appears to follow the coronation of Joash. In the case of David it appears to precede.

K. The king is anointed with oil.

M. Then the people "clapped their hands and said, 'God save the King' . . . and blew with trumpets."

O. The king was crowned.

R. After all was over he went to sit upon a throne.

Some protest may be raised when we go on to include the triumphant procession of a victorious Roman general in our collection of coronation rites. Why bring in a

¹ Really "'her' enemies," for in this text it refers to the king's mother.

² *Jataka*, No. 276, ii. 372.

³ H. Winckler, *Tel-el Amarna Letters*, p. 99. R. Dussaud, *Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la Mer Egée*, p. 248.

ceremony that can so easily be explained as an ebullition of joy over a victory? What need is there of connecting it with Eastern coronation rites? Because mere rejoicing is quite inadequate to explain the details of the ceremony. Mere joy may cause people to jump and dance, to laugh, and possibly shout; it does not make them walk in procession, clothe the victor in a god's garments, or offer a sacrifice carefully regulated by ritual books. In order to produce this result very definite ideas must be added to the joy, and what are those ideas? We may use as a clue the Tamil custom that a king crowns himself on capturing a city. Is it possible that the triumph owes its origin to the ancient bond between victory and consecration?¹

A. The theory is clearly expressed by the garments of the triumphant general: he wears the ornaments of Capitoline Jupiter which have been borrowed from the temple of the Capitol. He therefore impersonates Jupiter; yet he is not so completely identified with the god as to be indistinguishable from him; for in order to avert the evil eye a slave stands behind him and says, "Look behind thee! Remember thou art a man." This is in accordance with the more archaic form of divine kingship. It is only in its later developments that kings pose as gods in their own right, and not merely as representatives of the god. The idea of rebirth is not to be traced.

E. The abolition of kingship in Rome has done away with the main purpose of the ceremony and left the idea of victory in sole possession. It has degenerated into a mere pageant of victory. Yet the old idea of dominion, to which victory was merely the preparation, survives in the fiction that the victorious general holds dominion or sovereignty during his triumph. Normally a general on entering the city loses his *imperium*, that is dominion or sovereignty, the Roman equivalent of the Indian *Kshatra*.

¹ For the triumph, see Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, ii. 581 ff.

But when the general is allowed a triumph, a special law is passed in order that he may retain dominion for the duration of his triumph. Why should all this trouble be taken over an ephemeral and purely nominal sovereignty unless it was a survival of something which was essential to the whole ceremony? In India the attainment of dominion was the very purpose of the whole rite, and we may conjecture that the legally-minded Roman, while abolishing the substance, retained the form.

G. The idea of communion is implied in the sacrifice. Ambrosia seems, however, to have become very much atrophied in Roman ritual and to reduce itself to pouring wine on the victim.

H. The soldiers make obscene jests.

I. The general wears Jove's tunic and toga. They are purple with golden threads. The stars on the toga point to a heavenly connection. Besides, we know that Jupiter is a heavenly god.

L. Distinguished captives were executed immediately after the triumph. This execution could evidently not follow after the unction since there was none.

M. For the same reason the acclamations were displaced: the victor was acclaimed *imperator* on the field of battle. Acclamations also accompanied the procession.

N. For the same reason again the concluding feast to the magistrates and the senate came after the procession.

O. The general wore a laurel crown and a slave held over his head the golden crown of Jupiter, which was too heavy for him to wear.

P. He wore gilt shoes and

Q. bore a sceptre of ivory tipped with an eagle.

R. The general appears to have had a state chair.¹

T. With the abolition of kingship the rite of consecration appears to have dropped out altogether. The Republic could not tolerate a ceremonial which trans-

¹ Smith's *Dict. of Antiquities*, s.v. "*Triumphus*."

formed a man into a king. Nothing therefore intervenes between the victory and the final procession: there is no unction; the victor appears clad in divine garments, but we assist at no investiture; he wears a crown, but we are shown no coronation ceremony. Perhaps we may look upon the proclamation of the general as *imperator* after the battle as an atrophied remnant of a once elaborate installation.

U. The victor receives a new name, Germanicus, Britannicus, Africanus, according to the name of the conquered nation, and he is usually known by that name.

Z. Besides the normal triumph there were inferior degrees such as the camp triumph and the triumph in the Alban Mount.

If my interpretation of the triumph is correct, it is by no mere accident that the title *imperator* was adopted by the later Romans to designate the lord of the Roman world the overlord of kings. They were merely restoring to the word its ancient dignities; they put back the flesh into the empty shell of a nominal and ephemeral sovereignty. That substance was restored to it largely by the East, which had never lost it. Our present-day conception of the emperor as a king of kings is therefore a lineal descendant of that prehistoric overlord, conqueror of the forces of darkness, controller of earth, air, and sky, who is preserved in his most archaic form in the ancient writings of India.

With this resuscitation of the Empire the various rites of consecration gradually found their way back into Roman ritual. Then came Christianity, which in time permeated the whole ritual and made it into a Christian sacrament. The outcome was the Byzantine rite which attained its final form about 1400 A.D.¹

¹ For the European and Abyssinian rites I have followed R. M. Woolley's *Coronation Rites*. Also for the English, L. G. W. Legg's *Suggestions for the Reconstruction of the Coronation Ceremonies*, p. 18; for the French, E. S. Dewick's *Coronation Book of Charles V. of France*, and Bloch's *Rois Thaumaturges*.

A. Religious progress had by this time elevated the idea of God to such heights that it was difficult to claim divinity for any human being ; but the Emperor was thought to owe his elevation " to the clemency of the Divine Trinity," and to be " crowned of God."

E. The Emperor addresses the people according to a formulary. The responses include such exclamations as " Mayest thou conquer ! " or " Thou conquerest." As these exclamations are addressed to the Empress as well there can be little question of actual warfare.

F. The Emperor has to take an oath that he will rule well and justly. He has also to make a profession of faith.

G. The communion was naturally no part of the coronation rite, since that rite was originally pagan. It gradually became associated with it and became essential to the Russian rite, which is the modern representative of the Byzantine. It might be argued that we have here a case of independent origin ; that the presence of the communion in the Byzantine rite is pure accident, and not a continuous tradition ; that what has happened in Constantinople may well have happened elsewhere, and that many features which we have taken to be evidence of a common origin would turn out to be really intrusive elements if we had a complete documentary record as in the case of the Byzantine Empire. I do not think the argument is sound. The idea of communion was present in the old triumph, though in an atrophied form ; it was completely abrogated with paganism ; but it was reintroduced by Christianity from the East, where divine kingship and the consecration of kings remained at all times exceedingly tenacious of life. If it was not a case of survival neither was it one of new creation ; it was one of revival. Just so the Oxford Movement has resuscitated old English practices that had vanished from the English Church, but were preserved by the Roman.

I. The imperial vestments survived from the Roman Empire. The robe was purple and continued to be so in Russia till the present century. As in the Vedic ritual there were three garments. The imperial chlamys was associated with sovereignty, for the Patriarch uttered over it a secret prayer asking God to " clothe him with power from on high."

K. The same applies to the unction as to the communion : it was evidently reintroduced from other Eastern ceremonials, since there is no mention of it till well on in the history of the Byzantine Empire.

L. The acclamations could not follow an unction that did not exist and so attached themselves to the coronation.

O. The crown,

P. the purple buskins and scarlet shoes,

Q. and the sceptre also survived from the Roman Empire.

R. The throne is not mentioned by our authority. The extensive use of the *sella* or chair by the Romans must have taken away much of the prestige of the Emperor's seat. In the Russian rite the Emperor seats himself on the throne after receiving the crown.

The Abyssinian rite is worth noticing in spite of our meagre records, on account of one peculiar rite which I take to represent the king's magical victory.

E. " At a little distance from the Church the Negus' progress is barred by a cord held across the road by young girls. Thrice they ask him who he is, and at first he answers that he is King of Jerusalem, or King of Sion, and at the third interrogation he draws his sword and cuts the cord, the girls thereupon crying out that he verily is their king, the King of Sion." You will remember the Gordian knot, how it was prophesied that he who unbound it would win the empire of the world, and how Alexander cut it with his sword and thus founded a mighty empire. Evidently the Abyssinian custom is not an isolated one.

G. The Negus receives the Holy Sacrament after

I. being invested with the mantle ; and the mantle is put on after the unction with sweet oil.

O. The crown and

Q. the naked sword are given at the same time as the mantle.

Since we study the customs of the world mainly in the hope of understanding our own it is fitting we should pass on to consider our own coronation ritual. As all the Western rites are closely akin it would be tedious to review them all in detail. We shall only turn to the Continental and the earlier English rites when it is necessary to supply the omissions of our present-day rite.

A. Christianity has, of course, affected the theory in the same way as in the Byzantine Empire. The King is not divine, yet the Spirit of God is present with him. In the coronation service of Charles V. of France, God is certainly conceived as present in space, for he is entreated to visit the king "like Gideon in the field, Samuel in the temple." The relations between the King and his Creator are clearly expressed in the hymn which in the English rite precedes the consecration, and of which the Latin original is :

*Veni, Creator Spiritus,
Mentes tuorum visita:
Imple superna gratia
Quae tu creasti pectora.*

Come, Creator Spirit,
Visit the souls of thy flock.
Fill with supernal grace
The hearts thou hast created.

The significance of this hymn will be the better understood if we remember that this is the hymn prescribed by the Roman and the Anglican Churches for Whitsun-day, and refers to Acts ii. 2, "And suddenly there came from heaven a sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind, and it

filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them tongues parting asunder, like as of fire, and it sat upon each one of them." Robert Grosseteste declared that the anointed king received "the septiform gift of the Holy Spirit." The mediaeval authors found their conception expressed by 1 Samuel, x. 6: "And he was turned into another man." The king, in short, was born again and his consecration was a baptism. "As at baptism the sins are forgiven, so also at the entering into religion," says Jean Golein in the fourteenth century, and since, "when the king divests himself, the meaning is that he relinquishes the former worldly estate to take that of the royal religion," therefore it follows "that the king is as much cleansed of his sins" as one who takes orders. Jean Golein further compares the royal unction to the baptism of Christ. The idea of rebirth was therefore clearly present to the minds of mediaeval writers. Of the idea of death there appears to be no trace unless we are to see a survival of it in the king's lying prostrate while the Litany is sung before the unction in the Roman Imperial, the Roman Royal, the Old English, and the French rites.

B. Fasting is implied by the Mass since it is necessary to fast before communicating. It is therefore no part of the coronation rites proper, but belongs to the Mass.

C. In the French rite, "on the Saturday before the Sunday on which the king is to be consecrated and crowned, after the singing of compline, the church must be given over to be guarded by such guards as are established by the king for the purpose." In the Spanish rite the sword, shield, and helmet are set on the altar and watched through the night. This is the first time we have met with a guard since we left Fiji, but it must be remembered that such a custom lying more or less outside the ritual proper is very likely to be omitted by treatises on the ritual.

D. The tendency of such treatises to ignore whatever no longer has a religious character is illustrated by the case of the challenger. Here is a striking custom: a champion comes forward and offers to fight any one who may dispute the king's title. This quaint survival must strike the popular imagination, but no mention is made of it in a modern treatise on coronation rites, because it is now a mere pageant.

The challenge is not the only trace of combat and victory. The idea of victory pervades the acclamations and the prayers. The Roman people wished Charlemagne "life and victory." The acclamations of the Roman Imperial rite have been described in the third chapter: "Christ our King conquers," and so on. An analogy is constantly drawn between the king's and Christ's victory, as witness this prayer from the Book of Charles V. said before the unction: "Armed with the helmet of Thy protection and ever protected by the invincible shield and surrounded by celestial weapons may he successfully obtain the triumph of a desirable victory over the enemies and strike the terror of his power into the infidels. . . . By Our Lord who by the power of the cross destroyed hell, and having overthrown the Devil's kingdom ascended as conqueror to heaven." Clearly the king's victory is still just as much spiritual as it was in the Vedic rite. Could anything be clearer than the prayer prescribed by the same rite for the putting on of the ring? "Armed with the protection of the Holy Trinity may he, an invincible soldier, continually conquer the armies of the Devil and prepare himself for true welfare of mind and body." It is true that victory is also prayed for over the king's enemies of flesh and blood; but these are invariably coupled, as in the prayer quoted above, with the unbelievers, the enemies of the Christian religion. The fact is that temporal enemies are still, just as in the Vedic age, but one particular case of the powers of evil; they are invariably

assumed to be wicked and they are to be numbered with infidels and devils among the army of Satan and the enemies of God.

F. Before his consecration our king takes the oath to the Constitution. This is no modern practice. In all the mediaeval rites the king is asked to respect the privileges of the Church. This he promises, and further takes an oath "to the Christian people in the name of Christ that the Church of God and all the Christian people shall preserve peace in all time by our rule. Secondly, I shall forbid all extortions and all unjust dealings in all ranks. Thirdly, that in all judgments I shall observe justice and mercy, in order that the indulgent and merciful God may grant us His mercy." The truth is that the Constitution is as old as kingship; from the earliest times the consecration was made conditional on a just rule, and it is only when nations reached the phase of excessive centralization and excessive elevation of the kingship over all other ranks that kings and their courts tried to forget the conditional nature of the royal power. That phase was reached in England under the Tudors and the Stuarts, and it is significant that those kings tried to deny the popular tenure of their power and escape its conditions by altering the coronation oath.

G. A Mass is said for the king. In countries of the Roman faith he communicates in both kinds like a priest.

I. There are *three* robes. The third is the *imperial* mantle or pall. I italicize the term imperial. The words which the Archbishop speaks while the Dean of Westminster puts on the mantle contain the idea of universal dominion: "Receive this Imperial Pall, which is formed with four corners, to let you know that the four corners of the world are subject to the power and empire of God, and that no man can reign happily upon earth, who hath not derived his authority from heaven." This imperial

mantle is mighty like the womb of dominion of the Brahmana. But if the three robes are the womb, then their putting on is in the wrong place, for in our ritual they follow the unction and a man cannot be baptized and then enter the womb. The Spanish rite answers this objection: in its earliest form, which is the earliest recorded Western rite, the king is arrayed in his robes before the unction. The rite of Navarre gives us the reason for the displacement: there the king first "disrobes and is arrayed in white vestments designed with special openings to admit of the anointing." What has happened then is this: the old meaning which required that the mantle should precede the unction, as conception precedes baptism, was lost, and thus a different motive was allowed to assert itself, a disinclination to soil the precious vestments of the coronation; considerations of a purely material order invaded the place left vacant by theology. A good example of loss of meaning, which is perhaps the commonest cause of change in custom.

K. The unction is with oil. In the Middle Ages it was the central point of the rite, but at the present day our attention is focussed rather on the imposition of the crown.

M. As early as the time of Charlemagne the acclamations have attached themselves to the laying on of the crown. In the earliest English record the people shout immediately the crown is set, "Let King So-and-So live for ever." In the French rite of the fourteenth century the same formula, "Let the King live for ever," is shouted, not after the crowning but later when the king has seated himself on the throne and received the kiss of peace.

N. The authorities make no mention of a concluding feast, for the excellent reason that such a feast would be purely secular. We could scarcely conceive a ceremony of this magnitude without a banquet to follow.

O. The crown, doubtless under Byzantine influence, has become so important a part of the ritual that the putting it on has given its name to the whole ceremony.

P. The shoes have been discontinued since George II.

Q. The regalia include the sword, which in most Western rites is brandished three times. The prayer used in the time of Charles V. indicates as clearly as possible that the sword is intended to win spiritual victories. It asks God "to show favour to our most Christian King that all the might of his enemies may be broken by the power of the spiritual sword." This sword is to protect not only the kingdom entrusted to him but also the "fortresses of God." The sword is essentially a sword of justice wherewith the king "enforces the power of justice and with strength destroys the might of injustice. . . . Mercifully helps and defends widows and orphans." The idea of justice is also associated with the verge. The sceptre has become the symbol of royal power. The fact that the ring is placed on the marriage finger will assume considerable importance in the next chapter. It does not appear to be derived from Constantinople.

R. The throne has become so important that we speak of a king ascending the throne, meaning that he succeeds to the kingship.

Z. The Holy Roman Empire preserved the degrees of kingship. The heir was installed as King of the Romans, and at his father's death as Emperor.

I think enough evidence has been set out to justify us in deriving from one common source all the coronation rites we have passed in review, and in suggesting provisionally what the parent rite must have been like: it included most, if not all, of the rites we have found, some here, some there, and these were disposed in an order which I am confident we shall some day be able to determine, though it were premature to attempt it now. It seems probable, however, that they are best retained in

India, and, such of them as survive, also in Fiji. We might perhaps roughly group them thus :

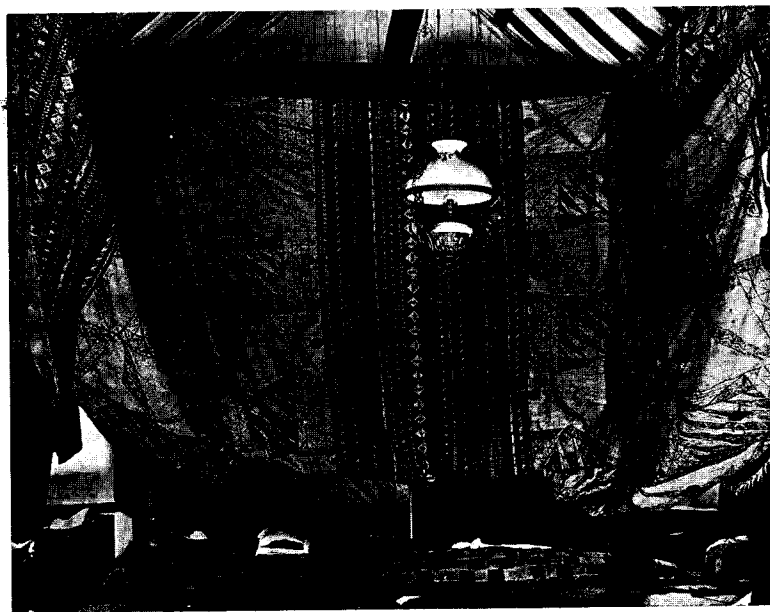
Preparation.
Victory.
Admonition and promise.
Clothing.
Communion.
Unction.
Investing with regalia.
Procession.

It is unfortunate that with the exception of the Roman triumph, and possibly the Fijian installation, all these rites can be traced to a comparatively small area of the globe, from the Aegean to the Ganges ; and if we remember that the Vedic rite probably came in with the Aryans we must move the Eastern frontier back to Iran or further west. This may be indeed the original home of all consecration rites. We do not know ; but at present it looks as if we were attempting to reconstitute the original form from one closely related group and only one outside example, just as if a philologist were to try and reconstitute the parent Indo-European language by the aid of all the Germanic languages and one Latin dialect. May we hope that the present study will serve as a stimulus to others to seek out other more distant forms and thus widen the basis of our inquiry ?



THE CHIEF'S CUP.

Mbatiki, Fiji. For the purpose of the photograph the chief sits on one side. He should face the bowl



NUPTIAL COUCH
Lakemba, Fiji

VIII

THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY

ONE of the most remarkable features of the marriage ceremony in our area is the royal state accorded to the bride and bridegroom. In Fiji there is nothing so markedly royal about it that we should notice it; it is only after we have reviewed other countries that we can return to Fiji and conclude that the magnificence and honour which the pair enjoy must be of royal origin. In Rotuma, a small island some three hundred miles north of Fiji, the chiefly character of this honour becomes more definite: the boy and the girl sit in state on mats against the east wall, the chiefly side of the house, with the people facing them on the other like a court. The couple eat off tables, a privilege which in ordinary life is reserved for chiefs. In the Malay States their royal state is clearly proclaimed. "The Malay wedding ceremony," says Mr. W. W. Skeat,¹ "even as carried out by the poorer classes, shows that the contracting parties are treated as royalty, that is to say, as sacred human beings. . . . I may mention firstly the fact that the bride and bridegroom are actually called *Raja Sari* (*i.e. Raja Sahari*, the 'sovereigns of a day'); and secondly, that it is a polite fiction that no command of theirs during their one day of sovereignty may be disobeyed."

The Malays have been profoundly influenced by India, and it is probable that in this they are merely following

¹ *Malay Magic*, p. 388.

India ; for nowhere, perhaps, is the royal state of bride and bridegroom so clearly expressed as in that country. Mrs. Stevenson thus comments on a Brahmanical wedding in Gujerat : ¹ " Now if we are to understand the salient points of a wedding, particularly a Nāgara wedding . . . we must grasp the idea that on their wedding day . . . the little bride and bridegroom represent Siva and Parvati. . . . The bridegroom has as much attention paid him as if he were a ruling chief ; for an umbrella as an ensign of rank is held over him. . . . The bride may not see her groom's face but is allowed to see the big toe of his right foot, on which she promptly makes a red mark and so intimates that she is worshipping the feet of a god." . . . Like a god the bridegroom sits on darbha-grass and is worshipped. After three days the bride and bridegroom bathe, " so washing away their divinity. Even then they do not become ordinary mortals, for they are looked on as king and queen till the end of the festivities, and as such the groom wields a sword. No permission from the state is needed for the bridegroom to hold his sword, so agreed is every one that for the time being he is a king. By the twice-born castes other than Brahmans, and even by some of the low-castes, the bridegroom is looked on as a king, not a divinity." The Indians then go further than the Malays and assert that the young couple are god and goddess. That is only to be expected since kings are gods ; yet the bride and bridegroom become more thoroughly divine even than kings, for there are degrees of divinity in India depending on the degree of identification with the god.

In Ancient Greece bride and bridegroom were crowned with chaplets. In Rome they wore wreaths of flowers and sacred herbs. In Russia crowns are held over their heads. Our poet, Spenser, thus describes the bride :

" And being crowned with a girland greene
Seeme like some mayden Queen." ²

¹ *Rites of the Twice-born*, pp. 68 ff.

² *Epithalamion*, i. 158.

The poets are valuable witnesses, for they do not invent half as much as they are supposed to do, but rather turn ancient facts to poetic uses.

Why these royal honours paid to bride and bridegroom ? The most obvious explanation is that in the countries under review marriage is of royal origin : originally a ceremony observed by the king and the queen, it spread downwards to the lowest classes ; but not always so far down : for instance, in Ceylon there are various degrees of marriage ceremonial in the upper classes, but the ordinary villagers have none at all ; they simply cohabit. In Wallis Island between Samoa and Fiji I could find no marriage ceremony, the reason apparently being that Wallis is a plebian colony from Tonga and has no real aristocracy to speak of.

We cannot, however, let the matter rest there, but want to know why the king and queen went through this ceremony and on what occasion.

The first point to note is that the king's marriage is constantly associated with his consecration. The old chronicle of Ceylon tells us that when Vijaya, scion of the solar line (I insist on the solar line), landed in Ceylon from Northern India and conquered the island, he took to wife Kuveni, the enchantress, the Circe of Ceylon. After a time " all his companions came together and addressed the prince : ' Sir, be consecrated in the kingship.' Though thus advised the prince did not desire consecration unless a maiden of royal stock were consecrated as queen." So he sent to Pandu, King of Madhura, and asked for his daughter. Pandu sent her, and then " according to custom all the councillors assembled and consecrated Vijaya in the kingship and held a great festival." ¹ We gather from this that in Ancient India a king could not be consecrated without a queen. The rule is actually stated in

¹ *Mahavamsa*, vii. 46-73 ; ii. 1 ff. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, i. pp. 47 and 52.

the *Satapatha*¹ thus: "For she, inasmuch as she is his wife, is half of himself. Therefore as long as he does not find a wife, so long he is not born, for so long he is not complete. But in finding a wife he is born, for then he becomes complete." In other words a man cannot attain to rebirth in the course of the royal consecration except with his wife, because without a consort he is not complete. We must then add another item to our coronation scheme. We shall call it *V*. It is not surprising then that marriage and coronation often coincide. Thus the father of Siddhārtha, who was later to become the Buddha, brought home Yasodharā, his sister's daughter, to be his son's bride; "he appointed Yasodharā to be the principal queen of Siddhārtha; and placing them upon a mound of silver, he poured the oil of consecration upon them from three chank-shells, one of gold, one of silver, and the third a shell opening to the right hand; after which he bound upon their heads the royal diadem, and delivered over to them the whole kingdom."² A royal marriage is indeed an unction of the queen; thus when the King of Kosala married a Sākya maiden he "adorned her, placed her on a heap of jewels and anointed her to be his chief queen."³

The nobles of Ithaka, confident that their king Odysseus would never come home, decided to replace him by one of themselves. The successor had to be the one selected by Penelope to be her husband; but as she continually deferred a decision the throne remained empty. There seems then at first sight to have been a rule that a man to become king must marry his predecessor's widow. Oedipus followed this rule when he married the widow of the late King of Thebes and succeeded to the throne. It is dangerous, however, to base conclusions on one country only. We must compare the practice of Greece with that of allied nations. India we know is allied to Greece by

¹ v. 2. I. 10.

² Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 155.

³ *Jataka*, No. 465, Fausböll, ii. 164.

language and tradition; furthermore, Odysseus makes his appearance with Circe in Ceylon as Vijaya and Kuveni. Now Vijaya in order to become King of Ceylon did not marry the widow of a previous king, since there was no such king, but he imported a royal maiden from India. She did not belong to Ceylon any more than he did; it was in virtue of her royal blood, not of her nationality, that she enabled him to be consecrated King of Ceylon. In the same way Penelope, though not a lady of Ithaka, could with her hand bestow the sovereignty of Ithaka. The mediaeval Knight of the Swan, variously called Helyas and Lohengrin, marries the heiress of Bouillon in the French version, of Brabant in the German, and thus becomes Lord of Bouillon or Prince of Brabant. Wolfram of Eschenbach sums up the story thus:

"That night his body received her love.
Then was he prince in Brabant."¹

In this romance, as in so many of our fairy tales, the bride is not the widow of the late king, but a maiden of the land. The Indian rule is wider than is suggested by either Greek or Germanic examples, and must be therefore taken to be the true, or at least the original, one: that a man may not become king without a queen, and a queen must be of royal blood.

In the tenth century Byzantine custom required that "if the Emperor was married after his accession, the whole ceremony of the crowning of his consort should take place immediately after the wedding."

In France in 856 Judith was married to Ethelwulf, King of England, "and was crowned at the time of her marriage." The coronation prayers were inserted in the marriage rite. Ten years later the coronation of Queen Hermintrude at Soissons was "still more a special

¹ Hippeau, *La Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne*. Wolfram von Eschenbach, ed. Lachmann (Berlin, 1879). R. Jafray, *The Two Knights of the Swan*.

adaptation of the nuptial ceremony.”¹ As late as Charles V. the prayer at the crowning of the queen is worded as if she was for the first time united to the king: “Grant that thy handmaid enter with mercy into a worthy and sublime union with our King.” The object of this formal union is fertility: “May she deserve to be made fruitful with the fruit of her womb.”

The Anglo-Saxons are an exception that prove the rule. They made no provision for the coronation of a queen consort, but then we are told that the West Saxons “did not allow a queen to sit beside the king, nor to be called a queen, but only the king’s wife.”² For some reason or other they had abolished queenship, so there could be no consecration of the queen.

In the Fijian Island of Lakemba, the Queen of Nayau was always installed at the same time as the king or chief. Otherwise women took no part in the kava ceremony. As Fijians married young and only succeeded in the chieftainship at an advanced age, the case of a bachelor being installed could never occur.

All these facts reveal a close connection between royal marriage and royal consecration, so close as to suggest that marriage is nothing but that part of the consecration in which the queen appears alongside the king. It was quite essential that she should take some part in the ritual. The *Satapatha Brahmana* has given us a reason why; but while we should always give ear to what that book has to say, we should never accept its theories without further confirmation: they may be quite wrong (though I think that will appear to be rarely the case); or the explanation may be incomplete or obscure. In this case the reason it gives is not satisfying: when we are told that the king is not complete without a mate we do not feel that we are much wiser, that we have been led back to an ultimate and adequate cause.

¹ Woolley, *Coronation Rites*, pp. 22, 94.

² *Ibid.* 62.

We must therefore explore for ourselves. We should try what has succeeded so well in the past; we should start from our premise—

king = god.

The king at his consecration is reborn as a god, or rather as gods. The natural inference is that the queen is reborn as a goddess. What goddess? The *Satapatha* tells us that in the course of his consecration the king “next day goes to the Queen, to her house and offers a pap for Aditi; for this earth is Aditi; she is the wife of the gods; this Queen is this King’s wife; therefore it is for Aditi.” We can throw this into the form of an equation thus:

Queen : King = Earth : gods ;

King = god ;

∴ Queen = Earth.

From another passage we glean another series of equivalences which lead to the same result :

Queen = mahishī,

Earth = mahishī,

∴ Queen = Earth.

This identity is further confirmed by the rite of earth-touching in the *pravargya* sacrifice. The sacrificer “touches the earth and mutters, ‘Thou art Manu’s mare’; for this earth in the shape of a mare carried Manu, and he is her lord Prajāpati, with that mate, his favourite abode, he thus completes him.” The earth in the *pravargya* takes the place of the queen in the king’s consecration, and is united to the king as his consort directly without the intervention of a human representative.¹

Later Indian thought gave to the idea that the male is heaven and the female earth a development to which we shall have to recur. From the idea of sky they passed to the immaterial and thence to spirit; from the idea of

¹ *Sat. Br.* vi. 5. 3. 1; xiv. 1. 3. 25.

earth to that of matter, body. "The god is the enjoyer, and the goddess the enjoyed, he the soul and she the body," says the *Mahābhārata*.¹ The idea became a favourite theme of Tibetan art. The following equivalences are the result :

King = god = sky = aether = spirit = soul ;
 Queen = goddess = earth = matter = body.

This, however, belongs to the later thought. To return to the earliest times, the ancient kings of Babylonia "claimed themselves to be husbands of the mother goddess" and the king was therefore married to a statue of the goddess.²

If the ordinary marriage ceremony is nothing but the matrimonial part of the coronation ceremony detached and simplified for the use of the common people, then we shall find underlying it the same theory that the male is the sky and the female the earth, and, when we analyze its structure, will discover some at least of the rites of the coronation ceremony. Some, not all, because the ceremony being private and excluding all idea of dominion everything that tends to ensure dominion must lapse. Since it is carried out by persons of limited means, all that magnificence which requires vast resources must be surrendered. We cannot therefore expect as close a parallelism between marriage and coronation as exists between one coronation ceremony and another.

E. Among the Malays "the arrival of the bridegroom at the bride's house is the signal for a mimic conflict for the person of the bride." Such conflicts have been interpreted as survivals of marriage by capture ; but such animal methods are quite inconsistent with the royal character of a Malay wedding ; whereas sporting conflicts are constantly associated with a king's accession.

¹ Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 226.

² S. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, pp. 27 and 64.

J. When a Raja weds, he and his bride bathe in a small bath-house not later than the seventh day ; it is called a royal bath-house and should be used not only at "royal" weddings but at coronations.¹ We could scarcely expect more definite evidence that the lustration at a wedding is the same as at a coronation.

When considering the Indian rites we must bear in mind what has been said of ritual treatises concerning coronation rites : the authors are interested solely in the details of the service and are not concerned with popular customs which in their time were not part of the canon. Thus neither Asvalayana nor Gobhila make any mention in their Household Treatises of the royal status of bride and bridegroom ; yet it must be an ancient custom since it is at the present day found in countries so far apart as Gujerat and Malaysia. They do not even profess to describe the whole ritual ; Asvalayana warns us that there are many local observances, but he will only record what is universal ; thus we are denied all those variations which might throw so much light on the nature of the marriage ceremony. We shall have therefore to supplement occasionally those treatises with modern customs or with the epics.

A. The theory is fortunately clearly expressed by the formula with which at one point the bridegroom addresses the bride, "I am the Sky, you are the Earth." Thus the fabled union of Sky and Earth, in Greek mythology Ouranos and Gaia, among the Polynesians Rañi and Papa, was constantly realized in the Indian marriage ceremony.

B. At the beginning of a Gujerati wedding the bridegroom and his bride represent Siva and Parvati as ascetics and may therefore wear no ornaments.

E. Conflict and victory appeared in that form of marriage which was practised by the nobility and which was known as "the bride's choice" : the suitors

¹ Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 387.

performed deeds of valour in presence of the princess, who selected the best.¹ The Brahmans, as we might expect, preferred victory by sacrifice; thus in Gujerat they make a series of offerings to fire "in order to win bodily strength for the young husband"; these offerings are called *jayahoma*, which means "victory-offering."

I. The bride is clothed after the first lustration, which is performed by a friend over the bride alone. We are told nothing about these clothes except that they are new. Gujerat presents us with a clear case of displacement: the couple used to receive their clothes after the lighting of the fire, but "it proved so much more convenient for the young couple to put them on at the beginning of the wedding that that is now almost invariably done."

J. Later both the bride and the bridegroom have water poured over their heads with a pitcher. In Gujerat the ceremony appears to be atrophied; in Ceylon it is done in style.

K. Clarified butter is poured into the bride's hand at an earlier stage. In Gujerat they anoint with scented oil.

N. At the end of all there is a feast for the Brahmans.

S. The bride and bridegroom take seven steps to the North-East. These seven steps clearly correspond to the king's three steps of Vishnu, for, in a Gujerati wedding at least, Vishnu is called to witness after each of the seven steps. The Rig-Veda represents Vishnu as bestriding the seven regions of the earth with his three steps.²

The old Indian wedding and the coronation ceremony share a rite which has not been noted so far among coronation rites because it seems peculiar to India. I mean the rite of standing on a skin.

When the Ithakan pretendants, weary of waiting,

¹ Jolly, *Recht und Sitte* (Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie), p. 51. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 29.

² Cp. pp. 80, 214 ff.

resolved to force Penelope to choose a husband and a king, they resorted to a form of selection which in India, under the name of the bride's choice, was considered typical of the kshatriya or royal caste, namely, a sporting contest. The particular sport which they chose, stringing a bow and shooting with it, figures also in the wooing of Prince Siddhārtha, later the Buddha. Oedipus had to overcome the Sphinx in order to marry Jocasta and succeed to the kingdom. The same form of marriage is illustrated also by the story of Atalanta, except that here the bride herself is the champion, a variant which also occurs in the Germanic legend of Brunhild. Helyas, alias Lohengrin, wins his wife by a ritual combat. In one old German version his adversary Telramund is a rival suitor to Elsa's hand; in other versions he has become her wicked adversary. The marriage and installation of the Knight of the Swan is followed by a tour of all the fiefs to receive the homage of the vassals:

"Many a lord received from his hand
His fief, which he should have."

In the Meistersinger wooing by contest has spread from the nobility to the burghers.

The resemblance of marriage to royal consecration has not escaped the notice even of those whose knowledge is confined to the Christian rites. Mr. R. M. Woolley remarks: "If it is desired to make a comparison between the coronation rite and any other rite of the Church, it is the marriage rite which is really closest to it. So King Charles I. felt, of whom we are told that 'His Majesty on that day was clothed in white contrary to the custom of his predecessors who were on that day clad in purple. And this he did . . . at his own choice only, to declare that Virgin Purity with which he came to be espoused unto his Kingdom.' In marriage a covenant is made with vows between the two contracting parties. To the

covenant so made the Church adds her benediction. In the giving of her benediction she makes use of emblems, a Crown and Ring, investing the contracting parties with insignia, as it were, which are highly significant of the covenant betwixt them made."

A. Of course we do not hold that the bridegroom represents the sky or the bride the earth. That theology has been dead many centuries ; but we know that extinct theologies continue, often for ages, to influence the phraseology of their successors ; the new wine is often put into the old bottles. Perhaps we can discern such a survival in the form of words which the Prayer-Book has borrowed from St. Paul, describing matrimony as "an honourable estate, instituted of God in the time of man's innocency, signifying unto us the mystical union that is betwixt Christ and his Church." We know that Christ has succeeded to many of the attributes of the sun-god in a sublimated form. Of that more hereafter. We may be tempted to surmise that the Church on earth has taken the part of the place of the Earth. We see this substitution actually taking place in a modern French communion hymn depicting the union of Christ with the worshipper :

*Le ciel a visité la Terre,
Mon bien-aimé repose en moi ;
Du saint amour c'est le mystère,
O mon âme, adore et tais-toi.*

"Heaven has visited the earth, my well-beloved reposes in me ; of holy love it is the mystery, O my soul, worship and be silent." Thus the old beliefs which began before our earliest written records continue to supply Christianity with its imagery. What was once a practical rite for the securing of posterity and abundance has dwindled to a mere metaphor. We have indirect confirmation that St. Paul was influenced by the old beliefs in his First Corinthians xii. 27 : "Now ye are the body of Christ and severally members thereof." And again, "Even so

ought husbands also to love their own wives as their own bodies. He that loveth his own wife loveth himself : for no man ever hated his own flesh ; but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as Christ also the Church, because we are members of his body." Here the husband is compared to the soul, and the wife to the body, just as in the later mystical phase of Indian religion. There result from this passage of the epistle the following equivalences :

man = Christ = soul,
woman = Church = body.

All that was material has been refined out of the original equations ; magic has become mysticism.

B. Fasting is presupposed by the Mass. What happened before the Mass was incorporated with marriage we do not know.

E. I can only trace the idea of victory in the canon of making the exchange of crosses in the Armenian ritual. "By means of this all-victorious sign drive away from these persons designs deceitful and froward and all other knavery." ¹

F. The admonition by the priest and the promise made by the pair correspond, as Mr. Woolley has pointed out, to the king's oath, which is a contract between him and God, and between him and the people.

G. The communion as now celebrated has been introduced since Christian times, but it appears to have taken the place of an older form, the ceremony of eating together out of the same dish, which is found in Fiji, Ceylon, Ancient Greece, and must therefore have a very remote antiquity. In the Russian rite the priest gives the common cup to the bridegroom and then to the bride three times.

¹ Conybeare and MacLean : *Rituale Armeniorum*, p. 109. For Russian rites see J. G. King, *The Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia*, London, 1772.

I. The bride and bridegroom dress up before the ceremony. There is nothing left of any royal significance.

N. There is always a feast after the wedding.

O. The crown has disappeared from our own custom, but in Russia it is so important that the whole ceremony is called "the matrimonial coronation." There is later a ceremony of removing the crowns. The reason would seem to be that the crown is only a temporary privilege like the sword of Gujerat; but the Armenians have found a new symbolical meaning: the crowns are removed, so it is represented, because they are "crowns that pass away," and in exchange the pair are given the protection of the angel of peace.

Q. In our rite the bridegroom places a ring on the bride's finger, the same as that on which the king wears his. In the Greek rite an exchange of rings takes place at the betrothal which precedes the marriage ceremony. A clear case of displacement.

T. In the Russian ritual after the common cup the pair, with crowns held over their heads, circumambulate in what direction is not clear.

Thus after all the revolutions in thought that have shaken Europe the marriage ceremony still retains the impress of its royal origin, even to the original theory on which the whole ritual is based.

IX

OFFICIALS

IN describing the installation of a Fijian chief we omitted another feature which, like the installation of the queen, deserves a chapter to itself. If any office happens to be vacant when the Lord of Nayau drinks the kava of installation, the new holder of the office drinks of the installation kava and is thereby installed in his office, be it that of Master of the Ceremonies, Land Chief, Chief Carpenter, or whatever his title may be. We have no direct evidence as to the theory of their installation, but since it is part of the chief's consecration, since they share the chief's kava, and since their titles are often of the same kind as the chief's, as "Lord of Tumbou," it must be concluded that the theory is the same and that the minor chiefs become minor deities.

Things are more clearly expressed, I think, in India. In the course of his consecration ceremonies the king goes to the general's house and there makes an offering to Fire in its aspect of Agni the Face; the reason is that "Agni is the face of the gods and the general is the face of the army." We have met with that type of equation before in the case of the queen; as a matter of fact the offering at the general's house is but the first of a series in which the offering at the queen's house comes fourth. In the case of the queen we concluded that she represented the

Earth, and this conclusion was amply confirmed by other evidence. In this case we conclude :

Agni = the face of the gods ;
the General = the face of the army ;
∴ the General = Agni.

The next day the king goes to the house of the chaplain, a member of the priestly caste, "and prepares a pap for Brihaspati, for Brihaspati is the chaplain of the gods, and this man is the chaplain of that king." In mathematical form :

Chaplain = King's Chaplain ;
King = god ;
∴ Chaplain = god's Chaplain ;
but Brihaspati = god's Chaplain ;
∴ Chaplain = Brihaspati.

We have enough direct statements besides in the *Satapatha* to the effect that the god, Brihaspati, is the priesthood. Next day again an offering is made in the house "of him who is being consecrated ; for Indra is sovereignty, and he who is consecrated is sovereignty." We have known since the beginning that the king is Indra. Then comes the offering at the queen's house. Then come the minor officials. I need not repeat the syllogism in each case, but will only indicate the gods they represent :

| | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| court minstrel | = Varuna ; |
| chief of the yeomanry | = Maruts ; |
| chamberlain | = Savitri, a form of the sun ; |
| charioteer | = Asvins (the Greek Dioscuri) ; |
| distributor of food | = Pushan (Roman Ops ?) ; |
| keeper of the dice | |
| and huntsman | = Rudra ; |
| courier | = the Way. |

These officials are known as the king's eleven jewels.

Thus the inference we drew in Fiji is fully confirmed : the officials are gods, only in India certainly not minor

gods : no one could call Varuna a minor god. Here a difficulty arises : some of those gods, Savitri, Varuna, Rudra, Fire, Pushan, Brihaspati, are already represented by the king himself ; for the king, as we have seen, is not one god, but many ; he is even a goddess, Sarasvati.¹ Does not this contradict what came before ? Not a bit, for it is just as possible for one god to be represented by several people, as for one man to represent several gods. It is quite possible then for the king to unite in himself all the gods who are severally represented by the officials.

In order to understand the situation we must make ourselves acquainted with the theory of Vedic sacrifice. It may be described as an enacted series of equations : two things are made equal to a third in order that they may become equal to one another, according to the formula that has so often encountered us in the Brahmanas ; thus—

the sacrifice = the god ;
the sacrificer becomes the sacrifice ;
∴ the sacrificer becomes the god,

and "the sacrificer is the god Prajāpati at his own sacrifice."² Let us apply this theory to the present case : the king makes an offering to the fire-god ; the offering is the fire-god ; the king becomes the fire-god ; but the general is the fire-god ; therefore the king becomes one with the general, and thus we can understand how the king by this offering gains power over the general and "makes him his faithful follower." Of course we must be sure that the Vedic ritualists did actually draw an inference before we can ascribe it to them with certainty ; many a proposition of Euclid's has been worked out to conclusions which Euclid never reached. I think the Vedic ritualists did

¹ *Sat. Br.* v. 3. 5. 8.

² *Sat. Br.* v. 1. 1. 2 ; iii. 2. 2. 4 ; v. 1. 1. 6 ; v. 1. 2. 2 ; v. 1. 2. 9 ; v. 2. 1. 24 ; i. 9. 3. 23 ; iii. 2. 2. 12 ; i. 6. 1. 20.

work out their equations in the above manner, for we are expressly told that the gods deposited their "desirable embodiments and favourite abodes" in Indra; accordingly "Indra is all the deities; the gods have Indra as their chief," or in other words "all the gods abide in Indra."¹ The king is Indra, therefore the king is all the gods, and in him are deposited their desirable embodiments and favourite abodes, namely, the chief military command, the chaplaincy, and so forth; he unites in himself all the powers which are separately exercised by his officials and his queen.

The Egyptians were evidently also of opinion that the king included in himself the deities that were severally represented by minor personages. Thus Horus and Set, the gods of the East and of the West respectively, were impersonated at the king's lustration and said to him, "Thy purification is the purification of Horus, of Set, of Toth, of Sopus," thus identifying him with the gods of the four quarters.²

In Cambodia after the lustration the officials return to the new king all the seals and powers they received from his predecessor. The king touches the seals and returns them to the officials, who have divested themselves of their functions, and who in receiving back their seals immediately resume their appointments, titles, and functions. The theology that underlies this ceremony is not indicated, but one effect of it which we were left to infer in Fiji and in India is here explicit: the king is the fount of all honours, and when he dies all honours have to return to the new king, who issues them again.

Our own coronation ritual even to the present day is scarcely less definite. "As soon as the King is crowned the Peers, etc. put on their coronets and caps," and "the Queen being crowned, all the Peeresses put on their

¹ *Sat. Br.* iii. 4. 2. 15; iii. 4. 2. 2; i. 6. 3. 22.

² Moret, *Du Caractère*, etc., pp. 216, 241, 328.

coronets." Thus our peers have to derive anew their authority from the new sovereign.

We may then safely include as part of the original coronation ceremony the installation of the vassals as minor gods who are all contained in the great god represented by the king. Let us call it *W*.

It is tempting to derive from this doctrine a custom which is so well established amongst us as to seem quite natural and not in need of any explanation. We are so used to distinguish between a man in his private and in his official capacity that we do not realize the amount of abstraction required to do so. Our powers of abstraction are so well developed that this distinction imposes no effort on our brains, and therefore we think nothing of it; but what about those peoples whose mental powers are not so developed? I very much doubt whether a South Sea Islander could be made to distinguish between a man and his office unless trained in government service from his boyhood. To begin with, his language is quite incapable of expressing the idea. It may be doubted whether even after long training under Europeans, Orientals are really successful in abstracting the office from the man; and that is why our rule inevitably tends to become personal in those regions, and the less personal it is the less successful it is. If then the requisite power of abstraction is not universal it must have been arrived at in some way. I suggest that the divinity of functionaries provides a stepping-stone. It is as easy to distinguish between a man and his god as between Peter and Paul. As a matter of fact the Fijian clearly distinguishes between the priest in a normal state and the priest when possessed; in ordinary life he is humble in presence of the nobles, but when prophesying he speaks to them with authority as to inferiors, because it is not he who is speaking but the god.

Thus the institution of divine functionaries has provided the education which has in some manner or other

enabled us to develop mental powers that did not previously exist. If this is so, then we have an example of what I said at the beginning, that perhaps the history of customs shows us the gropings of man towards new and higher faculties.

X

THE PRIEST

STUDENTS of customs both ancient and modern have long been aware that the line which divides a king from a priest is a very faint one and often disappears altogether. They have therefore coined a term priest-king or king-priest to indicate that doubtful personage of whom it is difficult to say whether he is priest or king. He is chiefly to be found in ancient times or in backward communities. Among modern civilized nations the distinction has now become a very clear one. There has therefore been a differentiation of an original genus into two species. The process is of the greatest interest, and it is therefore worth while to study in detail the parallelism of king and priest.

As regards Fiji the facts have already been stated : the priest is elected and installed in the same manner as a chief by drinking kava. The main difference between a chief and a priest is that the priest becomes possessed and prophesies, the chief never. But this distinction is probably of recent date ; for there is reason to believe that possession was no part of the old religion based on divine kingship : spiritualism appears to have overspread Fiji within the last two centuries ; so that if we go back further one of the chief distinctions between chief and priest vanishes altogether. In fact some tribes, if you ask them who was their first chief, will tell you the priests were the chiefs.

Turner speaks of the King of Niue or Savage Island as being a priest. It is difficult to say whether the King of Futuna would not be more accurately termed a high priest, for his secular authority is small.

In ancient India the priests were no less divine than the king; both could go through a consecration ceremony called *vājapeya*, which was the same in both cases, but differed slightly in its consequences, inasmuch as the king became the god Indra, but the priest became the god Brihaspati.¹ The kingship appears in old Indian writings just as much as a ritual institution as the priesthood; their ritual functions differ in so far as the king is the patron of the sacrifice, but the priest carries it out. The position is not unlike that of a captain and his commander; only in India the commander aspired to be equal, and then to surpass his captain. He succeeded, so that the priestly caste came to rank above the royal. Their ambition did not stop there: at first only the scholars amongst them were gods,² but like all the privileged classes they aspired to make their privileges unconditional. At a later period Manu affirms that "ignorant or learned the Brahman is a great deity; just as Fire is a great deity whether used sacrificially or not." Like kings they came to look upon themselves as actual gods, no longer as the receptacles of divinity. "By birth alone the Brahman is a deity even of the gods," says Manu. Thus from being the agent of the gods he became their superior and lord of the world: "This universe is the Brahman's, whatever comes into this world; for the Brahman is entitled to this universe by his superiority and his birth."³

The Buddhist writings represent a different school of thought which prevailed in the East of Northern India. There the highest rank to which a king could attain in the secular sphere was that of Wheel-monarch or Emperor;

¹ *Sat. Br.* v. 3. 1. 2; v. 1 f.

² *Ibid.* ii. 2. 2. 6.

³ *Manu*, ix. 13; xi. 85; i. 100.

while the summit of a spiritual career was the Buddha or universal Sage. I say secular and spiritual, but in point of fact there is not so very much distinction between the two: the emperor of the Buddhist scriptures is first and foremost a moralist; he conquers his empire peacefully by preaching the law and by upholding it in his dominions; in fact the Buddhist scriptures declare both the Emperor and the Buddha to be the two beings that are born for the welfare of gods and men; they are in fact two varieties of that somewhat obscure conception the Great Man. A Great Man is a prince who is predestined to attain to universal rule, it may be in the secular, or it may be in the spiritual, sphere; he is, as it were, an indifferentiated larva which may develop into an Emperor or a Buddha for the salvation of the world; the difference between them is that the Emperor stays in his palace enjoying the pleasures of the world, while the Buddha goes forth into homelessness;¹ both have come into the world to uphold law, morality, and religion, but one devotes himself exclusively to that purpose, the other combines it with the good things of this world and secular authority. To take a concrete case: Prince Siddhārtha of the Sakya tribe was predestined to become either Emperor or Buddha; his parents tried to secure him for the more worldly career, but the prince escaped from the palace and, choosing a life of poverty and preaching, became a Buddha, who founded one of the widest spread religions in the world, Buddhism, and who thus became *the* Buddha of all others.

The life of renunciation imposed on a universal Sage and the peculiar tenets preached by this Buddha necessarily modified his career and his attributes as compared with those of an emperor; yet the manner in which these adaptations were carried out demonstrates the intense conviction of the ancient Indians that the Sage was but a

¹ *Anguttara*, i. 76; *Digha*, ii. 16; *Pali Dict.*, s.v. "*mahāpurisa*."

king turned monk. Let us begin with the Buddha's installation.

A. Buddhism does not, as is often imagined, deny the existence of the gods. It looks upon existence as an evil, and escape from existence as the highest goal to which all human endeavour should tend. Nothing therefore which remains caught in the trammels of existence can lay claim to the highest place in the hierarchy of beings. The gods being alive and liable to death and rebirth are therefore on a much lower plane than the sage who has freed himself from the cycle of existence ; they are no longer the highest of all beings, but only of those who are not emancipated. Siddhārtha cannot therefore as the result of his installation become a *deva*, a god, as the Buddhists understand the word, because that would degrade him instead of promoting him ; he becomes something much higher, he becomes a Buddha, the highest of all beings, whom we should describe as a god, because we cannot conceive of anything higher than a god.

B. The Buddha condemned asceticism ; he preached renunciation, repression of desire, but not mortification, self-torture. Tradition, however, insisted that fasting and austerities should precede a king's installation, for, as the *Satapatha* says, "by austerities they conquer the world."¹ How did the faithful overcome the difficulty ? They represented that the Buddha made trial of austerities in the hope of winning emancipation, and persevered in them till his body was wasted almost to a skeleton ; then perceiving this to be the wrong way he recalled his steps and returned to a normal life free from desire, but also free from self-torture.

E. Buddhism condemns fighting and rejects ritual as a means of salvation. How then is the Buddha without sword or spells to win that victory without which no king can be installed ? He fights Desire, the arch-enemy of

¹ iii. 4. 4. 23.

man, the cause of death and rebirth, and of all pain. Desire, as the god Mara, assails him with an army of frightful demons, and, when fear fails, he tries the seduction of his daughters ; but the Sage remains unmoved, the victory is won and straightaway he attains to that long-sought illumination, and becomes a Buddha. In honour of that victory he is constantly styled the Conqueror, and his reign is the Conqueror's Cycle.

F. The Buddha cannot be admonished to keep the moral law. How could he since he has come into the world on purpose to reveal that law ? The gods must therefore be content to ask him not to withhold the gospel from the world. The Buddha complies, preaches his first sermon in the Deer-park, and thus sets in motion the wheel of the law. His law being spiritual far transcends the mere temporal law of the secular emperor : whereas the emperor upholds the law among the people, among subject princes, the army, brahmans, merchants, animals, and birds, and thus turns a wheel that cannot be reversed by any hostile human being, the Messiah upholds the law in deeds and words and thoughts and thus turns a wheel that cannot be reversed by ascetic, brahman, god, Death, the Creator, or any one in the universe.¹ The sublimation of a temporal into a spiritual rule could hardly be more clearly stated.

G. Soma has dropped out of Buddhism since ritual is of no avail for salvation.

I. The Buddha puts on a new robe before his installation ; but royal robes are not consistent with the character of an ascetic ; the new robe and its reddish colour are therefore explained as the humble tatters received from a huntsman as the fitting garment of one who has renounced the world. One cannot, however, look upon the bright gold or flame-coloured robes of a modern Buddhist monk without suspecting that their colour is really to be traced to the sun.

¹ *Anguttara*, i. 109 f. ; iii. 148.

J. The lustration has been suppressed like all ritual, but it survives in metaphor. Those who attain to salvation are frequently described as "anointed with ambrosia."¹

M. Since there is no lustration the acclamations follow on the victory. Cobras, griffins, gods, brahmans, come before the throne of the Great Man with garlands, proclaiming his praises and singing, "This is the victory of the glorious Buddha, and the defeat of the sinful Mara."²

O. Of the five Indian regalia the crown has to go because the monk must shave his hair and go bareheaded. Yet tradition was too strong for orthodoxy; art insisted on retaining a knot of hair over the Buddha's forehead, while surrendering the turban which covers it in kings and princes. The sword also has to go because it is contrary to the gospel of peace.

P. There remain the sandals,

Q. the fan, and the parasol, which are to this day retained by Buddhist monks.

R. The Buddha prepares himself for his illumination by seating himself on a throne strewn with *kusa* grass. This is the grass which was strewn on the altar for gods to sit on. It is thus quite clear that the illumination is really derived from a process of deification.

U. From the time of his illumination Prince Siddhārtha becomes a Buddha, and is henceforth known exclusively by that or some other title, but never by his name.

V. The old doctrine of divine kingship was very positive that the king could not be installed without a queen. The new doctrine was equally positive that in order to attain emancipation a man must renounce the world, including wife and children. How was the conflict to be solved? The queen was eliminated, but the queen was merely the representative of the earth; the earth-touching rite of the *pravargya* would therefore do quite well, since it provided the sacrificer with the Earth herself as mate. Only the fact

¹ *Samyutta*, iii. 2.

² Fausbøll's *Jataka*, i. 75.

that the Earth is the consort was suppressed; when the Buddha touches the earth at the supreme moment of the conflict with Mara she merely appears as a witness on his side.

W. The Buddha's illumination must take place in solitude, because it is attained by solitary meditation. His officials therefore are not installed with him; but we later find him provided with "a general of the faith."¹

The analogy of Emperor and Sage is kept up to the end of the Buddha's career. When it is approaching, Ananda, his favourite disciple, asks how his obsequies are to be performed, and the Buddha replies, "As the remains of an emperor are treated, O Ananda, so must a Messiah's remains be treated," and he proceeds to give full details how the body is to be dressed, cremated, and the ashes deposited in a round tumulus, for the Buddha and the Emperor are the two persons entitled to such a tumulus. The Buddha expires on a lion-couch: even so the Egyptian kings long before had been laid out on lion-couches.² After an emperor's death his eldest son may continue to turn the wheel set in motion by his father; after the Buddha's death his disciple Sariputra continues to turn the wheel of the law set in motion by the Master.³

The solar attributes of the Buddha long ago suggested that he was nothing more than a solar myth, nothing but an expression in human terms of solar phenomena. I think his lineal descent from that very real personage, the sun-king, sufficiently explains his halo, his wheel, his miraculous power, in particular that of making flames and water issue from the body (for the sun causes rain),⁴ and whatever other solar attributes the Buddha may

¹ Authorities: Foucher, *L'Art Greco-Bouddhique du Gandhara*. *Anguttara*, i. 109 f.; iii. 148. *Jataka*, No. 465, vol. iv. p. 151. *Sanskrit Dict.*, s.v. "barhis." *Pali Dict.*, s.v. "jinacakka," etc.

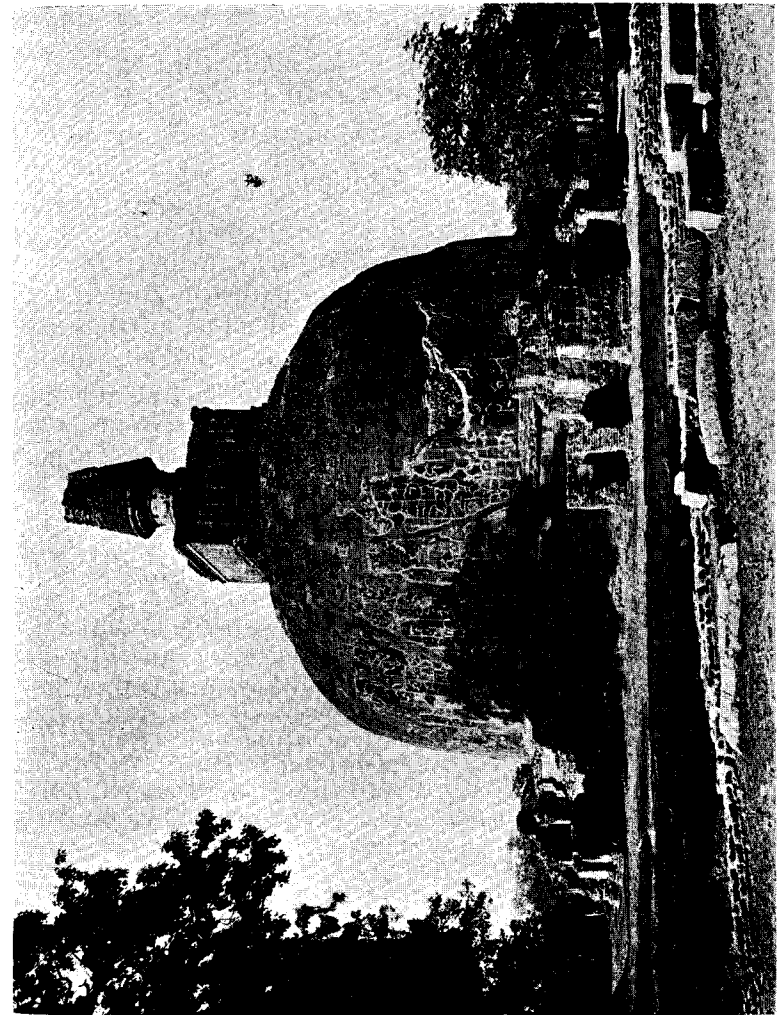
² *Digha*, ii. p. 141 ff. *Anguttara*, i. 77. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, i. 162. Budge, *History of Egypt*, i. 16.

³ *Samyutta*, i. 191.

⁴ *Manu*, iii. 76.

possess. The analogy of sun, moon, king, priest and sage was very much present to the Indian mind and is expressed in verse 387 of the *Dhammapada* : "The sun blazes by day, the moon shines by night, the armed prince blazes, the meditating brahman blazes, but all day and night the Buddha blazes with his splendour."

We will not here discuss what is the exact relation between the Christian and the Buddhist cycles ; it suffices that they are obviously related. In fact the Christ's career reproduces so many details of the Buddha's that we may be content with a summary. He is a lineal descendant of the ancient kings of Judah. His birth is ushered in by prophecies of victory over the enemies of Israel followed by a reign of righteousness. There is an option between worldly empire and the kingdom of heaven, but this option does not appear till the temptation as an offer of the Tempter. Thus by accident or design Christian thought has avoided the difficulty of an option which either implies that an omniscient god is in doubt about his future course, or which is meaningless because it does not really exist. Christian thought has therefore dropped the pre-natal prophecies of an alternative, and remembers only the efforts of the Tempter to make the Sage choose the worldly career. Then Christ retires into the desert to fast, then follows a spiritual contest with the Evil One in which Christ is victorious. He then returns "in the power of the spirit" to Galilee and preaches. We might be inclined to identify the first sermon of Jesus with the first sermon of the Buddha, but I think it is in the Sermon on the Mount that we have to seek the equivalent ; for that is the occasion of the promulgation of the New Law. But the New Law takes an entirely original turn : it is no longer content to repeat, and perhaps expand, those old-world prohibitions, the Mosaic Commandments and the Buddhist Precepts ; they merely supply the form into which a new gospel of positive endeavour is expressed.



POLONNARUVA, KIRI VEHERA
View from South-West after Conservation

The original vivifying spirit of Christianity has thus taken us very far indeed from the king's coronation oath, so far that we should never have dreamt of connecting with it the Sermon on the Mount did not India supply the links. Here is an example how things utterly dissimilar in form can have a common origin, while things similar may in reality be independent. But to proceed : the lustration is not omitted, but transposed to the very beginning of Christ's career, and precedes the fasting and the victory ; its significance, however, remains the same : " And the Holy Ghost descended in bodily shape like a dove upon Him, and a voice came from heaven, which said, 'Thou art my beloved Son ; in thee I am well pleased.' " The communion has become detached from the consecration and placed towards the end of Christ's career. At the same time it receives an entirely new significance. The investiture is also detached and becomes one of the closing episodes ; it also completely changes its meaning : it is a mock investiture with a scarlet robe, a crown of thorns, and a reed for a sceptre. The queen's consecration has vanished entirely ; but the idea was, as we have seen, revived by St. Paul as a symbol to express the mystic union of Christ and His Church. The consecration of Christ's apostles does not take place till after His death at the Pentecost when they all become " filled with the Holy Ghost."

With the consecration of our own bishops we return to a more rigid observance of the ancient ritual, as may be expected of a real ceremonial performed for a member of an established hierarchy.

A. The object of the bishop's consecration is expressed, as at the coronation, by the *Veni Creator* and the injunction given at the laying on of hands " to receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Bishop in the Church of God."

B. Fasting is implied by the communion.

E. The examination by the Archbishop in the articles and the oath of canonical obedience correspond to the King's coronation oath.

G. There is a communion.

I. The vestments are similar to a king's; in fact "this similarity," says Mr. Woolley, "was noticed and commented on even in the Middle Ages."

K. There is an unction.

O. The mitre corresponds to the crown.

P. The buskins are also part of the bishop's equipment.

Q. The regalia include a ring. The crozier replaces the sceptre. The crozier represents a shepherd's staff which was one of the royal insignia in Assyria and Babylonia.¹ It is supposed that in those ancient kingdoms it was purely symbolical; but it is easier to believe that it once was a real implement in the hands of a shepherd who was a priest like the herdsmen of the Todas.

R. The bishop has a throne.

It is abundantly evident that the king and the priest are branches of the same stem. Perhaps we need not have travelled half round the world to prove it, for Egyptologists almost show us the priest developing out of the king. I will leave M. Moret to state the facts: "As in practice Pharaoh cannot officiate in all the sanctuaries at the same time, he delegates his power to a professional priest, the 'priest of the god.' The priest does not act on his own behalf, he incarnates himself in the king. . . . The 'priest of the god' declares that he is the Pharaoh, or that 'Pharaoh has expressly sent him' for the worship: for no one can appear before the god, except Pharaoh or the priest to whom the king gives his personality."

Nevertheless our survey has made it evident that the differentiation of king and priest had already begun before the dawn of history in the parent religion from which the

¹ Meissner, *Babylonien*, i. pp. 46 and 48.

historical religions are descended. After the separation the various nations independently pushed the differentiation further in varying degrees, but until recent times no people had carried it as far as the ancient Greeks and Romans: when they abolished the monarchy the king's sacerdotal functions were all bestowed on an official known as the king-magistrate or the king of ritual, who had nothing whatever to do with matters of state. The decadence of Rome brought about a relapse into the old confusion of king and priest. Mediaeval supporters of the monarchy insisted on the sacerdotal character of the king. In support of their thesis they pointed to the obvious parallelisms of the royal and the priestly unction and to the royal privilege of communicating in both elements like a priest, but unlike a layman. In 794 the bishops of Northern Italy in an appeal to Charlemagne actually addressed him as "king and priest." The Church of course was not going to allow the monarch to invade its own peculiar domain of spiritual government; it argued that the king's functions and mode of life were quite incompatible with the priestly character, and exalted the priestly unction far above the royal.¹ But while jealous to defend its own frontiers against invasion, it was quite prepared to invade the temporal, if opportunity offered, and thus the conflict raged between Church and State until both agreed to differ and to respect each other's sphere of influence. The modern world has thus at last arrived at that clear differentiation of king and priest which the Greeks and the Romans achieved long before. But that differentiation is not so thorough even now as to make it impossible for Europe in an age of decline to relapse once more into the old confusion of king and priest.

¹ Bloch, *op. cit.* pp. 73 and 186 ff.

XI

THE POLITE PLURAL

WHY is it polite to address others in the second person plural? The answer that first occurs to our minds is that many being more considerable than one, it is only natural to express our sense of the importance of any one by addressing him as if he were many. But is it indeed so natural, or does it only seem so because we are used to it? To John of Salisbury, who lived when the importation of this usage from Rome was still remembered, it seemed quite unnatural, and he declares that "we lie to our masters inasmuch as we invest singleness with the honour of plurality."¹ Centuries later the Quakers took the same view and conscientiously refused to misapply the plural in this manner. Further, this explanation is not satisfactory in that it does not explain another usage which would seem to be connected with this one. French servants speak to their masters in the third person singular: "Will Monsieur do this?" "Would Madam like that?" The polite use of the third person plural is not limited to France; it was known in ancient India, and in fact appears upon the scene before the polite plural.² We shall naturally prefer a hypothesis which would explain both usages and not one only.

¹ *Policraticus*, III. x., ed. C. C. Webb, quoted by Bloch, *op. cit.* p. 353.

² *Sat. Br.* x. 3. 3. 3.

In seeking for origins it is always a safe rule to take expressions, and indeed beliefs generally, in a literal sense and see what happens. Apply this rule to the present case and the conclusion is that superiors were originally addressed as many because they were conceived to be many, or as a third person because a third person was supposed to be actually present. Now we have seen that a man may be ~~one~~ or more gods, and this supplies the necessary conditions: you may either ask a man concerning his attendant deity: "Why is He angry with us?" or address them both directly: "Why are You angry with us?"

Thus the divinity of kings, officials and other persons yields a perfectly simple explanation of both usages, and what is more, it is a *vera causa*. A Fijian priest in ordinary life is addressed by the nobles as "thou," but when he is approached by them as worshippers of the god who possesses him he becomes "you." Dr. Codrington knew of a man of Leper's Island "who out of affection for his dead brother dug him up and made arrows of his bones. With these he went about speaking of himself as '*I and my brother*.'"¹

What little is known to me of the distribution of the polite third person and the polite plural rather bears out the hypothesis of a common origin. The polite third person is apparently the older of the two: that is certainly the case in India, and it appears to have been the only polite form known to the Hebrews. The earliest instances of the polite plural seem to occur in Pali Literature. It is sporadic in the Buddhist Birth Stories. Unfortunately it is impossible to date those stories with certainty, as they contain some elements of great antiquity and others which may be but little anterior to the Christian era. Anyhow, we do here appear to be at the beginning of things, for the use of the plural is very erratic: the speaker will

¹ *The Melanesians*, p. 309 note, pointed out by Mr. G. Roheim.

in the same sentence pass from one to the other, as if he occasionally remembered to use the new fashion. It is important then to note to whom the polite plural is used. I have been able to trace the following cases: to a king, the Buddha, a Buddhist priest, a Brahman, an ascetic, the chief of the pilots, a father, a father-in-law, all of whom are divine;¹ in fact one of the difficulties in the way of proving the theory directly is that in India every one is divine who is anybody. In Classical Sanskrit the polite plural is not common and is used as a mark of great respect. In modern Tamil and Sinhalese it is the rule when addressing highly respected persons, or even speaking of them. A Sinhalese will never speak of "the King," but always "the Kings." The polite plural was unknown to the Ancient Greeks and Romans. It first entered their language sporadically towards the end of the fourth century A.D., the time when under Diocletian and Constantine the East was completing its peaceful conquest of the classical world.² John of Salisbury knew that our own country had learnt this usage from the Romans. In Arabia to the present day it is confined to the officials and educated classes in the larger towns; it is not found in the Quran.³ The Arabs therefore did not become acquainted with it till they had come into contact with the Byzantine Empire.

To the east of India I am only acquainted with the polite plural in Fiji: it is unknown both to the more savage Solomon Islander on one side or the more civilized Tongan

¹ *Jataka* (Fausböll), i. 138, 141, 137, 292, 140; ii. 102; iv. 133. *Mahavamsa*, xxxiii. 92. Commentary on the Dhammapada, ed. Fausböll, p. 241. Childers, *Pali Dict.*, s.v. "tvam." *Jataka* IV 322 describes a virtuous woman as being *sassudevā*, that is as "having the mother-in-law as a divinity." The divinity of kinsmen is a big subject which cannot be undertaken in this book. It has been touched upon in *Man*, 1924, No. 132, where other references are given.

² H. J. Rose, "The Polite Plural," *Man*, 1924, No. 80.

³ Lord Raglan, "The Origin of the Polite Plural," *ibid.* No. 24.

and Samoan on the other; but the Tongan and Samoan know the polite third singular, or at least the germ of it, for they address their kings as "Thy Presence." This again squares with our hypothesis: Fiji, or at least the eastern coast, was occupied at one time by Polynesians, men of the same race and language as the Tongans; they were gradually pushed back into Samoa and Tonga by a negroid people from further west who now occupy the whole of Fiji.¹ The Tongans and Samoans, then, represent an earlier stratum which only know the polite third singular; the Fijians were part of a wave which left Asia after the invention of the polite plural.

The history of the polite third singular and the polite plural may then be summed up thus: first somewhere in Western Asia men began to communicate with the god through the king, priest, or official, thus: "How is thy Majesty this morning?" This custom spread to distant parts, eastward as far as Polynesia at least. Later a more direct form of address was used; the god was spoken to in the second person but conjointly with the king. This probably started in India and was the result of the gradual rise of the king or priest to be a god in himself and not merely the spokesman of a god. We know that the Indian priests carried the divinity of man to such extremes that eventually the priest became superior to the gods from whom he had originally derived all his prestige and authority. From India the polite plural spread east and west, supplanting the earlier third singular as being a mode of address less confusing and less cumbrous than the third person. Having started later, however, it has not everywhere overtaken its precursor. In Germany the two have become fused, giving rise to the polite third plural.

If this tentative sketch is correct, these two forms of polite speech should prove valuable aids in distinguishing the successive deposits left by civilization in its spread.

¹ "Early Fijians," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, 1919, p. 42.

XII

INITIATION

THE Fijian cult of the water-sprites was touched upon when we were considering the Fijian version of ambrosia. This cult deserves to be considered more closely. It is a recent revival of more ancient cults, a revival which is not unaffected by Christianity. The original home of these initiation ceremonies appears to have been in the hill country of the main island, where chieftainship was weak compared with the coastal regions of the eastern parts. It spread into those eastern parts, but does not appear to have been taken much more seriously than a circus amongst us; it was an exhibition of conjuring mainly indulged in by the young. In the hills, on the other hand, it was a serious business; it was the forerunner of every war, for it had the effect of making the initiates invulnerable; they became possessed by elfins who caused club and bullet to rebound. We have seen that this possession was brought about by hymns and the drinking of kava, and that this kava ceremonial was carried out in "chiefly style," in "the Fijian style for chiefs."

In the opinion of the Fijians themselves, then, this initiation ceremony is but a form of consecration, a variety of the same species as a chief's installation. It is possible, on the other hand, that these two rituals, originally independent, have come into contact in Fiji and have

influenced one another; in fact I think there is no doubt that the royal kava has influenced the initiation kava; but in order that these two rituals should influence one another they must have presented some obvious analogy to the Fijian mind; they must have realized that the initiation corresponded in the life of the private individual to the installation in the career of a chief. We thus come back to our original proposition, that initiation and installation are, in Fiji at least, varieties of the same species.

Initiation ceremonies throughout the world are usually an introduction to adult life and occur at, or about, puberty. This is not the case with the cult of the water-sprites. It appears that they have become detached from puberty rites, to be an offshoot of the mysterious *mbaki* initiation, of which our knowledge is scanty and uncertain. Deficient as even the fullest account we possess must be, we can find in it a number of points in common with the installation of a chief.¹

A. The theory is nowhere explicitly stated, but as the old members at one point impersonate the departed ancestors, and as the new initiates will become old members, it follows that they too will become fit to impersonate the departed ancestors.

C. The proceedings are strictly secret, and the initiates of the society live in seclusion from the rest of the people for four days.

F. There are two admonitions: the first one immediately precedes the feast, after which the initiates become accepted members of the society; they are warned "solemnly against disclosing to the uninitiated any of the mysteries they have seen and heard." The second

¹ Fison, in *Internationale Archive für Ethnographie*, ii. p. 266 ff. Mr. A. B. Joske's account on p. 254 is evidently, like my own notes, confined chiefly to the public part of the ceremonies. It is doubtful how far Fison's account of the esoteric rites is complete.

admonition takes place after the final bathing. The chief priest points out to the new members the duties which now devolve on them, enjoins strict observance of the tribal customs, threatens them with the sure vengeance of the gods if they reveal the mysteries to the uninitiated.

G. Libations of kava are made at the very outset. Offerings of food are made daily, which are then consumed by the inmates of the sacred enclosure.

I. The novices are wound round and round with native bark-cloth, which they then take off as an offering to the gods.

J. The novices bathe at the very end.

V. Towards the end of the initiation, but before the bathing, free intercourse with women is allowed.

X. A new feature appears which did not occur in the coronation rites under review, but which will prove common in initiation ceremonies: the novices paint their faces with lampblack, which is washed off at the bathing.

The *mbaki* cult belongs to one family of initiation ceremonies known as the secret societies. Another family, the circumcision rites, is also represented in Fiji. In Vanna Levu circumcision takes place at the death of a chief or nobleman; all the boys who are due are then operated upon. Thus this initiation rite is attached to the chieftainship. The operation is said to be performed as a sacrifice to the recently dead; for so I translate the term *i loloku*, which has really no equivalent in English: it is used of a human victim buried with a chief, of a little finger cut off at his death, of funeral gifts, and finally of the people who stay in the house for a time after the death. It would appear, then, that circumcision is an offering to the newly dead, and that the circumcised are supposed to die and accompany the deceased. In fact the heavy father of the circumcised climbs the roof of their dormitory and calls on the ghost to come and eat the boys in his

charge. The novices also go and visit the cave where the dead nobles are buried to find a conch which is hidden there. They lay down a cocoanut leaf and in song invite the spirit to stand upon it; then they pull it away, dragging the spirit if they can, for he is exceedingly heavy. Thus they would seem to bring back the spirit to the village. So much for the theory; as for the observances, they include confinement to the house, a mock fight between novices and adults, a final bathing followed by a feast. Before circumcision the boys could go about naked, whatever their age, but now they have to wear clothes.

Ceram of the Moluccas is a westerly outpost of Melanesian civilization.¹ The Black Patasiwa tribes have a secret society called Kakihan.

A. Nowhere is the theory of death and rebirth more consistently carried out in the act. The novices are supposed to be devoured by a monster. The women are given a literal account of the process, and spears dipped in pig's blood are exhibited as evidence of the fate that has overtaken the boys. The boys are supposed to be born again, and they behave as if they had forgotten how to perform the simplest actions.

C. The Kakihan hall is in a secluded spot and no women are allowed inside. In fact women are deliberately deceived as to the actual proceedings.

F. At the outset the novices are admonished to keep the secret of the Kakihan and to stand in war by their own community.

J. When the novices leave the club-house on the fourth day they bathe.

K. Then they are smeared with oil.

Q. They are given staves an ell long.

After an interval of twenty to thirty days they go and have their hair cut in the bush. We have already noticed

¹ Treuern, *Patasiwa und Patalima*. See also *Golden Bough*, ii. 442.

the hair-cutting ceremony that concludes the Vedic king's consecration.

In India initiation was confined to the three castes that formed the aristocracy, a most important point to bear in mind when we consider the derivation of the initiation ceremonies. It was the privilege of the nobility, the priesthood, and the yeomanry, the castes which supplied the king, the priest, and the village-chief.

A. These three castes were on account of their initiation known as the Twice-born, a title which expresses the whole theory of initiation: it is a ceremony of rebirth. "According to the teaching of revelation," says *Manu*,¹ "a Twice-born's first birth is from his mother, his second on binding the girdle," the girdle being the most important of the initiation rites.

D. The night before is spent in absolute silence.

E. The idea of victory is not actually expressed in a modern description of Gujerati initiation, but at the beginning the evil spirits are warded off by throwing oil seeds to each of the four quarters.²

F. After the lustration the preceptor gives the boy a set of commandments which, however, do not appear to bear on important matters.

I. Up to this time the boy, if small, may have gone about naked or only with a small loin cloth. Now two pieces of yellow cloth are handed to the boy, one to wear, the other to tie later to his bamboo. The sacred thread corresponds apparently to the girdle of the Tahitian and the English kings, only, as in the Tahitian coronation, it has become the central part of the ceremonial.

J. Water is poured on the boy's hands and then he looks at the sun.

P. The boy receives an umbrella and shoes.

Q. He is given a staff.

¹ ii. 169.

² Mrs. M. Stevenson, *Rites of the Twice-born*, p. 29.

R. Then he sits on a stool; then follows the lustration above described.

T. The boy walks round the fire.

U. He receives a new name.

V. No Brahman can marry till he has received the sacred thread. After water has been poured over him, as stated above, "he thereby becomes fit to entertain thoughts of marriage."

Of the mysteries of Eleusis our knowledge is very imperfect, as may well be expected since the most important part of them was secret.¹

A. They evidently had to do with death and rebirth since they referred to the myths of Persephone's descent into Hades and return to earth, and of the dismemberment of Zagreus and rebirth of Iacchos. Those who took part were made to wander along "dangerous passages through the gloom," then a wondrous light flashed upon them.

B. The sincere devotees appear to have fasted for nine days before the mysteries; others merely abstained from certain foods.

C. All strangers and murderers were bidden to depart before the rites began.

E. A sham fight and games took place at the end of the mysteries. If it is the equivalent of the contest and victory of the royal consecration it should come somewhere at the beginning. We are too much used, however, to cases of displacement to regard this as an insuperable objection; yet whenever such displacements do occur they are a difficulty which has to be overcome; we must seek for definite evidence that a displacement has taken place, or, failing that, must show good reason why such a displacement should have taken place. I would suggest here that the tremendous development which the Greek passion for athletics gave to religious contests is the cause

¹ Smith's *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, s.v. "Eleusinia"; K. F. Hermann, *Gottesdienstliche Alterthümer*, 55.

of their displacement: they became an end in itself; their original meaning was lost, so that there was no reason to keep them in their proper place at the beginning; but they might easily be moved for the sake of convenience, and it is obviously more convenient to have them at the end than to keep the whole ceremonial in suspense till the sports have been disposed of.

F. Before presenting himself for initiation the votary had to be instructed by a mystagogue in the various purifications and ceremonies he was to perform, and it was after an examination that his name was sent in. Strict secrecy was enjoined on all initiates.

G. Sacrifices were held. We should notice in particular the partaking with much ceremonial of a mixture of mint, barley-meal, and water. "This was a cardinal feature in the ceremony, being, if we may say so, a participation in the Eleusinian sacrament. It was in remembrance of Demeter being refreshed after her long wandering and fruitless search."

H. "They had a bridge between Athens and Eleusis, and as the people passed it in solemn procession, they had an old custom of abusing whom they would."¹ It is not certain whether this was on the way in or out from Athens. The Eleusinian legend also relates how Iambe succeeded in making Demeter laugh, and thus put an end to her fast.

I. The leading priest, the hierophant, was dressed in Oriental style. The torch-bearer also seems to have worn royal robes, for Plutarch relates a story of his having been mistaken for a king.

L. There is a suggestion of human sacrifice and dismemberment in the legend of Zagreus.

O. The chief priest wore a turban. The priests and the people went crowned with myrtle and with ivy.

T. The people went in solemn procession from Athens

¹ Liddell and Scott, *Greek Dict.*, s.v. "γεφυρίῳ," quoting Heysch, Suid.

to Eleusis in order to celebrate the mysteries. This procession does not appear to represent the original circumambulation, but to have resulted from the conquest of Eleusis by Athens and the adoption of the rites by the Athenians. It would seem, therefore, to be a case of accidental resemblance such as we must always be on our guard against.

V. The chief priest and priestess enacted a "holy marriage," according to the Christian writers, with the greatest realism. We gather that in this rape the priestess impersonated Demeter; the play, therefore, represented the union of Heaven and Earth.

Z. There were grades of initiates according to the degree they had reached in the ceremonies.

There is a touch of royalty, as we have seen, in the dress of the Eleusinian priests. It must be remembered that those priests were not freely inducted like the rank and file of the initiates, but each dignity was the hereditary possession of some ancient Eleusinian family. They belong therefore to the old priesthood, and are thus derived ultimately from the original king-priest.

The Mithraic initiation is of the greatest importance to our argument since it is ultimately derived from the same religion as the Vedic cults. It is all the more unfortunate that historians "know the esoteric discipline of Mithraism only from a few indiscretions." Yet even these indiscretions are worth recording.¹

A. The initiates underwent a baptism of blood which was "a renovation, temporary or even perpetual, of the human soul." The blood was that of a bull which was sacrificed to represent the primitive or the future divine bull which when immolated did, or will, cause the whole world to be reborn.

B. The preparation for the communion involved prolonged abstinence and numerous austerities.

¹ F. Cumont, *Mysteries of Mithra*, pp. 148-181.

C. The ceremonies were strictly secret and were conducted originally in secluded caverns which in Rome were replaced by subterranean vaults.

E. The whole cult was dedicated to Mithra as the invincible Sun, and it commemorated the victory over the bull.

F. The neophytes took an oath which was compared to that taken by the conscripts in the army. "The candidate undertook in all things not to divulge the doctrines and rites revealed to him, but other more special vows were exacted of him."

G. In the Mazdean service the celebrant consecrated the bread and the water which he mingled with the intoxicating juice of the Haoma prepared by him, and he consumed these foods during the performance of the sacrifice. These ancient usages were preserved in the Mithraic initiation, save that for the Haoma, a plant unknown in the West, was substituted the juice of the vine. "A loaf of bread and a goblet of water were placed before the mystic, over which the priest pronounced the sacred formula." These love feasts evidently repeated the original banquet "which Mithra celebrated with the Sun before his ascension."

I. N. "On certain occasions the celebrants donned garments suited to the title ~~that~~ had been accorded them."

J. "Repeated ablutions were prescribed to neophytes as a kind of baptism designed to wash away their guilty stains."

L. "The Mithraists were accused of performing human sacrifices. This accusation was probably based on a simulated murder which in its origin was undoubtedly real."

O. Q. The neophyte who aspired to the rank of soldier "was presented with a crown on a sword. He thrust it back with his hand and caused it to fall on his shoulder,

saying that Mithra was his only crown." This rite, then, has undergone the same change as the Armenian matrimonial coronation.

X. Y. Initiates on certain occasions "counterfeit heads of animals, of soldiers, and of Persians,"

Z. according to their degrees, of which there were seven.

Examples of initiation are not easy to procure among the peoples we have chiefly selected for our study, peoples among whom the existence of divine kingship, either now or in the past, is undoubted. One reason is that, as in the case of Greece, the rites have long ago died out, and we are lucky if we can piece together enough scattered allusions to make up an account which has any value. Another reason lies in false preconceptions which have vitiated the collection of facts no less than the theories based upon them. When first savages began to be studied it was rather hastily assumed that their religious development corresponded exactly to their progress in mechanical arts, that if they used stone implements and went about naked like palaeolithic man their religion would also be that of palaeolithic man. In fact this was the very reason why they were studied at all, because it was hoped that in this way we should learn all about our own prehistoric ancestors. On the other hand, peoples with iron tools and a literature were considered to be obviously late in their religion and therefore useless to the student of early origins. Misled by these assumptions, the anthropologist completely ignored the people he took to be advanced in mental culture, and he is only just beginning to realize that the line of division runs not between primitive peoples and advanced nations, but between one area and another, does not divide naked hunters such as Váddas and Fuegians from Aryans and Incas, but India from South America. Those who have undertaken the study of the so-called advanced races have usually been men of literary tastes with little inclination to collect oral information,

and, even if they had the inclination, would have little time to spare from the most urgent task of editing and interpreting the vast literature which they have undertaken as their study. But the information contained in books is fragmentary and takes little notice of the *populus*. Thus it happens that we know much more about initiation outside our area than inside, and we must therefore go a little beyond its limits, though not very far, if we would collect enough instances to place the parallelism of king and initiate beyond reach of the argument of chance.

We can scarcely be said to be out of our area in the Banks Islands of the New Hebrides: the language is very closely akin to Fijian, their word for god in particular is the same, and their legends, especially that of Tangaloa, reveal the former presence of the same Polynesian or quasi-Polynesian adherents of divine kingship as once occupied the eastern coasts of Fiji.¹

A. The members of a Banks Islands society are called *Tamate*, which means dead. They are therefore identified with departed spirits. There seems to be a connection between these ghosts and the sun, since drawings of both appear together on a door.

B. There is a period of fasting. Initiation also involves a trial of endurance by torments and hardships.

C. The candidate lives in seclusion.

E. Perhaps we may see in the beating of the candidate by the members a survival of ritual combat; perhaps it belongs, with the torments, to the "austerities" that qualify for kingship.

F. The candidate is admonished to do his duty as a member of the society.

O. Hats are used, of which one type is crested and distinctly recalls the helmet worn by Hawaiian chiefs.

¹ W. H. R. Rivers, *History of Melanesian Society*, i. p. 92. My *Early Fijians*. R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 30, 86, etc.

The same type of crested helmet forms part of a secret society mask from New Britain.¹

X. The hats are combined with masks. This would appear at first sight to be peculiar to secret societies, for we have nowhere found it in the king's consecration. But there is nothing really very new in masks. The chief object of masks is to complete the resemblance of the consecrated person to the spirit he impersonates, in the Banks Islands to the spirits of the dead. But we have already seen that the king frequently achieves this end by dressing up like a god: Pharaoh at the Sed festival, the King of the Kurus at the festival of Citraraja, the victorious Roman general at his triumph. There is no new principle involved in a mask; it is doubtful whether even the application of this principle is new.

Y. These masks in the Banks Islands often have the form of animals, and in these cases it is from animals that the societies take their names. I know of no direct evidence that kings disguised themselves as animals, but priests certainly did, and priests are admissible as evidence since they share a common origin with kings. The Babylonian priests occasionally dressed up as fishes.² M. Moret³ agrees with Sir Gaston Maspero that the scenes engraved on the walls of Egyptian temples "corresponded to pure reality; that for his union with the queen, the king assumed, originally, the costume and the person of Amon; that for the delivery of his daughter the priests and priestesses put on the costumes, masks, and insignia of the gods Bes, Apit, Hathor, Khnumu, etc." These gods were animal-headed. Elsewhere we see on the monuments a priest dressed up like the hawk-headed Horus, a character that also belongs to the king. The king himself had something of an animal nature since he was called

¹ W. T. Brigham, *Hawaiian Feather Work*, p. 40 ff.

² S. Langdon, in *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, 1922, p. 612.

³ *Du Caractère Religieux*, etc., pp. 72, 87.

snake-lord of Buto and hawk-lord of Hieraconpolis;¹ and in pre-dynastic times we hear of a scorpion king.² Ancient India swarmed with cobra-kings, nor were bird-kings uncommon.³ The Sinhalese kings, who styled themselves emperors, traced their descent from a lion who carried away a human princess and by her begot a son who had the hands and feet of a lion; this was in accordance with the Indian belief that the Great Man, the genus of the two species emperor and sage, had the jaw of a lion, and was a lion in the front part of the body.⁴ The secret societies have in their animal impersonations merely preserved a very archaic feature which divine kingship lost at a very remote period before the beginnings of our records. There was an excellent reason why it should be lost, for it was quite inconsistent with the growing dignity and temporal power of kings.

Z. There are degrees in the Tamate societies of the Banks Islands.

In the Torres Straits Islands we are on the fringe of Melanesia, and the people themselves trace part of their culture to New Guinea.⁵

B. C. D. The boys are secluded for a whole month without being allowed to talk, or play, or eat animal food (Muralug). They are whipped with burning cocoanut leaves.

F. The boys are taught rules of conduct. In Tutu these rules included three of the five commandments preached by the Indian Wheel-monarch: ⁶ "You no steal, you no tell a lie; you no steal woman."

J. The initiates bathe.

¹ H. R. H. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 99.

² B. J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 36.

³ *Sanskrit Dict.*, s.v. "Nāga." *Jataka*, No. 545, Fausböll, vi. 256.

⁴ *Mahavamsa*, vi.; *Digha*, ii. 18.

⁵ *Report of the Cambridge Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. v.

⁶ p. 23.

V. The appearance of pubic hairs was the signal for initiation, and the novices "were instructed about dealings with women"; they were taught magical practices in connection with women so that the latter might fall in love with them"; on their return home they used magic "to make girl come," and this seems generally to have been followed by marriage (Tutu).

The Australian Aboriginal was once taken to be the very type of primitive man. In his technical development he undoubtedly is so, and this fact made the anthropologists completely deaf to his own statements that some of his most fundamental customs have been imported from the North. Fortunately, we have of late become accustomed to pay more attention to such statements, and the autonomy of Australian culture is no longer the dogma it used to be. We are no longer afraid to dissect their customs to see if their structure connects them with any other genus outside Australia. We shall take as an example the Kurnai of South-East Australia.¹

A. A god, who is father's father to the tribe, comes down from heaven for the purpose of making the boys into men. How this is done is not clear, either by reason of the ignorance of the natives themselves or because of the imperfection of our records. We can, however, infer it thus: a novice during probation may not look at a woman, even his mother, or at an emu; the emu is the god's mother; hence the equations

emu = god's mother;

emu = initiate's mother;

∴ initiate = god.

This much is certain, that the novices die and are reborn; for they are "laid to sleep as boys, in order to be awakened as men." It is "some kind of magic sleep, not like the ordinary sleep of mankind." There can be no doubt as

¹ A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 525.

to the meaning of this sleep since the mothers and sisters of the boys are wearing a band of white clay across their faces as a sign of mourning when the boys return to camp.

B. The boys go on short commons during the novitiate.

C. Strict secrecy is observed.

D. The mourning of the women has been mentioned.

E. The qualifications of the young men are tested in some tribes, especially those of South Queensland, by a ceremonial combat in which they take part.¹

F. The novice is instructed in the rules of morality that befit a grown-up man. Two of the Indian Wheel-monarch's commandments are included: to speak the truth and not to steal women; a third one enjoins food restrictions and possibly corresponds to that obscure fifth commandment of the Indian emperor, "eat as has been eaten."²

G. We have no direct statement that the Kurnai practised communion, but we can infer it. The men kill a kangaroo; the novices sit down with their heads covered; then the blankets are thrown off and an old man points first to the sky, then to the kangaroo, which the novices then eat. Now exactly the same procedure is followed in revealing the bull-roarers which represent the ancient god from the sky and his wife. The latter rite is called "showing the grandfather," so that there cannot be any doubt as to its meaning; it is: "You see the sky? These bull-roarers are the sky." On this analogy we conclude that the kangaroo is the sky-god, that the novices eat the god, and so become the god.

H. The old men "go through some absurd antics to make the boys laugh at their child's play"; but the boys are warned by their cousins, and look on with stolid indifference.

J. The new initiates bathe.

¹ A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* 639.

² p. 23.

O. They are invested with a head band.

U. They receive a new name.

V. A boy is ripe for initiation when his whiskers begin to grow and he pays more attention to women than is considered proper. In one tribe the newly initiated can choose any woman of the tribe, except a blood-relation, to sleep the night with him. In another the boy is now supposed to have arrived at manhood and is at liberty to steal a woman from another tribe. Among the Kuringal and others the boys must be initiated by men of the group from which the boys will get their wives.

X. The faces of the boys are marked with red ochre.

Y. During the "magic sleep" above referred to the novices are not allowed to speak, but only chirp like an emu wren, which is the "totem" of the male members of the tribe. Dances are also performed impersonating the tribal animals.

Thus it is among this supposed most primitive tribe that we find the most complete correspondence with coronation rites that we have yet found. Further, the initiates do not represent departed spirits as in the Banks, but the ancestor-god, equivalent to the Fijian ancestor-god of whom the Fijian chief is the representative.

From Australia we cross over to Africa, where we shall notice briefly the circumcision ceremonies of the Kipsiki of Kenya Colony.¹

A. "The ceremonies seem to indicate a return to pre-natal condition by the mother's skirt being worn over the body." The actual operation takes place at sunrise, the candidates standing in a line facing the sun.

B. The novices are beaten on the head, body, and particularly the pubes, with *siek* nettle, which cause intolerable pain. Here again it is uncertain whether this corresponds to the king's "austerities" or to his victory.

¹ Juxon Barton, "Notes on the Kipsikis," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.*, 1923, p. 42.

Possibly both interpretations are true since by austerities the king conquers the world.

C. The boys are secluded for a month in a hut, which they can only leave for the purposes of nature. The women and non-initiates are ushered away during the ceremony, and the rites may never be revealed to women, uncircumcised, or strangers.

F. The boys are admonished not to steal or practise witchcraft, and they are told the things they may or may not do.

G. Beer made of eleusine grain is spat on the boys and the elders carouse.

I. Since the novices wear their mother's skirt, apparently in order to typify a return to the womb, this garment plays the same function as the mantles in the Indian king's coronation.

J. The boys pass through water.

K. They anoint their heads with butter.

O. X. During their seclusion the initiates wear a head-dress with a mask attached.

V. At the end of his seclusion the initiate has connection with a woman, and may force her, if necessary.

Y. In the course of the rites one man impersonates a leopard, and the bull-roarers are supposed to be the noises of animals.

In this type of initiation the circumcision is the cardinal rite; in the Indian king's coronation it is the lustration; in the Brahmanical it is the putting on of the thread. All three are performed facing the sun.

The Ruanda, another African tribe, have a secret society called Imandwa.¹

A. The leader of the society becomes L'angombe, who is the living god; others impersonate L'angombe's companions called Imandwa. "The cult of L'angombe has

¹ Arnoux, "Le Culte de la Société Secrète des Imandwa au Ruanda," *Anthropos*, 1912, pp. 273, 529, 840; 1913, pp. 110, 754.

the privilege of transforming everything, men and things." L'angombe is a king. The candidate is told at the outset that he himself has become a king; he also becomes an Imandwa.

B. The initiate is thrown up into the air, thrown down and beaten. Preparations are made to cut him up, and each one present claims some part of his body. The novice is thus supposed to be dismembered. It is a case of fictitious death.

C. The initiation is secret and the novice is forbidden to tell the people that L'angombe or his followers are just ordinary men.

E. After being required to perform several impossible feats the novice is told, "You have vanquished the poisoner, you have vanquished the spirits, you have also vanquished the enemies;

F. but you will be vanquished for violating the secret," and he is strictly admonished not to reveal it.

G. Banana wine is drunk, and it is during the drinking of it that the novice is told that he has become a king. Unfortunately, we are not told whether there are any ceremonies accompanying this beer drinking. There is a later episode which may also be identified with communion: the neophyte is given a drink made out of a powdered herb and is warned at the same time that he is pledging himself to absolute devotion to all the Imandwa.

I. The neophyte is stripped naked and in the morning clothed again.

J. L'angombe sprinkles the novice, saying, "I have washed-purified you, and you will wash-purify me; I have given you peace and you will give me peace."

O. The king of the Imandwa puts a crown on his head. All the other Imandwa wear crowns of *miswa*.

Q. L'angombe has a sword.

R. He also sits on a seat.

T. All the Imandwa and the novice walk round seven times.

V. The novice receives a new name.

X. The members wear "strange costumes."

Y. L'angombe imitates the roar of a lion, and like a lion seizes children and bites dogs.

Z. There are degrees of initiation.

The great interest of the Ruanda ceremonies is that they clearly bring together kingship and initiation. The leader is the king of the Imandwa; he wins his kingdom in a manner strangely reminiscent of Tibet;¹ for L'angombe plays with his rival claimant a game of chess to decide who will be king of the Imandwa. He has a throne and a sword. He behaves like that royal animal the lion. He is surrounded by his vassals, minor kings. It is all very much like the installation of a true king and his chieftains. Most decisive of all is the statement made by the old initiates to the novice that he has become a king.

Here then is decisive proof that the Ruanda ceremony is nothing but a coronation ceremony. But since the other initiation ceremonies we have reviewed exhibit a remarkable likeness in function and in structure we must extend our conclusions to them.

The genus coronation and ordination must therefore be enlarged to include initiation. The coronation and ordination ceremonies appeared far more closely related to one another than either is to initiation. The king and priest are so closely akin that their common origin is patent; the neophyte is so remote from them that his affinity with them is not very apparent on the surface, but is only revealed by careful dissection. We can thus group coronation and ordination together as sub-species of the species installation. How are we to conceive the relation of installation to initiation? Is one derived from the other, and if so, which?

¹ p. 25.

If the matter were put to the vote there is no doubt on which side the overwhelming majority would be. It would be in favour of the view that installation is derived from initiation; and why? For the reason I have given above, namely, that initiation is best known to us from the study of naked savages, and it is a deep-rooted conviction that naked, or half-naked, savages must be as primitive in their customs as in their lack of clothes. We cannot, however, base a whole science on an assumption which not only has never been proved, but is demonstrably false. If it were true, then the Vāddas of Ceylon should be primitive in language, kingship, and religion, for they live a primitive hunting life without clothes or metals, except such as they import, and with caves as dwellings; but we know as a matter of fact that their language is Aryan, their kinship the same as covers the whole of South India, and that they worship their god under a perfectly good Sanskrit name. There is no correspondence then between the crafts of that people and their culture: one *may* be primitive, if it is not degenerate, the other is largely derived from one of the foremost civilizations of the world. We have no right to assume that any greater correspondence exists in Australia, in Terra del Fuego, or among the Bushmen of South Africa: it has to be proved or disproved by the ordinary methods of comparative history such as have so long been practised among philologists.

When a comparative philologist finds himself in presence of numbers of words in different languages all obviously descended from a common root, he does not say, "The Kelts were far less advanced in their arts and crafts than the Romans; therefore the Keltic form of the word comes nearest to the parent form," or "The Aryan invaders of India were far less advanced in literary technique than Homer; therefore the Vedic form is more archaic than the Homeric." That is not his way of proceeding. First of all he compares the related words in all the languages

and postulates the only parent form from which all can be derived. By degrees he thus establishes laws of sound-change, which enable him to proceed with increasing rapidity and certainty, and these laws will keep confirming themselves by producing consistent results.

We must follow the example of the philologist. Only we are not so far advanced that we can yet set up laws of custom changes. He can say with absolute confidence, "Wherever you find an *o* in Greek you will find an *a* in Sanskrit." We can only suggest that to a god in Greek or Indian initiation there will always correspond a ghost in Melanesian initiation. We must therefore content ourselves with accomplishing the first task that is set before us, and that is to discover what form of consecration will satisfactorily account for all its derivatives.

Let us first see whether we can derive installation from initiation. I fail to see how on that hypothesis we are going to explain the Ruanda initiation satisfactorily. If the king is derived from the initiate, why is the Ruanda neophyte told that he has become a king? It is quite simple if the initiate is copied from the king. Again, why should a king be required to induct the candidates? It is difficult to explain on the first hypothesis, easy on the second. We can understand the use of a crown at the consecration of a king: it represents the sun-disc; the sun-disc belongs to the sun-god; thus the sun-god is invested with his disc; but what is the crown doing in initiation? If the initiates became sun-gods nothing could be more natural; but it is nowhere claimed that they do; yet there are indications that they are derived from personages that did. The Kipsiki neophytes are circumcised facing the sun at sunrise; there is no apparent reason why they should do so; therefore it is a survival; the Indian king faces the east at his lustration, obviously because he is reborn as the rising sun; therefore it is a living custom. The survival is derived from a living

custom, but not the living custom from the survival. This one case does indeed sum up the whole situation: the rites of a king's consecration mostly bear their own explanation writ large across them: death, fasting and quiescence, battle and victory, oath to preserve law and order whether it be in the calendar, in the ritual, or in civil life, rebirth and lustration in the waters of ocean, crown, shoes and throne, circumambulation, marriage, are all episodes in the career of the sun who, overcome and slain by the powers of darkness, is mourned for, but again battles with his foes, defeats them, and can thus be reborn again to maintain order in the universe, is washed free from the impurities of the womb and is anointed for strength, assumes his disc, and, leaving the earth, ascends the sky, takes possession of the whole world in his circular course, and by his beams unites himself with the earth to produce offspring and crops. All these rites flow logically from the equation

king = sun-god ;

this essential equation is lacking in the initiation ceremonies of savage peoples, and their rites therefore cease to form a connected intelligible series. Some have become quite meaningless; others retain a meaning because the idea of death and rebirth is preserved, and all the rites based on that idea continue to be intelligible; others yet bear the appearance of having been rationalized: thus the torments which once typified the death and dismemberment of the sun-god are in many cases now explained as tests of endurance, proofs that the neophyte is no longer a child, but is a man capable of suffering without complaining.

The hypothesis that initiation is derived from installation thus provides a better explanation of the facts. The Ruanda initiation suggests how the derivation took place: the king surrounded by his chieftains, the Imandwa

received candidates into the ranks of his chieftains. Thus the consecration of the officials forms an easy transition to initiation. The number of the officials has only to be multiplied indefinitely in order to degrade installation from a royal ceremonial into a popular festival. We know that such things do happen; there is probably not an age that has not seen honours once jealously reserved distributed with increasing liberality until they cease to be marks of distinction. Esquire has followed mister in its downward career, and a knighthood is not now so precious as it was. It is a law of human society that honours tend to spread, for the simple reason that no body of men can withstand for ever the constant pressure of those outside who covet those honours.

The hypothesis which we favour is thus quite in accordance with known processes. Those who would derive installation from initiation are on the other hand obliged to postulate a process which is far more difficult to accept: they have to suppose that what once was common has gradually become restricted to a single man and his court. We want certain precedents before we can believe this. In the meantime Egyptian evidence most strongly opposes it. Dr. G. A. Reisner tells us that "whatever gain in skill or knowledge there is appears first in the service of the royal family."¹ To take an instance the *ka*, or double, "in all probability was originally the exclusive possession of kings," and "by a process of slow development the privilege of possessing a *ka* became universal among all the people." Again, "the nobles imitated the tombs of Pharaoh and obtained grants in aid from him so that the formula 'the offering which the king gives' became a stereotyped formula of offerings which spread to the lower classes." To conclude with a last example: originally only the king became Osiris at his death; later every man on dying became Osiris "and was conceived as king," and

¹ *Egyptian Conception of Immortality*, p. 32.

amulets representing the royal insignia of the Pharaoh were painted on the inside of the coffin or laid beside the body.¹

Egypt is thus flatly opposed to the derivation of the royal from the popular. It will not allow us to deduce the king's coronation from initiation in Egypt. What right have we to reverse the process elsewhere? We cannot in fact do so without giving up all thought of a common origin for all the coronation rites that we have studied. If the Indian and Near Eastern rites are traceable to the same source as the Egyptian, they cannot have grown out of the initiation ceremony. To maintain a separate origin for them is to deny the possibility of a comparative history.

If initiation is derived from installation, where did this first come about? From where did the popular form spread throughout the world? It is here that we need to remember what was said at the beginning about convergence: the same processes are continually at work throughout the world, and when they happen to act upon similar situations they lead to similar results. Now divine kingship covers a very vast area, much vaster than that to which the present studies have been limited; on the other hand the vulgarisation of customs is everywhere going on incessantly; every new custom or idea begins with the leaders, whether kings, priests, professors or merchants, and spreads to the crowd. Royal ritual must therefore constantly have been exposed to this process, of which the result would inevitably be some sort of initiation ceremony. In view of the great variety in the types of initiation ceremony, I think this is most probably what happened, and that a study at once more extensive and more minute of structure than is possible here, will probably lead us back to several independent archetypes, independent, that is, in so far as they are not derived from

¹ Breasted, *Development*, pp. 32, 256, 280; *History*, p. 71.

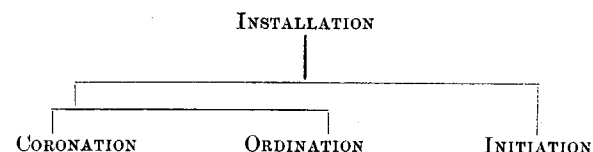
one another, not independent in the sense that they have no connection with one another ; for through the royal installation ceremonies they ultimately go back to a common origin.

Initiation has struck its roots deep among the mass of the people, and therefore it enjoys a greater hardiness than the coronation. It persisted with great vitality in those countries which discarded divine kingship, because, like the Greeks, they were too critical to tolerate the divinity of mere men, or, like many Melanesians, they possessed neither the intelligence nor the cohesion which is required to keep up such an exacting institution as divine kingship. That explains why at the present day initiation is so much more widely distributed than divine kingship and still flourishes where kings are extinct or perhaps even have never penetrated.

Since initiation ceremonies are popularized forms of installation it will follow that on the whole they will be degraded forms, and we shall scarcely look to them for representatives of the earliest type of installation, but rather to coronation and ordination rites. But that is by no means always the case. The coronation and ordination ceremonies which we know have undergone changes more or less profound since they branched off from the parent stem. Those changes, so far as we can see, have been in the direction of greater dignity and solemnity. They appear to have discarded at a very early date the grotesque elements such as masks and buffoonery, or retained them only as symbols, as in the case of animal impersonations. It is here that initiation ceremonies come to our aid and fill in the blanks : being for the people and largely by the people they do not stand on dignity ; on the contrary, grotesque performances and hysterical outbreaks flourish in a crowd and are emphasized rather than suppressed.

The evolution of the three species or sub-species we

have been considering may therefore best be represented in the following manner :



This pedigree is only a suggestion ; to attempt any more with our present scanty information would be to overstep the bounds of evidence. Perhaps we have already done so to some extent ; but imagination must always keep ahead of proof as an advanced detachment to spy out the land.

While the majority of initiation ceremonies may be debased forms, it is by no means universally the case. Under the Roman Empire when petty kingdoms became absorbed in one vast empire and the divine king was far away in Rome the need for some closer allegiance, for a lord who was personally accessible, gave great impulse to initiation ceremonies. Those cults were profoundly affected by the lofty speculations of the philosophers and they strove to greater heights than could ever be reached by the old religion. The most successful of these cults was in fact the final cause of the downfall of that religion by setting up an ideal of divinity which no mere man could be worthy to impersonate. It is a testimony, however, to the spiritual value of the old religion that it imposed its language and its symbols upon the new religion that superseded it.

A. In discussing ambrosia we also considered the theory of the mass, and how apt its exposition, when undertaken by literal minds, is to relapse into a crudeness of expression but little removed from early Indian writings.

B. The communicant prepares himself by a fast beginning at midnight.

E. Communion hymns are frequently paeans of victory. Omit the first and the last sentence of the following French communion hymn and it might have been spoken by the Buddha underneath the Bodhi tree: "This bread of the strong will support my courage. Come, demons who are jealous of my happiness; let your rage arm you all; I do not fear your most terrible blows: a God becomes the surety for my victory." Speaking of the blood of Jesus, number 107 of our "Hymns Ancient and Modern" says:

"Oft as it is sprinkled
On our guilty hearts
Satan in confusion
Terror-struck departs."

F. The ten commandments are read out and assented to. Of these ten commandments four are to be found in the five commandments of the Indian emperor.

G. The communion in both elements is the cardinal point of the ceremony.

J. The congregation are sprinkled before the mass. This is no part of the mass proper, but belongs to the preparation. We therefore require much better evidence than we have before we can accept it as the equivalent of the king's lustration displaced; most probably it is not. The consecrating lustration has, however, left its impress on the language of hymnologists, as witness hymn 312:

"Fountain of goodness, Jesu, Lord and God,
Cleanse us, unclean, with Thy most cleansing blood."

K. The metaphor of an unction has been used by the writer of hymn 321, which is prescribed for communion:

"We pray thee, Heavenly Father,
To hear us in Thy love,
And pour upon Thy children
The unction from above."

A real unction is only used for the dying.

L. Christ is conceived as a human victim offered for

the redemption of the world, and it is this sacrifice which the mass daily enacts symbolically.

T. The mass is frequently followed by a procession through the town.

V. The communion is conceived as a mystic marriage between Christ and the soul. A French hymn expresses it thus:

"Fonds toi, mon âme, et d'amour et d'extase,
Ton Bien-Aimé s'abaisse jusqu'à toi!"
"Melt, my soul, with love and ecstasy,
Thy Well-Beloved comes down to thee!"

The idea also finds expression in the dress of the first communicants, which is that of a bride.

Y. The early Christians followed the example of the surrounding sects in using animal symbols, and from the initials I X Θ U Σ, Jesus Christ, son of god, saviour (old royal titles in the Near East), they derived the symbol of a fish. The only animal symbol that now survives is that of the Lamb, as being the only one consistent with the feelings of reverence which modern Christianity insists upon.

P.S.—The ancient Indians definitely believed in the rebirth of the sun. The *Satapatha* says that the sun at night is an embryo, the sun-child when it rises (ii. 3. 1. 5 ff.).

XIII

SIGNS OF DIVINITY

IN the days when gods commonly walked the earth in the guise of men and you were never certain that the stranger you met was not divine, it must have been very useful indeed to know of certain signs by which immortals could be distinguished from mortals. Damayanti, the daughter of the king of Vidarbha in Northern India, once found herself in a dilemma where such knowledge was very necessary indeed. Her father had it proclaimed far and wide that all the princes who aspired to the hand of his daughter should assemble at his court and present themselves to Damayanti, who would select a husband from among them. But Damayanti had already made up her mind ; she had seen Nala, King of Nishadha, and had set her heart upon him and he upon her. Nala was one of the suitors ; but unfortunately the four gods who guard the four quarters of the world had heard of Damayanti's beauty and Nala's love, and, assuming his likeness, joined the suitors. Great was Damayanti's distress when she saw herself confronted by *five* Nalas undistinguishable one from the other. Fortunately she remembered the traditional signs by which a god could be known. She therefore prayed to the gods to reveal their divinity. They took pity upon her and showed themselves " sweatless, unwinking, crowned with fresh and dustless garlands, and not touching the ground." ¹

¹ *Nala episode*, v. 22 ff.

The power of remaining suspended in the air was thus one of the signs of godhead. Since men can become gods, we are not surprised to find Indian saints possessed of this power in a high degree. In fact it became so characteristic a miracle of saints that in Sinhalese the word *iddhi*, which, as we have seen, meant originally supernatural power in general, has become restricted to levitation, and from the word *arahat*, a saint, they have formed a verb which means " to pass instantaneously from one place to the other."

We derived miraculous power in general from the sun ; is it possible that this particular manifestation also has the same origin ? The sun is suspended in the air ; therefore a sun-man should also be able to remain suspended in the air. Certainly the analogy between the suspension of the sun in the firmament and of a man in mid-air did occur to some minds in the Indian world ; for the Tibetans believed that if a man pushed over the side of a cliff invoked the power of Avalokitesvara he would " remain suspended in the air like the sun." ¹ But was this analogy the cause or the consequence of the belief in levitation ?

The *Satapatha Brahmana* leaves no doubt about the matter. ² It describes how, as a sequel to his consecration, the king cuts his hair. From that time on it becomes for him " a religious observance ; as long as he lives he does not stand on this earth. From the throne he slips into shoes. He stands on shoes. . . . For he is above the world, and this world is beneath him who performs the king's consecration." He is above this world because he is Indra, and therefore " he that shines yonder," the sun. There is an echo of this custom in the Buddhist story of Sona. From his childhood Sona never put his foot on the ground, because he had a circle of red hairs under the

¹ J. Hackin, *Guide-Catalogue des Collections Bouddhiques au Musée Guimet*, p. 42.

² v. 5. 3. 6 f.

sole of his foot. He had only to threaten to put his foot down to bring his servants to reason, as they dreaded that so much merit should thus get lost.¹ The wheel, as we have already mentioned, is a solar symbol which has attained to great popularity among the Buddhists. We are thus assured that the solar explanation of this custom was not invented by the *Satapatha*, but was widely held in India even among the people.

The rule that the king may not touch the earth is very widespread; Frazer in his *Golden Bough* quotes instances among the Zapotecs of Mexico, in Japan, Siam, Persia, Uganda.² Ellis's account of kings in Tahiti deserves to be quoted in full: ³ "Whether, like the sovereigns of the Sandwich Islands, they were supposed to derive their origin by lineal descent from the gods, or not, their persons were regarded as scarcely less sacred than the personifications of the deities. . . . The sovereign and his consort always appeared in public on men's shoulders, and travelled in this manner wherever they journeyed by land. . . . On the occasions of changing mounts their majesties never suffered their feet to touch the ground." "The inauguration ceremony, answering to coronation among other nations, consisted of girding the king with the *maro ura*, or sacred girdle of red feathers, which not only raised him to the highest earthly station, but identified him with the gods." This idea "pervaded the terms used with reference to his whole establishment. His houses were called the clouds of heaven; the rainbow was the name of the canoe in which he voyaged; his voice was called thunder, the glare of his torches in his dwelling was denominated lightning, and when the people saw them in the evening as they passed near his abode, instead of saying the torches were burning in the palace, they would observe that

¹ R. S. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 246.

² 2nd ed. i. 234, 236; iii. 202.

³ *Polynesian Researches*, iii. 101 f.; 108, 113 f.

the lightning was flashing in the clouds of heaven. When he passed from one district to the other they always used the word *mahuta*, which signifies to fly, and hence they described his journey by saying that the king was flying from one district of the island to another." In Tahiti then the king flew, instead of walking, and this was the logical consequence of his being the sun in heaven.

The peculiarity of not winking was, like the power of flying, shared by the demons.¹ The obvious course is to seek the explanation in the same direction. The eye is to the microcosm of man what the sun is to the world.² Hence the sun is spoken of as the eye of day, or eye of heavens, from Fiji to Greece.³ The sun, the moon, and the stars do not wink; therefore, the eye of the sun-king should not wink.

Some fourteen miles north of Colombo, I was one day watching a yearly festival in honour of four gods at the temple of Gammaḍupitiya. The festival was marked by frequent outbreaks of possession by gods or demons (there seemed to be no distinction), some possibly simulated, others undoubtedly genuine. The possessed would dance about with eyes half closed and the eyeballs screwed up, a behaviour which, Dr. Henry Head informs me, is not uncommon in severe hysteria. During a period of quiet my attention was drawn to a man who was supposed to be possessed by a demon. He just stood facing the temple, supported by a friend; he looked rather sick and was quaking, while a spasm occasionally came over him. A notable of the place who accompanied me drew my attention to the fact that the man was not winking. I watched the man closely and found that it was so. Thus the unwinking eye is not a myth, but a reality. It might be thought that this is the solution and not any solar theory; that it was observed that men in a state of

¹ *Jataka*, No. 546, vi. 336 end.

² See page 198.

³ Fijian, *mata ni sina*; Aristophanes, *Nubae* 286, *δμμα αἰθέρος*.

possession did not wink ; this phenomenon was ascribed to the gods or demons who produced it and became one of their characteristics. It would appear to be a case not of the solarization of man, but of the humanizing of spirits.

The problem is, however, not quite so simple. We must make sure that the suspension of the winking reflex is the inevitable result of hysteria and not in any way influenced by local beliefs. The worshippers when possessed performed many actions which are not symptoms of hysteria but are inspired by the religious observances of normal life, such as seizing a pot of holy water from the altar and sprinkling with it the congregation ; each priest or vehicle of the god invariably ended his wild career, according to expectation, in the temple of his own proper god and no other. We have then to consider whether our unwinking friend was not seeking to conform to the behaviour that is expected of demons. I have referred the matter to Dr. Head, who has kindly returned the following answer : " It is true that in some cases of Dementia Praecox and other examples of what are known as Katatonic Inhibition, the patient winks less often than normal. This is in accordance with the general slowness and infrequency of bodily movement. Apart from this, I do not know of any example of defective winking, and should strongly suspect that the possessed person you mention probably imitates the behaviour ascribed to demons." We must conclude that the belief is not due to the phenomenon, but the phenomenon to the belief, and we are thus thrown back on our original theory, which, in the absence of positive evidence, seems to be the one that best explains the facts.

It never occurred to me when I had discovered the unwinking man to note the condition of his skin to see if perchance he was also sweatless. I have therefore nothing to say on the subject.

There remain the " fresh and dustless garlands." It would seem hopeless to try and explain them, yet it is no more hopeless than the two characteristics we have explained appeared to be until a clue presented itself.¹

P.S.—Since the above was written I have become acquainted with *Rig-Veda*, vii. 61, which is a hymn to the combined gods Mitra and Varuna :

1. " Up rises, O Varuna, the lovely eye of you two gods, the Sun, and spreads his light. He who surveys all beings observes the disposition that prevails among mortals."

2. " From the wide earth, O Mitra-Varuna, from the high lofty sky, O bountiful pair, you have placed your scattered spies among the plants, the settlements, keeping guard *without winking*."

The Vedic theologians did then conceive the sun as the unwinking eye of Mitra-Varuna. Prof. A. A. MacDonell says, " It is characteristic of Mitra and Varuna to regard men with unwinking eye." Q.E.D.

For dustlessness see *Rig-Veda*, i. 35. 11 : " Those paths of thine, O Savitri, which are ancient, dustless, well made through the air." Savitri is a form of the sun-god.

¹ Pausanias, ix. 19. 5, quoted by Miss J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, p. 371 : At Mycalessos " a miracle is exhibited. Before the feet of the image they place whatever fruits the earth bears in autumn and these keep the bloom upon them the whole year round."

XIV

BARROWS

THE Fijians who dwelt round the Koro Sea built oblong houses, but their temples were usually square. These temples were made of wooden posts and beams and of reeds. Their most striking feature was the very high-pitched roof several times the height of the walls. This roof did not actually go to a point, probably because this was technically difficult; it therefore ended in a very short ridge. The ridge invariably projected somewhat at both ends. This projection is quite meaningless, yet the natives insist upon it in their descriptions and evidently consider it obligatory. When that is the case we may be sure we are in presence of a vestigial organ. Models of these temples are to be seen at the British Museum, the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology, and the Royal Scottish Museum. They are covered with coir string. A missionary who lived in heathen Fiji says: "The quantity of sinnet used in the decoration of some of these temples is immense; for every timber is covered with it, in various patterns of black and red. Reeds wrapped with the same material are used for lining door and window openings, and between the rafters and other spars. Sinnet work is seen in every part and hangs in long cords from the eaves."¹ Inside this temple the god came to return oracles. This house was invariably

¹ Th. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, p. 221.

erected on a very high plinth of earth faced with stone. These mounds were usually square or oblong, sometimes round, if we can trust Williams' drawings and the uncertain outlines of the mound of Nautuutu, one of those figured by Williams, as it appears at the present day. This plinth played a very important part in the life of the tribe. It was known as the "state mound," and migrated tribes (practically all have migrated) referring to their old home will say, "Our plinth is in such and such a place." Chiefs and people of high rank were commonly buried in the plinth of the temple.

In Northern India there were two schools of burial: the school of the Brahmanas, which considered itself orthodox, built square mounds in which to bury persons who had reached a certain degree in the curriculum of sacrifice. The heretics made their burial mounds circular.¹ Among the heretics are mentioned the Easterners. Now these Easterners are evidently the dwellers in the eastern part of Northern India, the region where Buddhism first arose; for we know that those peoples buried their wheelings or emperors in hemispherical mounds. Not only emperors but princes of royal blood were buried in such mounds. We even hear of a landowner who expressed his intense love for his deceased father by raising such a mound of earth in his park over his remains.²

These mounds were called *stūpa* or *thūpa*, in the modern vernacular *tope*, the term which we shall adopt. They are also called *caitya* from *cit*, a funeral pyre, because the body was cremated before being stowed inside the central chamber.

In the chapter on the Priest we saw how the career of a sage or Buddha is merely a spiritualized replica of an emperor's, and how the sage, like the emperor, is cremated and his ashes are deposited in a *tope*. Since this rule was

¹ For the tumulus see *Sat. Br.* xiii. 8. 1 f.; vii. 1. 1. 13; vii. 7. 4.

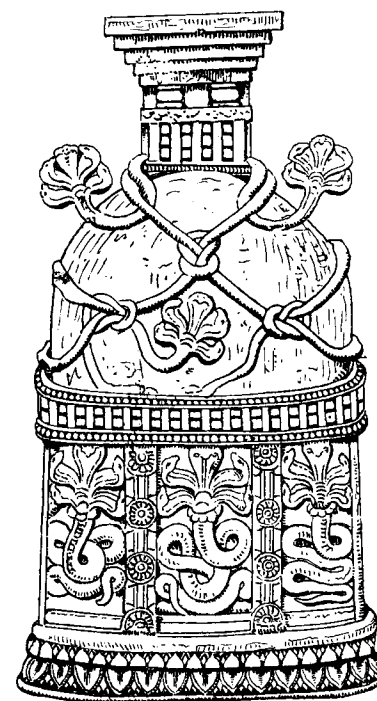
² Beal, *Buddhist Records*, ii. 20. *Jataka*, No. 352, Fausböll, iii. 155.

observed in the case of that great sage Gautama, whom we all know as the Buddha, and as the multitudinous topes among which his remains were, and are still being, distributed, became centres of pilgrimage for the followers of the Buddha's religion, the tope became first and foremost a Buddhist shrine. In Ceylon, at least, the wheel-kings or emperors continued to be buried in such topes down to the annexation; but when a Sinhalese thinks of a tope it is always as a shrine dedicated to the Buddha.

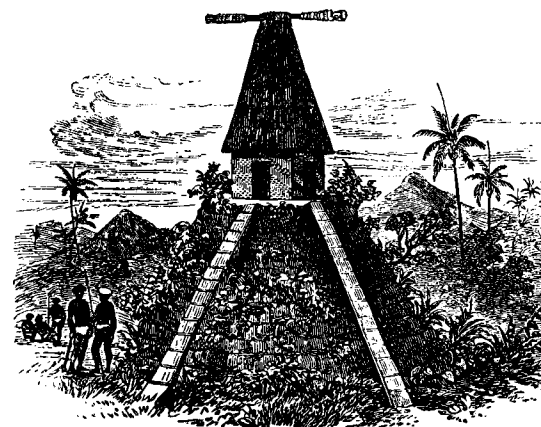
Its association with Buddhism gave the tope increased prestige and splendour. In the enthusiasm of their new faith kings strove to gain merit by surpassing their predecessors in the magnitude of their topes and in the quality of their materials. In India some topes were built of stone and decorated with elaborate carvings. The first Sinhalese tope was built of mud with a brick facing; and the smaller ones continued to be built of rubble with brick outer casing till recent times; but the more ambitious kings erected them of brick throughout and to dimensions which have caused them to be compared with the pyramids.

This revolution in size and material was bound to affect the design. On the other hand it preserved parts and features which would have perished if made of earth or wood; and, as the conservative genius of India persisted in working stone as it had been used to work wood, it requires no great imagination to reconstitute the tope of pre-Asokan days.

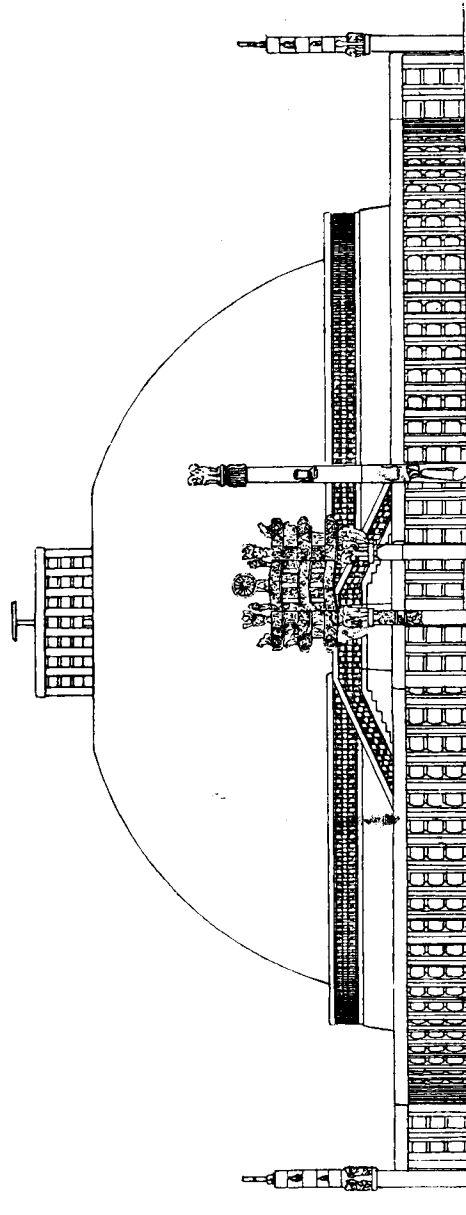
The tope usually stands on a platform sometimes circular, more often square. The tope itself consists of a berm or plinth upon which rises a hemisphere of solid brick. This dome is the most considerable part of the whole structure. To mark its centre a square stone pillar is, in Ceylon, embedded upright in the top. Over this rises a square mass called tee. Upon the centre of the tee stands a



REPRESENTATION OF A TOPE



TEMPLE OF NAUTU UTU



ELEVATION OF GREAT STUPA OF SANCHI (Restored)

circular drum. This drum in Ceylon is called the "fence" or "rampart" of the deities and is adorned with statues of gods divided by pilasters. This drum is the base of a pinnacle which tapers to a point and is, in Ceylon, crowned by a brass parasol. The whole tope is plastered over. It was often hung with garlands, and we hear of a king who had "a covering of network made set with gems, and in every mesh thereof was set a splendid flower of gold."¹ Among the carvings at the foot or at the entrances are frequently to be found five- or seven-hooded cobras; but as these cobras are also associated with other sacred buildings and with artificial lakes, I do not know that we can attach much importance to the fact. The pilgrims walk the deasil round the tope, that is, keeping the tope on their right. Their processional path is in the earlier examples enclosed by a railing which is simply a copy in stone of a wooden railing. There are gates in this railing at the four cardinal points.

The tee deserves to be closely studied. Its sides are invariably carved or moulded to represent a railing exactly like the one which encloses the processional path below. Obviously this was originally a wooden railing; but a wooden railing could not have been filled in. As a matter of fact it does appear sometimes in Buddhist bas-reliefs as an unfilled railing, and in the middle stands a long pole crowned with a parasol. The tee and the pinnacle therefore represent an original wooden railing round a parasol. Sometimes the railing is covered by a corbelled roof supported on pillars that stand inside the rail. Finally, we have a case in which a tee made of stone represents a square house. We need only compare the tee of a tope from the cave of Bhājā on page 203 with the front of the same cave to see what the tee represents: it is a house with railed balcony provided with windows; above the windows a corbelled string-course supports an

¹ *Mahavamsa*, xxvii. 3; xxxiii. 10.

upper storey which is also provided with windows. We conclude that the old wooden railing was sometimes roofed over, sometimes even had walls which made it into a closed shrine.¹ The drum and pinnacle are developments of the parasol staff. It follows that if the place of the gods is round the foot of the staff, it must originally have been inside the railing, hence the term "fence of the gods"; when the railing was filled in their place had to be shifted higher up where the term "fence" seems somewhat inappropriate as there is no sign in Ceylon of an enclosure but only pilasters.

We have thus worked our way back to a structure which is not unlike that of a Fijian temple: square or circular mound of earth crowned with a square wooden shrine in which the god inhabits, or with a square railing in the middle of which stands a pole. Since of the main parts the two lower correspond, may we not suggest that their third parts correspond also? That the high-pitched roof and projecting ridge-beam of the Fijian temple represent the pole and parasol of the early tope? If in India the staff developed into a high cone of brick, why should it not in Fiji become an acute pyramid of timber and coir rope? If it is so, the process has not been the same in each case: in India the increased bulk has been dictated by the new material brick or stone, and the long tapering cone by the multiplication of the parasols; in Fiji the roof has for some unknown reason crept up the central post till it has reached the top.

There is one objection that may be raised against this identification; it is that the Indian tope contained cremated remains, the Fijian plinth received the body as it was. But differences in the method of burial are not really vital. We know that in the Vedic period of India and among the

¹ Burgess, *Amaravati and Jaggayapeta Buddhist stupas*, Pls. xxxiv. fig. 1; xxxvi. fig. 1; xl. fig. 2; *Buddhist Cave Temples*, p. 7 and Pl. xv. fig. 1.

Sumerians from the earliest times cremation and interment existed side by side.¹

The ancient Greeks believed Delphi to be the centre of the world; they called it the navel or *omphalos*. The *omphalos* originally meant anything that bulged. From scattered references in the literature, from coins, vases and stone carvings we gather the following information concerning the *omphalos* at Delphi.² It was the tumulus or grave of the Python and was of the shape of a treasure-house. The word is more commonly used of a stone shaped like half an egg or like a sugar-loaf hung with garlands or covered with a network. Apollo is frequently represented as sitting on this stone. The temple of Apollo occupied the navel of the earth and the *omphalos* stone was inside. Such a stone is to be seen standing on a tumulus; and Miss Harrison figures one such tumulus which is an exact replica, in outline at least, of a Buddhist tope: mound surmounted by a plinth on which stands a sugar-loaf stone. The mound in this, as in other cases, is whitewashed and on it is a painted snake. It is just possible that the resemblance is not as close as it seems at first sight; for the upright stone on the Greek vase corresponds, if anything, to the centre stone of the tope, which is hidden, and not to the visible pinnacle. It is, however, probable that before the tee was filled in the centre stone was visible. Thus the Greek tumulus and *omphalos* stone form a whole which is remarkably like the tope in structure: whitewashed mound, tee, centre stone which is the abode of the god, network and garlands, and at Delphi a house over the centre stone.

¹ MacDonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, s.v. "*agnidagdha*." Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, i. p. 425. *Dict. of Ethics and Religion*, s.v. "death."

² Lübkers, *Reallexikon des Klassischen Altertums*, s.v. "*omphalos*." Euripides, *Ion*, 222. Franz Studnicka in *Hermes*, xxxvii (1902), p. 260. Varro, *Lingua Latina*, vii. 17. Miss Harrison, *Themis*, p. 396 ff. Mr. J. W. Perry drew my attention to the *omphalos*.

I will not insist on the snake, for the reasons I have given.

Fergusson, that pioneer of Indian archaeology, as long ago as 1873 suggested that the Indian tope and the British round barrow were one and the same. Archaeologists, however, as a rule, decline to follow his example, esteeming that the resemblances of structure are not minute enough to exclude all possibility of independent origins. A hemispherical mound with a burial chamber in the middle is, they argue, such a simple erection as might occur to any one. In order to satisfy them it is then necessary to show that the round barrow in Western Europe was a more complex system than that, and that its appendages correspond to those of the tope. This is not easy since those appendages, if they did exist, were made of perishable materials. A record of them has only been preserved in India by the accident of their being replaced by stone and brick. Our chief hope then is that the barrow-builders of Europe occasionally did what was done in India. Mr. C. D. Forde has kindly shown me drawings of a round barrow excavated by Mr. Le Rouzic at Kercado in Brittany. This barrow is not of earth, but of loose stone; it has traces of a retaining wall round the base; an upright stone stands on the top of it in the centre; a few fallen slabs show that there was once a stone circle enclosing the barrow, as the wooden or stone railing enclosed the tope. There seem to be no remains anywhere of a house or chamber on the tope of the mound. There were no traces of metal in this barrow. Mr. H. J. E. Peake, however, suggests that the Christian chapels not infrequently found on the tope of round barrows may have taken the place of an older shrine. Mr. E. Toulmin Nicolle has kindly given me particulars of such a barrow and chapel at La Hougue Bie in Jersey. Miss Harris kindly contributes an example from Langres where the chapel is built over earlier stone remains of which the date

has not yet been ascertained. There are thus good reasons for believing that the round barrow was much more than a mere mound, but formed a system which must be the reflection of some system of ideas.

Another way of approaching the problem is by the comparative method, that is by collecting all instances throughout the world in which round barrows are surmounted by centre pillars or by square shrines, or both. Dr. C. G. Seligman draws my attention to such a stone chapel on a mound figured in the report of the Segalen-de-Voisins-Lartigue Mission to China.¹ Unfortunately, only the plates have appeared, and we still await particulars. It is important, however, that such examples should be collaterals of our round barrow, not descendants of our barrow or of some single other form. Otherwise it remains possible that the shrine was added later or in another branch, and was never part of our round barrow; but if they are independent collaterals it will be clear that the shrine was a feature, optional it may be, of the common parent.

Archaeologists, however, are inclined to deny our right to use the comparative method. They argue thus: "As long as the presence of a shrine on the European barrow has not been proved directly by European examples, it remains no more than a circular mound with perhaps a row of stones all round it. Now what can be more natural for a people living in wide plains than to dispose of a dead body by covering it with earth? This would naturally occur to any human being even of a fairly low order." But this theory of the round barrow sins against the principle of sufficient reason which our seventeenth-century philosophers so rightly insisted upon: a theory must adequately cover all the effects it professes to explain. Now the impulse to get a dead body out of the way might account for the practice of throwing some earth on the

¹ Vol. i. Pls. ii, vii.

body or digging a hole for it (though as a matter of fact the most obvious way is to remove the body some distance from habitations and there let it rot). This simple impulse will not, however, explain why the round barrow people took all this trouble to pile up a big mound over remains which had been burnt and so could not become offensive, and to make that mound a perfect circle in outline, probably a half-globe in shape. Some further idea must intervene to account for the shape.

As usual the *Satapatha Brahmana* is quite ready with an explanation. It tells us that "he makes the tomb of one who has built a fire-altar after the manner of a fire-altar." In other words, if a man has in his lifetime performed all the ceremonies connected with the setting up of a fire-altar, his tomb will be made to resemble a fire-altar; each part of the tumulus corresponds to a part of the altar and has the same meaning, thus: "He encloses the burial mound with enclosing stones: these enclosing stones are here what those enclosing stones are round the altar." If we refer to the description of the altar in the seventh book we find it written: "As to why he encloses the household altar with enclosing stones, that household altar is this world, the enclosing stones are the waters; he extends the waters round the world. It is the ocean he thus extends round it; on all sides, therefore, the ocean flows round the world on all sides; clockwise, therefore the ocean goes round the world clockwise." Thus the altar and the barrow represent the world surrounded by the ocean. A complete analysis of all the parts of the altar is given in the eighth book; applying it, as invited to do by our author, to the tumulus, we find that the first layer is the earth, the second is the atmosphere, the third the sky; above this comes the heavenly world inhabited by the gods; these gods are represented by bricks laid on the top and called "denizens of heaven." It is true that the *Satapatha* is describing a square mound,

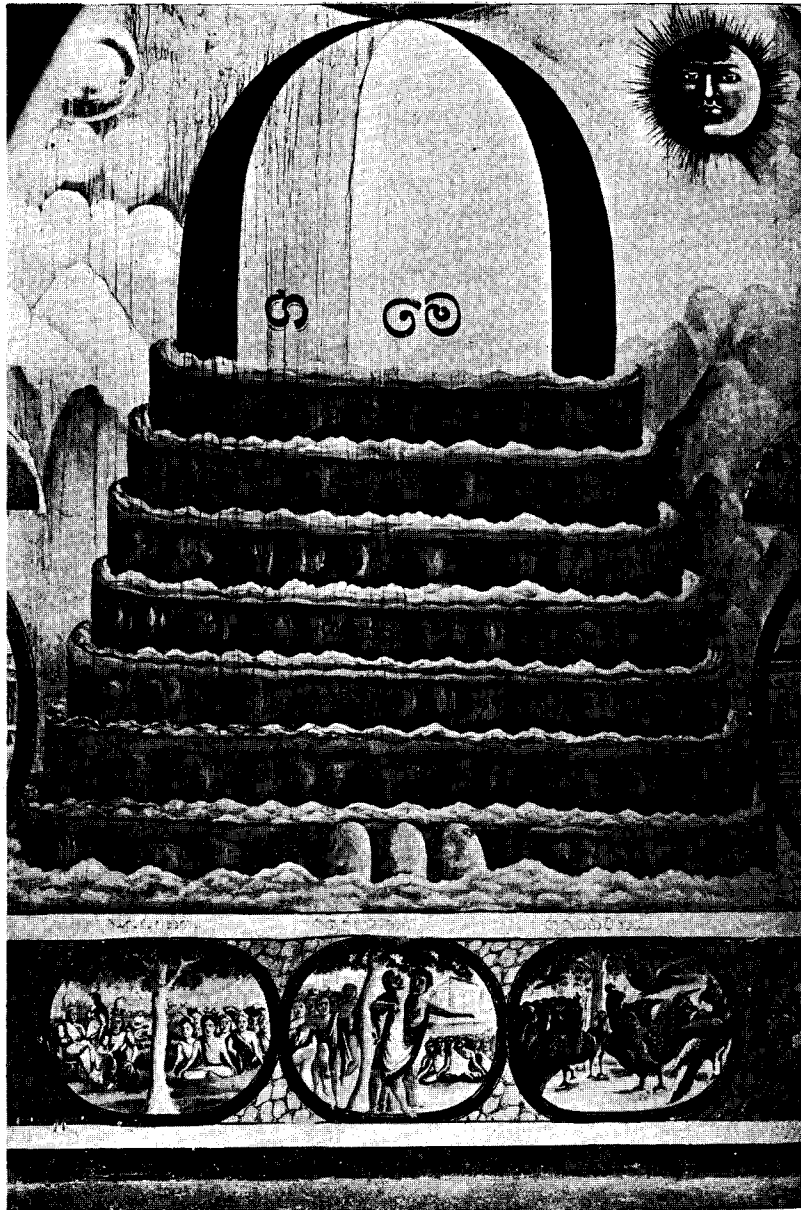
but we have already seen that it looks upon the circular mound as merely another variety favoured by heretics. The passage is worth quoting: "The burial mound is square. The gods and demons, both descended from Prajāpati, were contending for the points of the compass. The gods drove out the demons, their rivals and enemies, from the quarters; they were deprived of the quarters and overcome. Therefore the followers of the gods make their barrows square; but those who are followers of the demons, the Easterners and others, make it circular." The Eastern school therefore make their barrows conform to the *visible* shape of the universe; and we may suspect that theirs is really the original method, but among the Westerners the four quarters have assumed such a ritual importance that this school was prepared to sacrifice the resemblance of the mound to the world *as seen*, in order to secure concordance with the world *as conceived*.

A distinguished archaeologist objects that this may merely be the interpretation of the Indian ritualists; that the Indians were notoriously fond of interpreting. But I doubt whether the Indian tendency to offer original interpretations has not been very much exaggerated: few races have ever developed their memory at the expense of their imagination to such an extent as the Indian, none perhaps has ever taken such vast pains to preserve with minute verbal accuracy the lore of their forefathers, and it would be difficult to find anywhere an art or a literature more stereotyped by custom. Of course they did a certain amount of interpreting. We know that for a fact, because they have preserved the different interpretations of different schools; but these interpretations move within the very narrow bounds set by tradition, and do not affect general principles: they are nothing so revolutionary as the bold speculations and fertile imaginings of Greece. Even the most original thinkers interpret along definite lines laid down by the spirit of the times; how

much more the painfully orthodox Indian. Just as we interpret nature on an atomic basis, the Indian interpreted all his customs and beliefs as analogies of nature, and if he did so it was because it was an ancient established habit, far more ancient than Indian civilization. In the present case the *Satapatha* may be mistaken in the details of its interpretation, but it is certainly faithful to an ancient tradition when it interprets the tumulus as a replica of something in nature, and there is just a chance that it is right even in the details. The mere existence of such a chance must make us pause before we reject the *Satapatha* entirely. We must at least give it an impartial hearing before condemning it as wholly untrustworthy; for if we do not lend a patient ear to every suggestion that may be put forward by antiquity, what hope is there of our ever answering our question, Why is the round barrow round? We must not, of course, accept these suggestions uncritically, we must check them by all possible evidence. How are we going to check the theory of the *Satapatha*?

Firstly, by consistency. We have seen that the Indian tumulus covers the ashes of emperors, sages, and persons who by a course of sacrifice have achieved the magical conquest of the three worlds. We have accompanied the Emperor Mahasudassana on his moral conquest of the "ocean encircled earth"; we have watched the Vedic king, after his consecration, proceed to the conquest of the three worlds by three steps which reproduce the rising of the sun from the horizon through the atmosphere to the sky and the world of the gods beyond. It may not exactly be necessary that at his death he should be enshrined in a tomb that represents the three worlds surmounted by the home of the gods, but at all events it is consistent.

Secondly, there is corroboration by customs which are independent of the Brahmanas. People walk the deasil



Recent painting of Mount Meru showing that the modern Sinhalese visualize it in the likeness of a tope with multiple plinth.

round an Indian tope. No one will maintain that this custom was inspired by the Brahmanas : it is vastly older, for it spreads over a considerable part of the world. Now the meaning of this circumambulation is perfectly plain : the worshippers are imitating the course of the sun and the stars. Here at all events Brahmanic ritual preserves a very ancient belief : when the sacrificer walks the deasil he says, " I turn, following the revolution of the sun." ¹ The Cambodians are quite well aware that when they pass seven candles from hand to hand from left to right round the king, they represent the movement of the seven planets round Mount Meru, which stands in the middle of the world.² But if the worshippers represent the sun and the stars, then the mound must be the world round which the stars revolve.

The Sinhalese used to place the sun-disc on each side of the tee. At the present day, probably following a parallel tradition of which no ancient example is known, they place the sun on the east side, the moon on the west, the two eyes of heaven. This is in accordance with the Indian view that the sun is above the sky.

Then again the Sinhalese frequently placed inside their topes a square stone representing Mount Meru. If they placed in the centre of a tope a stone representing the centre of the world it must have been that they took the tope to represent the world. This custom may explain how the Greeks came to believe that the omphalos stone at Delphi was the centre of the world. It obviously was not, as Varro pointed out long ago. Then how came the Greeks to believe it was ? We can understand their continuing to believe it, for men will continue to believe anything once they have begun ; the difficulty is to explain how they began. Now if the Python's tumulus represented the universe, then the omphalos stone being in the middle was in the middle of the world.

¹ *Sat. Br.* i. 9. 3. 17.

² A. Leclère, *Cambodge*, p. 45.

Thirdly, there is the comparative method. We should search the world for interpretations or fragments of interpretations that agree with the *Satapatha* without being derived from it. In one particular at least, Fijian, Sinhalese, and Greek agree: they all place the abode of the gods on the top of the mound.

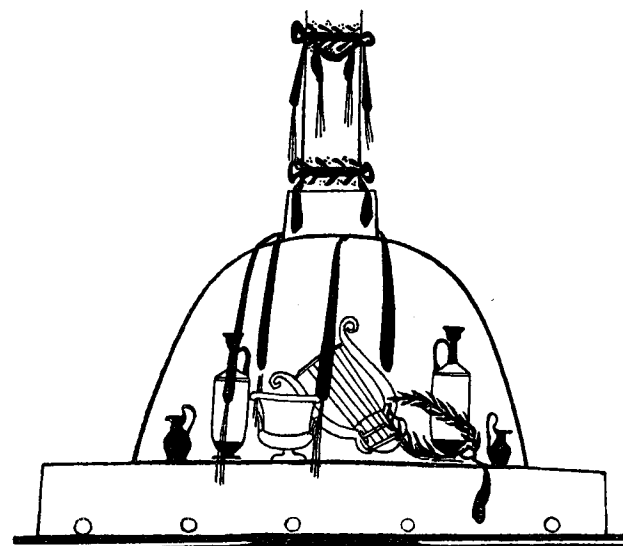
Lastly, the supreme test of any theory is that it explains all the facts. The theory of the *Satapatha* explains the shape, the presence of the Meru stone, the sun-discs on the tee, the position of the abode of the gods, and so forth. If any one has a theory which explains all these things as well or better, let him produce it. The only rival theory that appears to be in the field is what might be called the utilitarian theory, which deduces the barrow from men's desire to protect the body. How the peculiarities of the barrow derive from this purpose remains a mystery. It does not seem to be considered in the least necessary that the all effects should be deducible from the cause. Until this is considered necessary archaeology can scarcely claim to be considered a science.

P.S.—Those archaeologists who regard the *Satapatha's* theory of the barrow as a foolish invention of the Brahmins are referred to Porphyry 5. 6 (quoted by Mr. A. Loisy, *Mystères Païens*, p. 168, note): "Zoroaster first, according to Eubulus, consecrated among the hills near to Persia a natural cave provided with flowers and springs to the honour of Mithra, creator and father of all. The cave reproduced the universe which Mithra created, and the things inside according to their proportional distances bore symbols of the cosmic elements and regions."

The view that the shrine represents the universe was thus shared by the Persians. According to all rules of comparative history, when two peoples already known to be heirs of the same culture have a belief in common, either

the one has borrowed from the other or both derive it from the same source. Borrowing does not fit this case, so the cosmic temple must go back to the time when Indians and Iranians formed one nation.¹

¹ I have discussed the relations of the hollow and the solid dome in the *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G, vol. i. pt. 1. The tope actually takes the place of the dome on the temple of Gadalaeniya, Ceylon. Since the above was written I have chanced on H. B. Walters' *History of Ancient Pottery*, p. 143. It is a drawing from a Greek vase D 56 in the British Museum. It shows a tumulus composed of berm, dome, tee, pinnacle, and adorned with garlands. Compare Pl. XXIII. of the same work.



GREEK TUMULUS

XV

MYTHS AND MOUNDS

THE island of Kambara, one of the Windward Islands of Fiji, is little more than a rocky plateau ; it is mostly barren, save for one small area of good soil where all the planting is done. The island abounds in a tree called *vesi* or greenheart of India (*Azfaelia bijuga*), which is highly prized in Fiji as timber. These peculiarities are accounted for by the following myth :

There was a spirit called Mberewalaki, the god of Kambara. He went to Oloi, a village of Viti Levu, to beg for soil to bring to his own island. He got soil and, besides, a *vesi* tree which he intended to use as digging stick when he began to plant in the soil he was taking home. He brought these home, and returned to Oloi for a second lot. As he was approaching Kambara on his way back he found that the people were baking the soil he had brought home on his first journey. He was standing on the reef when he saw the smoke go up. He flew into a passion and hurled the soil at Kambara so that it fell anyhow, all in a heap, at a place called Oloi Hill, instead of being laid out properly.

This legend is of the type known as aetiological because it professes to give the cause of certain phenomena. But let us not imagine that when we have labelled a myth aetiological we have explained it. If a geologist were to go and study the conformation of Kambara his report

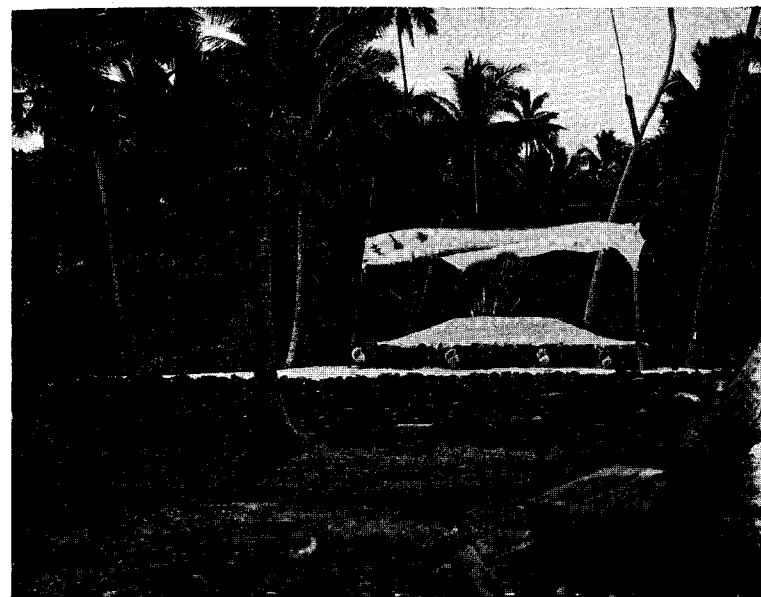
would be aetiological because it would set forth the causes which have made the island of Kambara what it is. Yet the geologist's report would be quite a different matter from our legend. Purpose alone therefore fails to explain the results in either case ; for the purpose is in both instances the same, the desire to explain, yet the results are utterly different. No doubt a certain inequality of mental endowment may play a part, but it is not so great as to account for the tremendous contrast in methods. The Fijian is quite intelligent enough to grasp a geological explanation given the necessary education. And here it is we have touched upon the real cause of difference : it lies in education. Our geologist has lived all his life in an atmosphere of physical science ; he goes to Kambara saturated with them ; they exclude from his mind all other ways of approaching the problem ; and the explanation he produces recognizes nothing but the interplay of forces and chemical action. Very different is the training of the Fijian Islander : picked up mostly round the kava bowl from the lips of the old and experienced, his culture is almost entirely what we should call the humanities ; that is history and custom, and a theology which recognizes divine chiefs, ancestor gods, and departed spirits. It is among this stock-in-trade that he will most naturally look for his explanations. We must do the same if we would hope to understand his conception of causes ; we must take our start from his customs and beliefs.

I have said that the " state plinth," the mound on which the temple stood, was the centre of the life of the clan or the tribe. But Fiji was during the hundred years preceding our annexation convulsed with perpetual wars ; the weaker had to yield to pressure and tear themselves away from this sacred mound ; but they carried some of the sacred soil with them to their new home, where they used it to build up a new mound, or rather " to shape it " as they expressed it. You can still see at the present day

the mounds thus "shaped" by the people of the tribe of Ovalau at a place on the Rewa River called on that account "The Carried Earth." It is also recorded that the Tongans, near neighbours of the Fijians, brought over soil from their home and used it to raise the mound of Nautuutu in the island of Lakemba. Of course they cannot have carried whole mounds; they must have been content with a basketful or two with which to sanctify the new mound. We have evidence that in some cases at least the tribe, besides the sacred soil, carried the tribal tree on their migrations. Thus the tribe of Vunañ-gumu, or the Ngumu-tree tribe, carried about with them a ñgumu tree which provided the ashes with which they blackened their faces at dances and in war.¹ Finally we have to remember that the chief is the living representative of the ancestor-god whose mound they are thus so careful to carry with them, and that on him, on the god, and on the due performance of ceremonies depends the prosperity of the tribe.

The Kambarans invoke the close relationship that at the present day subsists between them and the people of Oloi in Viti Levu as evidence in support of the truth of their legend. It is quite good evidence, and it is only our ignorance of Fijian customs that could cause us to reject it. Now that we know more about them we can see that it may very well have all happened somewhat in the following manner. The people of Kambara were forced for some reason or other to leave their ancient home of Oloi. Under the leadership of their god-chief, Mberewalaki, they migrated to the island of Kambara and called the top of the hill there Oloi Hill in memory of their old country. They had, however, to secure some of the sacred soil in order to ensure the fertility of their new home, and also a sacred tree. For some reason or other

¹ Rev. F. J. de Marzan, "*Histoire de la tribu de Vunangumu*," *Anthropos*, 1913, p. 880, and my own notes taken on the spot.



CHIEF'S TOMB
Moala, Fiji



ROUND HOUSE
Somosomo, Fiji

they were not satisfied with one lot ; possibly the inauguration ceremony had failed, and the crop was bad. A new lot was sent for ; but in the meantime the people committed a grave ritual offence : they burnt the first lot of sacred soil, whether by accident when firing the jungle in order to clear it for planting, or by carelessly digging an oven in the sacred spot, or however this may have happened. The divine chief was furious. Quarrels in general, but a chief's anger in particular, are fatal to success, especially if they upset the ceremonies. This calamity naturally caused a deep impression upon the people, and ever afterwards they ascribed to that cause the poverty of their soil.

This legend is not an isolated case. About three hundred and fifty miles north of Fiji lies the island of Rotuma. The people are of a very different race from the Fijians, being akin to the Polynesians though somewhat different ; as for their language it has affinities both with Fijian and Polynesian. These people relate that they came over from Samoa under the leadership of one Raho, bringing with them two baskets of sand. They sailed eastward till it seemed good to them to stop. They then began throwing out the sand to make an island, but reflecting that they were too near the setting sun where the cannibals live, they moved eastward leaving an unfinished island, the present reef of Vaimoana. The second time they made Rotuma, but as some of the sand had been wasted at Vaimoana they only had enough for a small island. The legend was certainly not invented to explain the peculiarities of the island, for Rotuma is not sandy ; it has a fine black soil, but the dead are buried in sand and a Rotuman hates the idea of being buried in earth. Evidently then the baskets of sand represent the sacred tomb of the ancestor god. Besides, the Rotumans can take you to Malhaha and put you in presence of visible evidence that the legend is true : there is the beach where Raho landed,

the large hollow rock in which he and his people made kava, and finally a circular mound which they piled up. Thus we can reconstitute the whole event: the emigrants brought two baskets full of sacred sand; they used it to sanctify the new sacred mound they set up in their new home, and held the kava ceremonial that consecrated Raho as king.

Dr. T. Bloch in describing his excavations at Basarh in Northern India mentions "two earthen mounds standing on the eastern bank of a large tank. They are called *Bhimsu kâ pallâ*, as they are believed to be the two baskets dropped there by Bhimsen, the pillar being the staff on which he carried them."¹ The pillar in question was set up by the Emperor Asoka in the third century B.C., and has therefore nothing to do with the mounds; but this is immaterial to our present purpose; it was evidently believed that the pole which had been used to carry the earth was stuck in the ground; that belief remains perfectly good evidence whether or not it attached itself to a later work which had no connection with the mounds. I insist on this carrying stick because a Fijian after the day's work is over commonly slings his baskets on his digging stick to carry home his supply of food, firewood, or whatever it may be; the digging stick of Kambara and the carrying stick of Basarh may thus very well be one and the same, and the two may therefore be equivalent to the sacred tree. We need, however, no such devious argument to establish the existence of a funerary tree in India since we have direct evidence. Indian literature tells us of *caitya* trees, literally trees connected with the funeral pyre. Colebrook says that in modern times "to cover the spot where the funeral pile stood, a tree should be planted or a mound of masonry raised." In Ceylon a sacred bo-tree is invariably planted beside a tope; only the mortuary origin of

¹ *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1903-4, p. 85.*

the tree is forgotten like that of the tope. Such trees constantly appear in bas-reliefs as surrounded by the so-called Buddhist railing, sometimes even as being enclosed in a square or oblong or else circular temple. The tree is usually honoured with a parasol.¹ We cannot therefore regard it as contradicting our theory of a temple on the top of the tumulus if we see figured in Miss Harrison's *Themis* a tree growing on the top of a Greek tumulus. Grimm believed that the Germanic temple which the Ancients called *fanum* or *pûr* "was most likely constructed of logs and twigs round the sacred tree."²

The custom of carrying loads by means of a stick resting on the shoulder has disappeared from Europe so long ago that we can scarcely hope to find in our countries legends preserving the same details as do India and Fiji. Mr. O. G. S. Crawford has, however, proved that round barrows were in some cases at least built up of carried earth: the section of a barrow at Roundwood near Micheldever showed clearly the little flat cones such as are produced by emptying out baskets or buckets of earth. If the builders took the trouble to carry the earth from a distance instead of throwing it up from the ground on the spot, they must have had some good reason; that reason we can only arrive at by a comparative study of legends. Tales of the carrying of earth or rocks are common in Europe; I know of none connected with a barrow. I must therefore leave it to folk-lorists to search their accumulated stores for legends as similar to those of India and Fiji as the change of customs and the long lapse of time will allow.

The present chapter has enlarged the conception of the

¹ "Essay on the Funeral Ceremonies of the Hindus," *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii., quoted by Prinsep, *Indian Antiquities*, i. 155. Such mortuary trees are planted in Eddystone in the Solomons. See *Journ. Roy. Anthro. Inst.*, 1922, p. 95. J. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Pls. xxv. and xxx.

² *Teutonic Mythology*, translated by Stallybrass, p. 86.

burial mound which we had formed in the previous one : it is not merely a memorial of the dead chief or king : the whole fortunes of the tribe are centred in that mound. When they are forced to leave their home they are careful to carry with them as much of it as is necessary to leaven, as it were, the new one which they will have to build in their new home ; and with it they carry the sacred tree which is attached to the mound. At least we have proved the connection of mound and tree for Greece, India, and Fiji, but that is not a broad enough basis : the connection might be merely a local development which began in Western Asia and spread eastward ; we cannot refer it back to the earliest origins unless we can extend our evidence further west.

The ancient Germans, like the Romans, spoke of the "circle of the earth." Round the earth's circumference ran the sea, and in it an enormous "worm" biting his own tail and begirding the whole earth. The abode of men thus encircled was known as Midgard ; it was protected by a rampart against the giants who dwelt on the shores of the ocean. In the world stood a huge ash called Yggdrasil, of which the branches stretched out in heaven and with their highest boughs overshadowed Walhalla, while the roots penetrated down to Midgard and the Underworld below.¹ This is a very bad description of the world, so bad that one wonders how anybody could have imagined it, but it is an excellent description of our circular mound enclosed by a ditch representing the Ocean, and by a railing to keep out the lurking demons, surmounted by the sacred tree which overshadows the enclosure of the gods on the top and with its roots penetrates down to the earth and what is beneath.

¹ Grimm, *op. cit.* p. 559 f., 601, 794, 796. Wagner and MacDowall *Asgard and the Gods*, p. 26.

XVI

THE CREATION

THE coronation ceremony at first appeared to us as a system of rites complete in itself. The Rotuman legend related in the last chapter now suggests that this system is itself part of a larger system which includes the heaping up of the sacred mound ; for in that legend the king's installation and the building of the mound were both carried out at the place where the new-comers landed ; they were incidents in a ceremony which we may provisionally call "the inauguration of the land."

The Fijian hill tribes of Viti Levu bear out the Rotumans. They do not carry out the installation ceremony for each new chief. They only know of one installation ceremony, the installation of the ancestor of the supreme chief and of his chieftains, when they heaped up the mound and the history of the tribe began. This installation, like the recurrent installation of the coastal chiefs, is called *veimbuli*. Now *mbuli* means "to fashion," "to mould," it may be a pot, or a heap of earth ; the word also describes what we translate "the creation of the world" ; it is also used of the installation of a chief. When this verb is used there is always an object which makes the nature of the action perfectly clear, but the noun *veimbuli* has no object, and we are thus left in doubt whether it refers to the heaping up of the mound or the consecration of the chief. The natives of Western Vanua Levu are more

definite: they have installation ceremonies at irregular intervals, whenever the crops are bad; these ceremonies they call *mbuli vanua* or *tuli vanua*, "fashioning the land," or "creating the earth." Perhaps the reason why the hill tribes of Viti Levu do not trouble to specify whether they mean an installation, a heaping up of a mound, or a renovation of the earth, is that there is in their minds no such distinction, because there is none in fact: it is all one and the same ceremony.

The idea of men creating the world, or even an island, by means of a ceremony, is so incompatible with our notions of the universe that it may at first seem impossible that such ceremonies should ever have existed. Yet what the Fijian and the Rotuman merely suggest the Indian boldly proclaims, so boldly as to shock the earlier generations of Sanskritists who had not that vast range of information and that truer appreciation of ancient beliefs which has fallen to the lot of their successors. "The most preposterous of all the ideas connected with the sacrificial act," says Monier-Williams, "was that of making it the instrument of creation."¹ The world would come to grief but for the Brahman, who is the expert in sacrifice; in fact the Brahman was, according to *Manu*, created "for the preservation of burnt offerings and offerings to ancestors, and for the protection of the world."² The *Satapatha* describes at great length the method to be followed for the creation of the world.³ A lump of clay has been dug up and prepared with most elaborate observances, each accompanied by appropriate formulae. With part of this clay a firepan is then fashioned. This process reproduces point for point the first and original act of creation described at the beginning of the same book. Water is poured on the clay with a verse mentioning water; the clay thus becomes water as was in the beginning. Then foam is produced and placed upon it, just as in the

¹ *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 23.

² i. 94.

³ vi. 5. 1 f.

creation foam was produced out of the waters, and thus by degrees the clay is made to be like the earth: the officiant spreads the clay to form the bottom of the pan, "for the bottom part is this earth," and just as the gods, "having made this earth, invoked this blessing upon it, even so does the sacrificer, having made this world, now invoke blessings upon it." By marking the lower part of the sides with suitable verses such as, "Thou art the atmosphere," he makes the atmosphere. The upper part of the sides becomes the sky. As to why he thus creates the universe, I think the reason is indicated by verse 22 of the section two, where it is said that some people make more than one firepan; but this is wrong, because the firepan represents the whole universe, and so a second firepan would be in excess, and "whatever is done in excess that excess goes to the sacrificer's hostile adversary." Thus it would appear that by creating the universe a man gets control over it. The sacrificer then goes on to fill the universe by means of the clay left over after making the pan; by means of this clay he even creates the gods.

The act of creation is not confined to the creation ceremony; it might be said that every sacrifice is a series of creative acts. Why does the Ocean encircle the earth? Because the sacrificer encloses the householder's altar, which represents the earth, with enclosing stones, which are the waters. Why are there plants in the world? Because sacrificial grass is offered: "the sacrificial grass consists of plants; he thus places plants in the world." The sacrificer even prescribes to the sun its course: he holds up fire, which is the same as the sun, towards the north-east, then towards the south-east; that is why the sun instead of staying in the north turns back in a southerly direction.¹ The whole purpose of the king's coronation is to gain control of the world and thus "create abundance and creatures."

¹ *Sat. Brahm.* i. 9. 2. 29; vi. 7. 2. 12; 3. 1.; 3. 9.

The Egyptian Pharaoh had in him "the energy of the demiurges which enabled him to renew every day, without ever exhausting nature, the mystery of the creation." This he apparently did by "offering to the god his father the whole universe under the shape of offerings."¹ The Babylonians had a big creation ritual connected with the return of the spring sun, and therefore celebrated it at the beginning of the year.² The Eleusinian mysteries included a "representation symbolical perhaps of creation in which the hierophant used to assume the part of the creator, the torchbearer that of the sun, the altar priest that of the moon, and the sacred herald that of Hermes."³

These various peoples all justified their creation ceremonies by an appeal to precedents, and these precedents were the original acts of creation performed by the gods. I think it is quite clear that those original acts were themselves conceived as ceremonies in no wise different from the ceremonies of later days. "That which is this sacrifice from which these creatures are produced is Prajāpati. In like manner are they produced from that time till now," says the *Satapatha Brahmana*.⁴ It is quite definitely of opinion that the world was originally produced by the sacrifice; that sacrifice is Prajāpati, the father of the gods and the demons, the lord of creatures. The creation sacrifice then, or at least one form of it, is a human sacrifice real or symbolical. The *Rig-Veda* makes this even clearer, describing how the gods cut up and sacrificed Purusha, that is, Man, and formed the whole universe from his head and limbs.⁵

1. "Purusha was thousand-headed, thousand-eyed, thousand-footed. He covered the earth on all sides and extended beyond it ten digits.

¹ Moret, *Du Caractère*, etc., 297.

² Langdon, *The Epic of Creation*, pp. 16, 20; note on iii. 2.

³ Smith's *Dict. of Antiquities*, s.v. "Eleusinia."

⁴ iv. 5. 5. 1.

⁵ x. 90.

2. "Purusha is indeed this universe, what has been and what will be. . . .

3. " . . . When born he reached beyond the earth behind and also before.

6. "When the gods performed a sacrifice with Purusha as oblation the spring was its melted butter, the winter its fuel, the autumn its oblation.

8. "From that sacrifice completely offered was collected the clotted butter: this he made to be the beasts of the air, of the forest, and of the village.

10. "From it were born horses and such as have teeth on both jaws. From it were born cattle, from it were born goats and sheep.

11. "When they divided up Purusha, into how many parts did they dispose him? . . .

12. "His mouth was the priest; his two arms became the noble; his two sides the same as the yeoman; from his two feet the common man was born.

13. "The moon was born from his mind; from his eye the sun was born; from his mouth Indra and the Fire-god, from his breath the Wind-god.

14. "From his navel the air came into being; from his head the sky was produced, from his two feet the earth, the quarters from his ear: thus they disposed the worlds.

15. "With this sacrifice the gods sacrificed to the sacrifice."

It is perfectly clear then that the *Rig-Veda* conceived the creation as a sacrifice, and equally clear that this sacrifice did not make the world, or at least the earth, in our sense of the word make, since the earth existed before Purusha was sacrificed. A comparison of mythologies shows that idea to be vastly older than the *Rig-Veda* itself. The Babylonians believed the world to have been made out of the slain Tiamat, a female monster.¹ They

¹ Langdon, *op. cit.* iv. 135 ff., p. 147.

also believed that man was fashioned by breaking off a piece of clay and mixing it with the blood of a slain deity.¹ The parallel is not, however, as close a one as the Germanic. The ancient Germans believed that the Ases began to create as the All-Father willed that they should.² They slew the giant Ymir and dragged his body into the middle of the chasm of chasms, "and created out of his blood the sea and water, of his flesh the earth, of his bones the mountains, of his teeth and broken bones the rocks and crags. Then they took his skull and made of it the sky." To guard the inland parts of the earth against the giants a castle was built of Ymir's brows, Midgard the abode of men. His brain was thrown into the air and became the clouds. The trees were formed out of his hair.

Is it credible that man should have speculated and speculated as to the origin of things, and as the result of it all come to the extraordinary conclusion that the hills were made out of a giant's bones, and the clouds of his brains? Is it not much easier to believe that then as now man sought in his traditions to preserve the facts, so far as he understood them, and that the ancient Germans merely put on record the details of a human sacrifice? We can understand how such a sacrifice having travelled about the world should have similar memories behind it in remotely distant places. But if these myths are merely the outcome of wild and uncontrolled imaginings, how do we explain the remarkable agreement of the modern Gilbert Islanders with the ancient Indians and Germans? The islanders relate that Na Arean slew his father with the latter's consent, took his right eye and flung it to the Eastern sky, where it became the sun; the left eye and flung it to the Western sky, and behold! the moon. The brain he scattered over the sky and it became

¹ Meissner, *Babylonien*, i. 371.

² Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, p. 558 ff. Wagner and MacDowall, *op. cit.* p. 23.

the stars. The flesh he sowed over the waters. Behold the rocks and stones. He took the bones and planted them on the first land, even the land of Samoa; and from the bones of Na Atibu grew the Tree of Samoa, the Ancestor.¹

Here again the sacred tree turns up quite close to Fiji, where we found it associated with the ceremonies of settlement of the tribe. The conclusion is obvious. Here again the world was already in existence when the act of creation took place: there was already rock before Na Arean created rocks out of the bones of Na Atibu. Must we really believe that the Gilbert Islanders or their teachers were intelligent enough to speculate concerning the origins of the world, yet so stupid as completely to lose sight of what they had set out to explain? that in consequence they produced a myth which assumes the existence of that which it was going to show us coming into being? Is it not much easier to believe that the creation story merely represents a method of treating the world, of acting upon it? such a treatment as is referred to in the *Satapatha* where it says that the country east of Sadanira used to be uncultivated until the Brahmans caused Agni Visvakarman, that is, All-creating Fire, to taste it through the sacrifices.²

All our difficulties arise from our refusal to accept the clear statement of the *Veda* and the *Brahmana* that the original creation was a sacrifice of which creation ceremonies are but a constant repetition, just as the Mass is merely the daily repetition of an original sacrifice. By rejecting the advice of the ancient Indians we land ourselves in a quagmire of false psychology: we are obliged to assume a primitive mind constituted like no other mind of which we ever have had experience anywhere from pole to pole; we are obliged to postulate mental processes

¹ A. Grimble, "Myths from the Gilbert Islands," *Folk-Lore*, vol. 33 (1922), p. 95 ff.

² i. 4. i. 16.

for which observation gives us no warrant. No hypothesis can possibly be correct which has to invent processes in order to support itself. There is no need to invent any if we follow our earliest Indian record: we have not invented creation ceremonies, since we can actually watch them in India, Babylonia, and Egypt; we know from actual cases that a human or animal victim can be dismembered in order to vivify the earth;¹ we also know that the custom of dismemberment is at least as ancient as prehistoric Egypt.² We are assuming nothing that we do not know to be, or to have been, at one time practised when we suggest that these creation myths are nothing but historical records of methods of vivifying the universe, of renewing its vigour.

This is certainly not creation as *we* understand it. We mean by creation the causing things to be which were not there before. The creative sacrifice we have described does not manufacture anything, it merely treats things in such a manner as to render them favourable to man. Certainly that is no more than the Fijian claims to do when he "fashions the earth." What exactly is in his mind we do not know because he has not told us; perhaps he has not told us because he is rather vague about the theory; but he certainly does not imagine he is making new land. Since he performs the ceremonies whenever the crops fail, we may conclude that all he is doing is what we should describe as renovating. Did the ancient Indians, Babylonians and Germans mean any more than that? Have we not read into their accounts ideas which were not there before? It is only too easy to do so; it is indeed inevitable, and it takes several generations to rid ourselves of our own preconceptions. Consider the Eddystone Islander in the Solomons: he tells us of gods who "made" the land; thus, at least, we at first translate the verb *taviti*; but a closer acquaintance with the language

¹ Cp. p. 37.

² Sir W. Budge, *History of Egypt*, i. 34 f.

teaches us that *taviti*, though it may sometimes correspond to our word "make," is not really its equivalent, that it describes acting upon a thing rather than making it; thus you *taviti* a sick man, that is, treat him; to *taviti* a woman is to have connection with her; to *taviti* a god is to hold his festival. When therefore an Eddystone Islander tells us that the gods did *taviti* the land, we are going beyond the warranty of his words if we translate "created the land"; he has told us no more than that they treated it, and indeed their myths contain no evidence of a real creation but only of alterations to existing islands.¹ The other Melanesian and Polynesian languages I am acquainted with also lack a verb which would convey our idea of making. Perhaps this family of languages is peculiar in this respect, perhaps they have preserved a point of view natural in the primitive ages of industry; for where manufactured articles, as in the Pacific, are not so much new products as natural objects treated in such a manner as to become serviceable, the idea of making or creating is neither necessary nor familiar. We must beware then that when we refer theories of creation, as we understand it, to distant ages when industries were either rudimentary or non-existent, we are not ascribing to prehistoric peoples conceptions which they had not developed.

It requires a careful and prolonged study of the languages and of the writing of those peoples and of their modern representatives to arrive at their point of view, and it is too early, therefore, to give an answer to the question how did they ever come to imagine that they could renovate the world, put "vigour" into it, to use the language of the old Indians. In order to do so we should

¹ "The Cult of the Dead in Eddystone Island," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* iii. 1922, p. 271 ff. I have unfortunately everywhere translated *taviti*, or the pidgin "make him," by "made" or "created." This emphasizes the need for always taking down everything verbatim so that errors in translation can afterwards be rectified.

have to explain how they arrived at the conception of the universe on which their methods were based. All we can do as yet is to define that conception, leaving for the future to discover how it arose.

The ancient Indians regarded man as a microcosm of which every part corresponds to some part of the macrocosm : his head corresponds to the sky, his eye to the sun, his breath to the wind, his legs are the earth, and so forth. This doctrine is already alluded to in the funeral hymn of the *Rig-Veda*, the sixteenth of the tenth book, where it addresses the departed thus :

"Let the eye go to the sun, the breath to the wind,
Go to the sky and to the earth according to law."

But the *Rig-Veda* is a collection of hymns, and we no more expect to find an exposition of doctrine in them than in our own "Hymns Ancient and Modern" : they merely play around a known theme ; for the theme we have to turn to the Brahmanas. There the correspondences are worked out with wearisome iteration, or rather variation, for they are varied according to the purpose of the ritual.

It has frequently been represented that primitive man mistook likeness for identity, that if he saw two things resembling one another he argued they must be the same, and whatever was done to one would react on the other. This doctrine is very unfair to primitive man, and is arrived at by the study of survivals among savages who are unable to account for their proceedings because they have lost the theory. When we desire enlightenment as to Christian doctrine we do not apply to the peasantry, but to those who have made a study of the ancient authorities. So if we wish to know really how conclusions were arrived at in the distant past we must turn, not to those who carry out mechanically what they have inherited from their forefathers, but to those who were actually building up

the doctrine or still remembered how it had been built up. The ancient Indians certainly did not believe that a certain analogy between the eye and the sun made them so far identical that you could influence one by acting upon the other. They were not identical, and could only become so by the interposition of a third something with which they could severally be identified. The method was that of equations with which we are by now familiar :

$$\begin{aligned} \text{eye} &= X \\ \text{sun} &= X \\ \therefore \text{eye} &= \text{sun}. \end{aligned}$$

The unknown quantity X was the sacrifice and the various parts of it, in particular the altar. The altar (and therefore, as we have seen, the burial mound) was so constructed that every part could be identified with some part of the universe, or rather with the deity connected with that part ; on the other hand, it also could be identified with some part of man. Thus the altar had two series of correspondences, one "in relation to the deities," for instance, to the earth, cattle, air, birds, and so forth ; the other "in relation to the man's self," for instance, to the legs and the flesh of the legs, to the part above the legs and below the waist, and the flesh of that part, and so on.¹ Like the altar, so the victim represents the universe, and its parts the parts of the universe. Thus the head of the horse in the horse sacrifice is the dawn, the eye is the sun, the breath is the wind, the back is the sky, the belly is the air, the earth the underpart of the belly, and so forth,² but the sacrificer becomes the sacrifice : that is the fundamental principle of the Indian as of the Semitic sacrifice ;³ therefore the sacrificer becomes one with the universe in all its parts.

¹ The terms are *adhidevatam* and *adhyātman*. *Sat. Br.* viii. 7. 4. 12 ff ; x. i. 2. 3.

² *Sat. Br.* x. 6. 4. 1.

³ W. Roberston Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*.

It is easy, of course, to turn this ritual conception of the universe into ridicule, to emphasize the absurdity of imagining that a man can become identical with sky and earth. Religions are very liable to look ridiculous because they are so hard to apprehend. It is easy to make fun of transubstantiation, and indeed the ignorant critics of Christianity often flatter themselves that they have reduced it to an absurdity by asking whether we can really believe that God has become a wafer. We should learn caution from their example and ask ourselves whether we have really penetrated into the inner meaning of ancient dogmas before we condemn them as preposterous. Now it is quite clear that the Brahmanas do not mean that this material sun is identical with this material eye. If that is what they meant they would trace the correspondence between the sacrifice and "things"; but in point of fact it is between the sacrifice and deities, that is, the gods connected with things. At the other end of the chain is not a gross material body, but an immaterial self compounded of hymns, chants, and spells.¹ The correspondence is therefore not between a globe of fire and a fleshy eye, but between the essence of the sun and a mystic eye. The identity of man and world is not a material identity, which our senses tell us is never realized, but an invisible one such as there are many demonstrably existing in the universe. Thus the flame kindled by means of fire-sticks is the same as the sun since the sun is fire; they are not the same fire, but their form is the same, and after all this earthly fire can be traced in the end to the sun, since the tree from which the sticks are taken contain latent energy derived from the sun. The ancients were fully aware of these invisible actions at a distance; that we found quite early in these studies. They might not have as clear notions of the mechanism as we have, but they did realize that the sun gave out

¹ *Sat. Br. x. 5. 1. 5.*

heat and that this heat pervaded things on earth. The Polynesians or their forefathers certainly had some conception of latent fire, for they believed that the original fire which Maui brought from the other world was enclosed in trees. If we follow up this thought we must inevitably arrive at the conclusion that each tree has in it some invisible element that is nothing else than that primeval fire from the other world.

It is through their forms then (I will not define further a conception which our authorities leave so vague) that things are brought into relation, identified, with one another and with man; it is through this conceptual identity that man can influence the world and mend it when it works badly. Unable to take down, repair, and put together again the actual machinery when it goes wrong, he takes to pieces and rebuilds their form by means of the sacrifice. Since the altar represents the body of a man, that body may function well or ill according as the altar has been well or ill put together.¹

The above exposition does not claim to be any more than an approximation to the ideas underlying the Indian sacrifice; it may not have completely eliminated our own view of things, but such as it is it tends to show that there is a perfectly rational basis for the creative sacrifice; that if we explain creation myths as memories, more or less accurate, of creation ceremonies, we have no need to postulate a mind differently constituted from any we are acquainted with, or to have recourse to any of those shifts which are imposed upon us by the theory which derives the ceremony from the myth.

The complete creation ceremony then is an extensive system of rites which includes the building up of the cosmic mound, the altar-tumulus, the planting of the sacred tree, the repelling of the hostile powers, the installation of the king, the queen, and his vassals, and the mystical taking

¹ *Sat. Br. viii. 6. 2. 18.*

possession of the essence of the earth and all it bears for the benefit of the community.

If this theory is correct, then myths of creation and cosmologies cease to be mere curiosities of fancy, fit to while away some idle hours, then to be laid aside for the more serious tasks of the historian; they become invaluable evidence as to ancient and long-disused ritual and belief. The story of the slaying and dismemberment of Ymir will give us a very fair idea of the succession and intention of the creation ceremonies of remote Germanic, possibly pre-Germanic, times. The first chapter of Genesis will teach us that the Hebrews, or their fore-runners, had a rite which lasted six days, like the coronation of a Cambodian king, and we shall even venture to conjecture what was done on each day:

First, lighting of lights with new fire;

Second, separation of heaven and earth. This is a widespread myth, extending at least from Egypt to New Zealand; but what the purpose or the nature of the rite was I cannot suggest;

Third, renovation of the earth and putting vegetation into it by suitable hymns and the planting of the sacred tree;

Fourth, fixing the course of the sun, moon, and stars until the next ceremony;

Fifth, putting life and vigour into fishes and birds, and ensuring their propagation;

Sixth, the same process is repeated with the beasts of the field. Culminating point of the ceremonial: installation of king, queen, and chieftains;

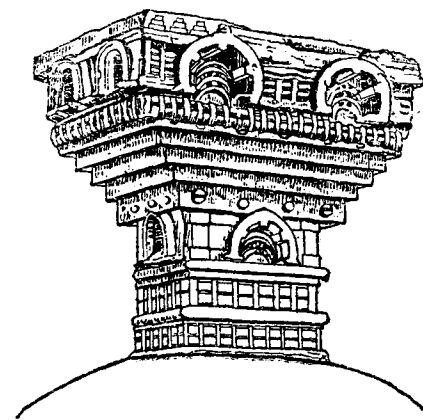
Seventh, period of quiescence so that nothing may injure the new-born world.

I must offer some justification for identifying the creation of man with the installation of king and chieftains: in Babylonia in early times the term men meant the

nobles,¹ and we know that the Hebrew myth comes from those parts. In the Egyptian feudal period the Vizier was termed "The Man" as opposed to "The God," that is, the king. In ancient India, too, the term Man was constantly used in a special sense, not of man in general, but of a shadowy prehistoric personage whom we have seen sacrificed in the *Rig-Veda* and to whom the Buddhist scriptures have introduced us, sometimes the more expressive term Great Man, as the original of Emperor and Supreme Sage.

It would be premature to try and fix the details of the ancient Semitic ritual. It is sufficient to show that it is in a measure possible to do so, and that he who sets himself this task will do so with good hopes of success.

¹ Meissner, *Babylonien*, i. p. 371.



CAPITAL OF A TOPE AT BHĀJĀ.

See p. 171.

XVII

JOSHUA

THE people of the island of Lakemba in Fiji believed that they could to a certain extent control the setting of the sun by a very simple method. In the hills on the way to the village of Vakano there stands a clump of reeds called "the knotted reeds." The belated traveller would sign to the setting sun as if beckoning him; he then took a reed, made a knot in it, and held it fast till he reached the village: the night would not fall until, arrived at his destination, he threw the reeds away. As the word for beckoning is *yalovaki*, which comes from *yalo*, "shadow," "image," "soul," there can be no doubt as to the meaning of this charm: the man waved to himself the shadow or double of the sun, and tied it up so that the sun could not get away.¹

It may seem to us preposterous that any one should think he had delayed the sun even for a minute: it seems contrary to the evidence of our senses. But in so reasoning we reason like men who have clocks and measure time as one measures a road or a piece of cotton. The Fijian has no measure of time whatsoever, not even the length of his shadow; he takes little interest in time; it is of little value to him, and his chief concern when travelling is to arrive at the end before nightfall, that is, before ghosts are abroad. To such people time is very much

¹ *Anthropos*, 1911, p. 724.

as long as it seems; and we all know that when we are in a hurry time seems longer; when we anxiously watch the sun nearing the horizon while we hasten along to reach our goal the light seems almost at a standstill. What other conclusion is possible to one who has neither timepiece nor psychology than that the sun has actually slowed down?

The belief that the course of the sun can be delayed or hastened was shared by the ancient Indians, for the *Mahābhārata* relates how the god Krishna during a war made the sun seem to set.¹ There is nothing to surprise us very much in this after the way we have seen the Brahmans prescribe to the sun his course. The Rhodesian negro has no more doubt about his ability to stop the sun than the Fijian, and he will "put a stone between the branch and stem of a tree to ensure reaching his destination before sundown."² The same views are held some two thousand miles north of Rhodesia. Thus two lines from Fiji westwards, from South Africa northwards, converge upon that area which seems to have been the cradle of divine kingship, the area of Egypt, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, the Aegean and Southern Europe. Within that area also man is credited with power to delay the sun. When at the battle of Gibeon the Israelites drove the five kings of the Amorites in headlong flight, "then spake Joshua to the Lord in the day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel; and he said in the sight of Israel:

Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon;
And thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon.
And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed,
Until the nation had avenged themselves of their enemies.

Is it not written in the book of Jashar? And the sun

¹ 3. 146. 68, acc. to Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 215.

² Garbutt, "Native Witchcraft and Superstition in South Africa," *Journ. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* 1909, p. 532.

stayed in the midst of heaven, and hasted not to go down a whole day." ¹

Biblical critics have suggested that the poet who wrote the book of Jashar did in a fit of poetic frenzy bring the great luminaries of heaven themselves to the aid of his hero. But what need is there of poetic frenzy? The Fijian and the Rhodesian negro think nothing of keeping the sun waiting till they get home, and what the benighted savage can do any day of the week, surely Joshua with all the wisdom of the East at his back should not have found difficult to do.

An even more incredible feat than Joshua's becomes mere child's play in the light of Fijian practice. The Polynesians believed that the hero Maui once noosed the sun and beat him to make him go more slowly. ² Assuming that you can tie up the double of the sun in a knot, as the Fijian does, there is nothing very wonderful in beating it.

¹ Joshua, x. 12.

² Tregear, *Comparative Maori Dictionary*, s.v. "Maui."

XVIII

THE GODS

IN the foregoing pages we have again and again been led to conclude that myths, even of the most fantastic character, were after all no more than sober history. A result so completely at variance with received opinions needs some justification. It is universally held that myths are the outcome, not of a faithful memory, but of a most lively imagination which does indeed draw its inspiration from facts, but so transforms them that we can scarcely recognize them. If we can at all trace them to facts it is because every now and then fragments of fact resist transformation and appear scattered about in their brute form. The facts are the phenomena of nature, the sun, the moon, the clouds and the winds, the ocean and the rivers, all that is in this material world, together with such abstract entities as mind, speech, justice. The process that transforms them is called personification because it clothes these inanimate objects with a human personality, gives them hands, and face, and speech, and all the actions and belongings of man. Now there is no doubt that in India at least the gods are natural or moral phenomena personified. When they are not actually called Sun, Dawn, Fire, Speech, we have very definite statements that they are some such object, that Indra is the sun, Soma the moon, Sarasvati speech; when even these statements fail, epithets such as "brightly lustrous," "golden-handed,"

"golden-eyed," proclaim the god to be no other than the sun.

The product of the transformation is thus patent to the eye, but no effort is made to describe the process. To our questions the mythologist usually answers that primitive man was addicted to personification, but the term personification merely describes the results and in no way enlightens us as to the way in which they are reached. We are left under the impression that the process is a mysterious one, that it is a mental alchemy so immediate in its workings, that those workings cannot be seen, that the eye of man perceives the sun disc and the imagination straightway conceives it as a man with golden hands riding on a golden chariot, sees it so as immediately as we perceive a certain group of colour sensations to be a house. Now we know that our own minds, the minds of European men, certainly do not act in this way, that we see the sun as a round shining circle, and do not endow it with human form, nor ever speak of it in human terms except when writing poetry, and then we are speaking the language of tradition rather than expressing what we see. Anthropologists have now for some time been scouring the whole world without having yet found a human being that sees natural phenomena in a way different from our own way. If savages differ from us it is in their lack of interest in natural phenomena, and in their complete lack of personification even when in the throes of poetic inspiration. Not only does the Fijian fail to personify, but if you were to do it for him he would suppose that it is your ignorance of the language that makes you unintelligible. Perhaps you might occasionally chance to express a metaphor which he could interpret in a literal sense, like the missionary who told his flock that the Church was burning with zeal, and was understood to mean that the chapel was on fire; but if you could so far overcome the unsuitability of the language as to translate

consistently a whole hymn of the *Rig-Veda*, say to the sun or to the dawn, I doubt whether your reputation for sanity would survive the test.

If this automatic personification is nowhere to be found on earth, where shall we find it? Some time in the remote past? But we have no right to postulate mental processes which have never been observed, unless they succeed in explaining facts where all existing processes have been tried and failed. Personification explains nothing at all: it is merely a convenient term to describe the effects. It does not therefore fulfil the first requisite of a postulate, and if it did we have not really tried first what could be done with processes known to exist.

Among the myths which seem to resolve themselves in a plain statement of fact was that of the marriage of Heaven and Earth. The union of the firmament with this terrestrial expanse actually takes place; but how? By proxy only: the proxies are the king and queen, then any bridegroom and bride. Their embraces are the embraces of sky and earth. May we not have here the solution of the whole problem? Once admit that a man can become one with the sun and it follows that the actions of the one are the actions of the other, that at one time the man will be described in terms of the sun as refulgent, as ascending the heavens, as vivifying the earth, at another time the sun will be described in terms of man as having a head and limbs, a house and a chariot. There is a double process going on: a solarization of man, and a humanizing of the sun,¹ not in consequence of any mysterious working of some unknown mind, but by virtue of the equivalence

man = sun.

The sun will not only be humanized, he will be animalized, or partake of the nature of any object with which he may happen to be identified for the better fulfilment of the

¹ These terms were suggested to me by Prof. Marrs.

sacrifice, with a horse, or a wheel, or a gold disc, or a brick of the altar, or whatever the case may be.

Since the Vedas were largely responsible for the theory of spontaneous personification by their constant interweaving of the human and the natural, it is on them that we shall first put to the test the contrary theory that personification is the logical result of a long train of hard thinking which ended in linking up things with man through the intermediary of the sacrifice by the power of the word. We will set to work on the fourteenth hymn of the eighth book of the *Rig-Veda*, which alludes to the victory of the god Indra over the demon Namuci :

13. *With the foam of waters thou didst break asunder Namuci's head, O Indra, when thou didst conquer all thy enemies.*

14. *Wishing to rise by enchantments, O Indra, thou didst ascend the heavens : thou shookest off the demons.*

15. *The assembly that does not hold soma-sacrifices thou didst scatter in all directions, becoming the supreme soma-drinker.*

A distinguished Sanskrit scholar comments on these verses thus : " It appears to me likely that the natural phenomenon to which this refers is a water-spout on an inland lake. This fear-inspiring thing may well be personified as a demon. . . . The head of the column is twisted and made to burst asunder and scatter itself (*phenena*, instr. of accompaniment, lit with foam, i.e. in abundant foamy masses). Then with the dispersion of the column, often comes a heavy rain." It must be admitted that this explanation is rather forced, besides that it does not really explain, since it leaves us wondering by what route the ancient Indian bards ever arrived at this strange conception of a water-spout, stranger in fact than the verses it sets out to explain. The author of this suggestion is himself scarcely satisfied with it and does not claim that it is anything more than a suggestion.

The *Satapatha Brahmana* quotes the hymn and professes to know the full details of the myth referred to :¹ " Namuci, the demon, carried off Indra's might, the sap of his food, the enjoyment of his soma along with his strong drink. He ran to the Asvins and Sarasvatī : ' I have sworn,' he said, ' to Namuci : " I will not slay thee by day or by night, with a staff or a bow, with the open hand or the closed fist, with dry or wet." Now he has taken this from me.' They said, ' Let us have share in this ; if so let us recover it.' ' Together we share it ; recover it,' he said. Thus the two Asvins and Sarasvatī sprinkled the foam of the waters to make a thunderbolt, saying, ' It is not dry ; it is not wet.' With this Indra removed the head of Namuci, the demon, when the light was lighting up and the sun was not risen, saying, ' It is not by day or by night.' Therefore this was described by the bard in the words, ' With the foam of the waters thou didst break asunder Namuci's head, O Indra ' ! "

The *Satapatha* then takes the words " with foam " in the sense " by means of foam," and explains that Indra smote Namuci with a thunderbolt of foam. This sounds really too absurd, but let us first make sure of the meaning the *Satapatha* attaches to its own words. We learn from numerous passages that a thunderbolt is a ritual term for anything used in the course of the sacrifice to destroy the sacrificer's spiritual enemies, demons and their human representatives. For instance, clarified butter, a thirty-two-syllable verse, a spade, a sword, the sun, a horse which represents the sun, may all be thunderbolts to " repel evil corruption," to " drive off the devils." ² This thunderbolt does not seem to be an invention of the Brahmins or even of the Aryan invaders, but is probably much earlier, for the Egyptian Pharaoh wielded a club

¹ xii. 7. 3.

² *Sat. Br.* iii. 4. 6 ; vii. 2. 1. 17 ; vii. 2. 1. 15 ; vi. 3. 1. 29 and 39 ; v. 4. 3. 4.

with a blow of which he could either consecrate the offering or immolate war prisoners to the god.¹

When the *Satapatha* speaks of ascending to heaven it does not mean that a man does so bodily. One object of the sacrifice is to build up for the sacrificer a divine self made up of sacrificial formulae and chants. With this divine body a man may ascend to heaven and become immortal. It is in this sense that "he who is consecrated ascends to the gods."² The ascent may be enacted by means of substitutes, as when the sacrificer ascends the sacrificial post, "being about to ascend he says to his wife, 'Come, wife, ascend we to the sky,' and when he reaches the top he says, 'We have gone to the light, O ye gods'."³ The ascent to heaven was therefore quite a common event in Indian ritual. The person who ascended was Indra, since the sacrificer is Indra. As for the Asvins they are twin-gods, they are "priests, physicians." Whether they were impersonated at the sacrifice we do not know, but since Indra, Brihaspati, and others were impersonated there is no reason why they should not have been. Sarasvati is Speech, and Speech, as we have seen, has creative force. Among the forms of speech is the thirty-two-syllable verse which can be used ritually as a thunderbolt;⁴ for the sacrificer "even by speech vanquishes his hostile adversary, ousting him from the world." As for Namuci he is Evil; but while one part of him is demoniac, another is of the nature of soma, the drink of immortality, and in his head "there was soma mixed with blood." The gods separated these two elements and isolated the soma merely by thinking while they pressed the soma plant, "King Soma, the drink of immortality is being pressed."⁵ Finally, there is one more peculiarity of the

¹ Moret, *op. cit.* pp. 171, 290.

² *Sat. Br.* ix. 1. 2. 33; x. 5. 1. 5; x. 6. 5. 8.

³ *Ibid.* v. 2. 1. 10 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.* viii. 2. 1. 3; vii. 2. 4. 28.

⁵ *Ibid.* xii. 7. 3. 4.

Vedic ritual to notice, and that is the frequent use of what I call betwixt-and-betweens: for instance, Soma is bought from a eunuch because he is neither man nor woman, with lead because it is neither gold nor iron, with a liquor that is neither soma nor brandy. The idea apparently is that Soma, the Benign God, is purchased in order to be slain; so, to escape the sin, the transaction is carried out in such a way that it is as if it had not taken place. On another occasion a piece of offering is buried where dry and moist meet so as to be neither on the ground nor in the water.¹ Armed with this knowledge we can now offer the following paraphrase of the Namuci myth, putting in italics that part of it which is contained in the hymn:

Indra, impersonated by the sacrificer, is about to drink the installation soma which transforms him into a god. But the essence of that soma has been seized by an evil spirit. In order to recover it the sacrificer must defeat the opposing spirit, but in doing so he will incur the guilt of slaying the Benign God, Soma, the elixir of immortality. To avoid that guilt he uses a betwixt-and-between, foam, which is neither wet nor dry, so that the action may be taken as not having occurred. In order to make this foam effective he must have the assistance of the Asvins, and Speech, which he secures by a libation of soma, and the priest recites a spell in thirty-two-syllable verses, which medicates the foam. *The foam thereby becomes what is technically known as a thunderbolt with which the sacrificer destroys all the powers of evil. Having thus purified the soma he drinks it, and by this enchantment ascending in spirit to heaven becomes a god. The demons who do not drink soma (possibly impersonated by those who are excluded from the sacrifice) are scattered in all directions and the sacrificer becomes the supreme king.*²

¹ *Sat. Br.* v. 1. 2. 14; iii. 8. 5. 9.

² Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, gives "*somapo*: god."

It is quite clear that the *Satapatha* itself considers the original victory of Indra to have been obtained by ritual, for after relating the myth it goes on to say, "Namuci is evil. Indra smote this sinful, hostile adversary and appropriated his vigour, his strength. He who has an adversary should sacrifice with the sacrifice of Indra the Good Guardian, thus he smites this sinful, hostile adversary and appropriates his strength, his vigour." Elsewhere we are shown the king kicking a piece of lead which represents Namuci's head, saying, "Cast off is Namuci's head."¹ Evidently these rites are but the repetition of an original rite.

Why should the *Satapatha* be wrong? It was written by the descendants of those who composed the hymns, and it is therefore more likely to know than not. We can only say that it does not know when its statements do not square with the facts; but we have no right to prefer an explanation which raises more difficulties than it solves, when the *Satapatha's* directions enable us to interpret every sentence in the hymn without supposing anything which we do not know to have been actually done or thought. We may think what we like about the ideas of the Brahmanas, that they were stupid, extravagant, pedantic, or what you will; but, absurd or not, they were thoughts which were thought, and are therefore to be preferred for the solution of problems to thoughts which we do not know to have ever been actually thought.

Armed with the experience gained in dealing with this myth we may now attempt a more elaborate one, that of the three strides of Vishnu which became about the seventh century A.D. a favourite theme for sculptors. In this case we shall begin with the later and work back to the earlier. This is how the myth appears in the *Rāmāyana*:²

¹ *Sat. Br.* v. 4. 1. 9.

² Schlegel's ed. i. 31. 2 ff.; Bombay ed. i. 29. 2 ff.; Gorresio's ed. i. 32. 2 ff. Muir, iv. 130 ff., gives all three besides many other references to this story.



VISHNU'S THREE STRIDES, SEVEN PAGODAS

"Here, O mighty armed Rama, Vishnu, who is revered by the gods, dwelt, a great ascetic, for the purpose of mortification and contemplation. This, Rama, was the former hermitage of the high-souled dwarf and was called 'The Hermitage of the Perfect,' where the great ascetic became perfect. Formerly Bali, the son of Virocana, having overcome the Lord of Gods,¹ enjoyed the empire of the three worlds,² intoxicated with the excess of his power. Thereafter when Bali was celebrating a sacrifice Indra and the other gods, distressed with fear, spoke to Vishnu in this hermitage, 'Bali, the son of Virocana, is performing a sacrifice, he, the mighty, the prosperous lord of the demons who grants to all creatures their desires. Whatever suppliants from whatever quarter approach him he bestows on them everything when and as is meet. Do thou, O Vishnu, for the benefit of the gods resort to a phantom shape and assuming the form of a dwarf bring about our highest welfare. . . .' Thus addressed by the gods Vishnu, adopting a dwarfish form, approached the son of Virocana and begged three of his own paces. Having obtained three paces Vishnu took a monstrous form and with three steps the Thrice-stepper then gained possession of the worlds. With one step he occupied the whole earth, with the second the eternal atmosphere, with the third the sky, O descendant of Raghu. He made that demon Bali a dweller in the underworld and gave the empire of the three worlds to Indra after removing his enemy."

Here we have a myth of the kind we have been used to from our infancy, a real story, not a medley of action and ritual and natural phenomena. It comes nearer to the Greek myth on which we have been brought up and which we are thus used to take as the perfect type. Yet though it comes near to being a real drama it is not quite so, it is a drama enacted by persons with bodies and

¹ Indra.

² Earth, air, sky.

speech and thoughts that are human, yet not quite human; there are impossibilities which shock and which prevent the story from becoming a good story. It is enough of a story to make us try and imagine it all, yet not enough to make the imagining easy or smooth. Those defects are magnified in the version given by the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. It is too long and wearisome to be quoted in full; I will only give the critical moment which is depicted in sculptures: "That dwarfish body of the infinite Hari (Vishnu), consisting of the three qualities, increased monstrously, which was made up of the earth, the air, the points of the compass, the sky, the abysses, the oceans, beasts, men, gods and the sages. . . . With one step he bestrode Bali's earth, and filled the cloud region with his body, the points of the compass with his arms. As he strode the second stride was the heaven; for the third there was not even a minute fraction of it left. The foot of the wide-striding deity went up and up and beyond the Mahar, Jana, and Tapas worlds." This narrative is a monstrosity (not by any means the worst Hinduism can do); it deliberately invites us to visualize what the mind's eye cannot see, to construct a scene out of elements that will not fit together.

We now go back to the *Satapatha*, which relates the story as follows: ¹

"The gods and the demons both descended from Prajāpati vied together. In consequence the gods were, as it were, worsted. Then the demons thought, 'Surely ours indeed is now this world.' They said, 'Come, let us divide this earth; having divided it let us subsist on it.' They went on dividing it from west to east with ox-hides. This the gods heard, 'The demons are dividing this earth, come, we shall go where the demons are dividing it. Who shall we become hereafter if we do not share in it?' Placing at their head Vishnu, the sacrifice, they

¹ i. 2. 5.

went. They said, 'Give us a share in this earth, let there be a share of it for us.' The demons grumbling as it were said, 'As much as this Vishnu can lie upon, thus much we give you.' Now Vishnu was dwarfish. The gods were not offended at this. 'They have given us much who have given us the extent covered by the sacrifice,' they said. They laid Vishnu down and surrounded him on all sides with poetic metres, saying on the south side, 'I surround thee with the *gayatra* metre,' on the west, 'I surround thee with the *tristubh* metre,' on the north, 'I surround thee with the *jagata* metre.' Having surrounded him on all sides with metres and having piled up fire on the east they went on singing hymns and practising austerities. By this means they acquired the whole earth; and since by this means they acquired the whole earth, hence the name *vedi* for an altar. Hence the saying, 'As great as the altar, thus great is the earth,' for by the altar they obtained the whole earth. Thus he who so knows this appropriates this whole earth from his rivals, deprives his rivals of a share in it."

Here again the *Satapatha* conceives the whole contest as a ritual one, such a battle as "is engaged when a man offers the fore-offerings, and whichever of the two combatants is worsted, that one surely retreats."¹ This magical battle is the original of a ceremony which was still performed when the *Satapatha* was written, and we must therefore describe the ritual in order to understand the author's point of view.² The sacrificer holds a pan containing the sacred fire which represents Vishnu. He "then strides the Vishnu strides. For the gods having become Vishnu bestrode these worlds. Inasmuch as having become Vishnu they strode, therefore they are Vishnu's strides. So also the sacrificer having become Vishnu bestrides these worlds. II. He who is Vishnu, he is the sacrifice. He who is this sacrifice, that one is that fire in

¹ *Sat. Br.* i. 5. 3. 6. *Cp.* i. 5. 4. 6.

² *vi.* 7. 2. 10 ff.

the pan. The gods having made him (Fire) their selves (? bodies) bestrode these worlds. So also the sacrificer having made him his self bestrides these worlds. 12. Standing facing the north-east he does this ; for standing towards the north-east Prajāpati created creatures by means of Vishnu's strides." He then takes three steps ; with the first he is supposed to bestride the earth ; with the second the air ; with the third the sky. The upshot is that the sacrificer, who is already Indra, now also becomes Vishnu, thus becoming a double god, Indrāvishnu. He becomes Vishnu in virtue of the law that the sacrificer becomes the sacrifice. But Vishnu is also the fire in the pan, and that fire in the sacrifice is the *locum tenens* of the sun. Having thus identified himself with the sun he symbolically ascends in three steps from earth to heaven, even as the sun does, and thus overcoming his enemies, the powers of darkness, he takes possession of the universe. Even so the divine kings, his predecessors, did in the beginning.

Are we to regard this ritual conception of the myth as an unfortunate twist in the mental constitution of the authors of the Brahmanas, and the dramatic conception of the *Rāmāyana* as the true one ? We should want very cogent reasons for doing so. The Brahmanas are vastly earlier, and therefore, in the absence of definite evidence to the contrary, must be taken to represent an earlier point of view. They were written in the heyday of the old cult, when it had been developed in such detail and had become so burdensome that a reaction was sure to come. The reaction did come in the shape of Buddhism, which is to India what Puritanism was to England. Ceremonial and myth were discredited, and ethics became the absorbing interest. The *Rāmāyana* is doubtless based on traditions older than Buddhism, but it was not written down until after the ethical movement had broken up the old religion, and the remains of that religion had been revived

by infusing them with a new spirit. We might as well go to the writings of the Oxford Movement for first hand information about Mediaeval Christianity, as to the *Rāmāyana* for a true account of pre-Buddhistic Brahmanism. Everything then is in favour of the *Brahmana's* claim to represent the original most closely. The final verdict, however, must be left to the *Rig-Veda*, which is universally allowed to be the expression of the most archaic known form of Indian belief. Unfortunately the hymns, as usual, are merely allusive, and all we can do is to collect the allusions and see which view of the myth they fit best, the ritual or the epic.

The twenty-second hymn of the first book, beginning with verse sixteen, has the fullest reference. " May the gods help us from this place on from which Vishnu strode forth over the seven regions of the earth. Vishnu bestrode the world. In three places he placed his step enveloped with his dust. Three steps strode Vishnu, the inviolable protector, thereby supporting the laws. Behold the rites of Vishnu whereby the close friend of Indra perceived the ordinances. The highest step of Vishnu the sacrificers ever behold like an eye fixed in heaven. The poets rejoicing, wakeful, kindle that which is the highest step of Vishnu." The fifth verse of the sixty-ninth hymn of the fourth book shows us Indra and Vishnu taking the steps together as a compound god : " Indrāvishnu, this deed of yours is to be praised, in the intoxication of soma you took vast strides, you made the atmosphere broader, you extended the regions of the air that we might live." The three steps are thus connected with the raising of the sky. The same combination of Indra, Vishnu, and the raising of the sky occurs again in the eighty-ninth hymn of the eighth book, verse twelve : " Friend Vishnu, stride vastly. Sky give room to fix the thunderbolt. Let us slay Vṛitra ; let us release the streams, let them go when released at the impulse of Indra." Here the legend of the slaying of the

serpent Vṛitra by Indra is added as a sequel to the raising of the sky.¹

The *Rig-Veda* thus conceives Indra to be closely associated with Vishnu in the three steps. The *Satapatha* has preserved this feature, the *Rāmāyana* has lost it; therefore in this respect the *Satapatha* is nearer the original. Why did the *Rāmāyana* deprive Indra of active participation? For the usual reason: it had ceased to understand; the *Satapatha* retained him because his part in the drama was perfectly intelligible: Indra, the sacrificer, carries Vishnu, the firepan, and the two become one since the sacrificer becomes one with the sacrifice. If we assume that the first passage we have quoted from the *Rig-Veda* is a hymn intended to accompany the rite described by the *Satapatha*, just as our communion hymns are meant to be sung at communion, and if we interpret those verses in connection with that rite, just as we interpret our communion hymns by the aid of the ritual to which they allude, the obscurities of the text will largely vanish, and we can suggest the following paraphrase. As the sacrificer is about to take the three steps the singer invokes the assistance of the gods so that the original ceremony may now be repeated with success. The singer then describes the original ceremony, which is to the present performance as the Lord's Supper is to the Mass; how, carried by the sacrificer, the sacrifice bestrode the sacred ground, thus confirming the laws that regulate the universe. The last step fixed the sun in heaven, and therefore the

¹ Muir in his *Sanskrit Texts*, iv. p. 63, has collected all the passages of the *Rig-Veda* which mention Vishnu. The translation is bound to be affected by the view we take of the myths. Existing translations are all influenced by the naturalistic theory. If the ritualistic provides a more intelligible and less forced translation then it is sure to be right. It does so in the case of the "with foam" in the Namuci myth. It does so again in the first passage here quoted. Muir translates "protect us from that place," which does not seem to mean anything; see the interpretation in the text. "Rites" seems more suitable than deeds; one does not preceive ordinances by deeds, one does by rites.

last step is the sun, and it is theologically correct, though poetically incongruous, to speak of the bards as kindling the highest step.

In this hymn the sun appears successively as Vishnu, Indra, an eye, and a step. The theory of spontaneous personification fails to give any explanation of this apparent inconsistency. If it is an innate tendency of primitive man to describe everything in human terms, why does it choose to mix its metaphors in this extremely painful manner? The sacrificial dogmas of the *Satapatha*, on the other hand, fully justify this proceeding: every identification is perfectly correct; the jumbling of them together may be bad poetry: it is very sound doctrine.

To understand the point of view of the ancient bards we must always turn our eyes into our very souls, and there we shall perhaps find methods of thought and expression not very unlike those of the Vedic singers. I have already invoked the analogy of our own hymns in order to help us to understand the ancient ones. Let us take a concrete example. "Hymns Ancient and Modern," No. 310, in rapid succession describes Christ as

"Truth the ancient type fulfilling,
Isaac bound, a victim willing,
Manna to the fathers given.

Very Bread, Good Shepherd, tend us,
Jesu, of Thy Love befriend us."

The succession of metaphors, if we may so call them, is even more bewildering than in the *Veda*: Truth, Isaac, manna, bread, shepherd. The ramblings of many inmates of lunatic asylums are scarcely more incoherent than these lines would seem to the ancient Indians. Yet it never even occurs to us that the writer of this hymn may have been mad, or even that he was endowed with a special faculty called personification. Why? Because

we know exactly what he is talking about ; we know that his lines are an extreme condensation of Biblical legend, Christian ritual and dogma, all of which the audience is supposed to be familiar with. That does not make it good poetry, but it makes it good sense. Why should we apply an entirely different method to the Vedas, especially when that method yields most unsatisfactory results ?

An analysis of a few Vedic myths¹ thus strengthens the suggestion with which we started that the sun, moon, stars and other celestial or terrestrial bodies owe their human personality and human actions to their human representatives. The conquering sun has arms because the sacrificer is Indra, the conquering sun, and has arms ; the conquering sun cuts off Namuci's head because the sacrificer cuts off Namuci's head. Vishnu, the sacrifice, takes three steps because the firepan, which is Vishnu, is carried three steps.

A similar conclusion seems to have been reached by Yaska in his treatise the *Nirukta* some five hundred years before Christ. Yaska's opinion is entitled to the highest consideration because he was not a modern seeking to rediscover a lost religion, but a continuator of the old tradition. Now Yaska certainly never recognized in his own people any special faculty of personification ; he evidently did not possess it himself nor had he ever been taught to recognize it in the ancient poets. It did not seem to him in the least obvious or inevitable that the gods should be represented in human form with human actions, and he set himself to explain at some length why they were. I will leave him to do so in his own words.² " Now for the way of conceiving the appearance of deities. One way is to conceive them in human shape ; for they are praised as intelligent beings and they are spoken to ;

¹ Two other hymns are discussed in the *Ceylon Journal of Science*, sect. G, vol. i. pt. 3.

² vii. 6 ; Muir, iv. p. 157.

again they are celebrated as having limbs like those of men, thus, ' Sublime, O Indra, are the arms of thee, the mighty one.' ' When thou didst seize the two worlds they were as a handful to thee, O Bounteous One.' Also as provided with such objects as belong to men, as ' Come, O Indra, with the two tawny horses.' ' A beautiful wife and joy are in thy house.' Also with actions such as men's, thus, ' Eat, O Indra, and drink of what is set before thee.' ' Thou with ears that hear, hear our invocation.' Another way is to conceive them in non-human shape. Further, what is seen of them, that is of non-human form, as fire, wind, the sun, the earth, the moon. As for the statement that they are praised as intelligent beings, senseless things also are praised. . . . Or they may be of both forms, or when they are of human form this may be their *ātman*, embodiment, for purposes of action, just as the sacrificer is the *ātman*, embodiment, of the sacrificer for purposes of action : this is the condition of narrations."

We gather from this passage that fire, wind, the sun, etc., are not gods, but merely what is seen of the gods. Exactly what the gods are is not clear, but this much is certain that they have no personality and are immaterial. They may, however, be conceived in human form for the purposes of narration. In that case the human form is merely an embodiment which the god assumes for the purpose of action, just as the sacrificer embodies himself in the sacrifice in order to achieve his purpose. Unfortunately this last term of comparison, which is so important as expressing exactly how Yaska conceived this *ātman*, or embodiment of the gods, is more obscure than the process it is intended to explain, unless we have grasped the old Indian doctrine of the sacrifice and the *ātman*. This doctrine has been repeatedly touched upon and was expounded at some length in the sixteenth chapter. It will be remembered that the purpose of the sacrifice is to unite and identify the microcosm of man with the

macrocosm by making them meet in the sacrifice; the sacrificer finds in the sacrifice its *ātman*, body, or other self, and conversely the sacrificer becomes the *ātman*, body, or other self of the sacrifice.¹ The sacrifice is also the other self of all creatures, all gods. This other self is not innate, but acquired; even the gods did not possess another self originally and so were mortal; it was only by assiduously singing hymns and practising austerities that they acquired in the fire-altar another immortal body.²

In order to understand and sympathize with ancient beliefs it is well always to explore our own. The host is the body of Christ, a mystical body. It becomes the body of Christ by the performance of prescribed rites. But the Christ is the sacrifice. Through that body the communicant unites himself with the sacrifice who is God, and thus he attains to immortal life. The host of Christianity and the *ātman* of the Vedic priest are so much alike that we must beware how we ridicule the one lest we condemn the other.

Yaska then conceived the human personality of the gods as but such a mystic body or other self, an acquired self, which is to the gods as the sacrifice is to the man who performs it. This is little else than a more technical, and perhaps more accurate way, of expressing what we had put more plainly at the outset by saying that gods have no personality except that of human beings in whom they are incarnated, that if a god thinks, speaks, wields weapons, and rides chariots, it is because the man with whom he is identified thinks, speaks, wields weapons, and rides chariots.

Perhaps we shall the better understand this process of personification if we repeat it ourselves, if we adopt the premises of the ancient Indians for our own and work them out to a logical conclusion. Let us suppose that our

¹ *Sat. Brahm.* iv. 3. 4. 5; ix. 5. 2. 16.

² *Ibid.* ii. 2. 2. 7 f.; xiv. 3. 2. 1.

sovereign Lord and King George V. has by virtue of the unction and its accompanying rites become the sun-god's other self, that his Queen is the earth-goddess, and his lieges are various minor deities. We might then read in the Court News something like this: "Rosy-fingered Dawn opened the portals of the sun's chamber this morning, and he arose in his splendour; he came forth wielding his thunderbolt, with which he dispersed the demons and set the sun free to shine. The assembled gods sang the praises of the victor, whose radiance dazzled the eyes of all beholders, so that their eyes could not endure it. Then he bestrode the three worlds and at his third step fixed in heaven the eye of day. The earth came forth to greet him, and together they mounted his chariot drawn by four tawny horses, and he set the shining wheels in motion over the vault of heaven towards the four quarters of the world." Without any commentary or knowledge of our religion a Martian might easily interpret this as a poetic effusion; he might ascribe to us a peculiar and inexplicable gift of personification which transmutes all objects of nature into human personalities, just as Midas' touch turned all things into gold. As a matter of fact, all the Court News means is that a Lady-in-Waiting, who personifies dawn, opened at peep of day the king's bed-chamber in order to call him for the daily ritual which has to be timed exactly to the sun's movements. The king comes out and consecrates the offering with a blow of his sceptre, thereby smiting the powers of darkness, so that the sun can arise and shine on the world. The court officials representing the gods of the four quarters, and others, sing "God save the King," shading their eyes from the glare that the king is supposed to emit just like the sun which is at that moment rising. The king then takes a firepan which represents the sun, and takes three steps which thus trace the sun's course from the horizon to the zenith. The queen then comes forth to greet

him. Together they mount the gilt chariot of the sun, the wheels of which represent the disc of the sun and are therefore resplendent with gold and precious stones. Thus they go the deasil round the royal city.

There is no need to suppose, however, for in discussing the miracle of levitation we came across this very state of affairs in Tahiti. We saw that there all the king's actions and belongings are spoken of in terms of natural phenomena on the assumption that the king is the sun-god, the source of lightning and thunder. It is ever to be regretted that the missionaries instead of giving us a summary of Tahitian etiquette did not actually give us verbatim a specimen of court language; we might then have a description very like some passages of the *Rig-Veda* minus the poetic talent and technique.

Thus both in the centre and at the extreme east end of our area we are forced to the conclusion that the gods owe their personality not to any extinct and unintelligible mental process, but to the most ordinary mental processes working on the doctrine that men can become the other selves of the gods. We cannot, however, extend these conclusions to the western end without evidence from those parts. The records of Egypt and Babylonia are ever so much older in date than the earliest from India that their evidence is crucial for the origins of religion. Unfortunately those records are so difficult and laborious to disentangle that it is scarcely safe for the amateur to enter into a discussion of the religions they contain. All he can do is to take his cue from those who have specialized in those regions. The history of those religions, however, still remains to be written, and the subject is so vast that one may doubt whether we shall ever see it written in our days.¹ All we can do for the present is to show that the

¹ There are indeed handbooks, but these are usually written from an anti-priestly and rationalistic standpoint. Their value may be great, but so is their bias.



THE RONDANINI MEDUSA



PERSEUS AND MEDUSA. FROM SELINUS

conditions which produced personal gods out of natural phenomena in India are also present in Egypt and Babylonia. Both those countries have divine kings, and in Egypt at least the identity of king and sun is carried through with the most rigorous logic. In both countries the astral phenomena are imitated by persons representing various departments of nature. In Egypt at least the doctrine of the immaterial self is well known. They there call the *ātman sahu*, of which Sir Wallis Budge says, "If the prescribed prayers and the appropriate ceremonies were perfectly performed over the dead by duly appointed priests, it acquired the power of developing out of itself an immaterial body called *sāhu* which was able to ascend to heaven and dwell with the gods there."¹ For the rest I must leave it to the specialists to apply Yaska's theory and see how far it fits the facts of their respective regions.

Rome strongly opposes the theory of automatic personification. One of the most striking characteristics of its religion is that its gods had no personality, and their actions did not become the theme of any narrative until they became identified with the highly personal gods of the Greeks and from them acquired their personality and their myths. If personification is an innate tendency of the primitive mind, why had the Romans to learn the art from the Greeks?

As for the Celtic and Germanic mythologies they became known to us long after the Roman Empire had everywhere popularized the epic myth as brought to perfection by the Greeks.

One cannot help wondering whether the Greeks are not really the authors of all the mischief, whether they are not responsible for leading astray our students of mythology. We have imbibed Greek myths since our earliest infancy, and what we learn as babes becomes a second nature. The personal gods of the Greeks seem to us the

¹ *The Book of the Dead*, lviii.

most natural thing in the world : most natural it seems that Zeus should preside over the council of the gods, most natural that Athene should fight with spear and shield on the side of the Greeks, or that Hermes should put on his winged sandals and flit over the surface of the waves. Because the epic myth is the first we have become acquainted with we accept it as the standard, and any myth which does not make a smooth and plausible narrative is condemned as the grotesque nonsense of irrational minds.

The truth is there is very little smooth and plausible narrative among myths before Homer. It is significant that the epic does not develop in India till after Greek influence has made itself felt in Indian art. The conclusion is that the Greek myth, so far from being the standard, is an exception, a creation of the Greek artistic genius. Art was the ruling passion of the Greek, and in the pursuit of art he was always ready to sacrifice historic truth. Theological accuracy is not consistent with good poetry : it sometimes allows it, but oftener clogs it. "Lying Greece" was always ready to sacrifice theology. Grotesque and anatomically impossible monsters were eliminated from Greek art at an early period. Their treatment of the Gorgon is typical of their method : the archaic Medusa of Selinus is still compounded of various terrifying features prescribed by tradition, but which only result in making us smile because they are impossible. In classical art tradition is sacrificed and Medusa becomes entirely humanized, a picture of beautiful and chilling pathos ; of the monstrous features only the serpent hair and the wings are retained, but so discreetly that so far from shocking our artistic sense, they enhance the horror of the head by broadening it at the top and making it seem to hover towards us. The Greeks were equally unscrupulous with their myths : they thoroughly pruned and lopped them free of all those elements which were not

capable of taking their places naturally in a narrative without destroying its plausibility.

The magnitude of the revolution the Greeks created in the myth can best be gauged by the timidity with which the Hindus followed their example in the Christian era. They set out to tell a story, but they were too scrupulous to cut out all those elements which prevented the myth from becoming a good story, and thus they fell between the two stools of historical accuracy and of artistic truth. They gave Vishnu a body yet continued to make him contain the whole world, as when he was only the incorporeal sacrifice. They gave him legs, but forgot to reduce the space over which he had to stride. Thus throughout they aimed at producing a good story without sinning against ancient dogma, and the result is incoherence. This incoherence, strangely enough, has been taken as evidence of a phantasy as rank in growth as the tropical forests in which the Indians are supposed to, but do not, live ; in reality it is evidence of an imagination neither lively nor courageous enough to renounce dogma in favour of art. But if fidelity to theological tradition makes bad art and bad literature, it provides invaluable testimony as to the nature of ancient beliefs. Indian writings will always take a first place among the documents on which we depend for our researches into the origins of kings and gods.

India has helped us to the conclusion that the gods have no personality whatever except what they have borrowed from their human representatives on earth. Can it enlighten us as to the nature of those impersonal gods ? Yaska makes it quite clear that they are not in his opinion the sun, the moon, the wind, or whatever it may be, but something of which these objects are merely the visible manifestation. There can be no doubt that in holding this opinion Yaska is merely preserving the original view. If the sun-god was originally just the globe of fire that we

see, how do we account for the fact that not only in India but in the Near East there are several sun-gods existing side by side and endowed with different attributes and characters: the conquering sun, the impelling or energizing sun, the law-giving sun, and so forth? These sun-gods are not the sun, but aspects of the sun; they represent groups of qualities which the sun possesses. Again, from the earliest times, throughout the East we find gods melting into one another; one god is the same as another, and is the same as all the deities; thus Fire is all the deities, Soma is all the deities, Indra is all the deities.¹ This fact, which Max Müller long ago described as henotheism, has always been and must remain a puzzle if the gods were nothing but material objects. How can Agni, if he is nothing but the flame blazing on the altar, be the same as Indra, if Indra is nothing but the sphere of the sun? It is perfectly possible if both are the essence of the objects with which they are associated, a group of attributes such as heat, light, shadow-production, and so forth. Unfortunately our earliest records take the nature of the gods to be well known to their audience and no more trouble to define it than do our modern hymns or books of Common Prayer. We are reduced to inference, and inference is hard in a subject so abstruse. All we can at present suggest as regards India is that the gods in their earliest forms are concepts or ideas somewhat like the ideas of Plato, only studied from the purely practical point of view of agriculture, not for the more abstract purpose of exploring the foundations of human knowledge.

When we turn to Egypt for corroboration we are met with this great difficulty that Egyptologists are not agreed as to the succession in time of the phases of religious development. Some are definitely of opinion that the worship of the sun is earlier and that the cult of the dead, as represented by Osiris, is later, thus agreeing with India

¹ *Sat. Br.* i. 6. 3. 22; i. 6. 2. 8; iii. 4. 2. 3.

where the earliest gods are nature gods pure and simple and bear no trace of a mortuary origin. Others are no less convinced that the cult of the dead came first and was followed by the worship of the sun. Under the circumstances we can only leave the experts to fight it out among themselves, but onlookers may be allowed to back the partisans of the sun-god and to indicate their reasons for believing that they will win.

No satisfactory explanation has been offered why man should worship the dead. It does not seem to be considered necessary to give a reason, because it is so "natural." We have refused, however, to admit the word "natural" into our vocabulary: it is the opiate of historical science; it drugs the spirit of inquiry and prevents it from exerting itself in the search for causes. The use of the word "natural" must count as a confession of failure. We cannot perhaps at this stage explain the rise of nature-gods: our science is not yet sufficiently advanced; but we can form some idea of the processes by which they were arrived at since the problem of individual and kind, of particular and general, of qualities and substance, has vexed the brains of philosophers down to the Middle Ages and is used even now to whet the wits of undergraduates. We can also perceive a very practical inducement to such studies in the hope of controlling through their essences and manifestations those forces of nature on which an agricultural community is so closely dependent.

It is difficult to derive a nature-god from the spirit of the dead. Assuming that we have shown how the idea of a soul persisting after death came about, it still remains to show how that soul became attached to natural phenomena. On the other hand, given the worship of nature-gods conceived by processes similar to those we witness in schools of logic we can most easily derive from it the worship of ancestors. The sun-god, that is the essence of the sun, has by the sacrifice become attached to a man;

it has become his other self, his soul. That man dies and this soul is transferred by another sacrifice to his successor. Thus the sun-god, the soul of the founder of the dynasty, is passed on from one successor to another. Forget that this soul is the sun's double and not inherent in the ancestor, and you will find yourself worshipping the spirit of the dead and his living reincarnations. Something of the kind does seem to have happened in Fiji. As was explained in the first chapter, the Fijians at the present day worship gods, ghosts, and elves indiscriminately under the appellation "spirit." In ordinary conversation they make no distinction and probably intend none when dealing with supernatural beings in general; it is only when you pick out some individual spirit that they can usually assign him to one of those three categories which they call ancestor spirits, soul spirits, and small spirits. They are very positive that the ancestor spirits, unlike the soul spirits, are not men, but were "ancestors from the very beginning"; but obviously the god was the ancestor of the clan, and often appears as such in their genealogies; then how can it be said that he is not and was not a man? Wherein does he differ from the father's or grandfather's or great-grandfather's spirit? You will never get a satisfactory explanation from a Fijian, and the conclusion is he cannot give one because the particular idea on which the distinction is based has been lost. This idea, I take it, is the astral nature of the god: he was originally the double of the sun, or moon, or sky, and therefore in no sense a man, but "a spirit from the beginning," not the soul of a man who died. Evidences of a celestial origin were indeed noted in the first chapter, so that the process we have outlined is not purely conjectural. It is an established fact in the New Hebrides; there they preserve the memory of the great sky, moon, thunder-god of Polynesia, Tañaloa or Takaroa, entirely shorn of his celestial nature, except that one myth represents him as living in

heaven.¹ It will be remembered that solar symbols, meaningless, and therefore vestigial, are to be found in the secret cults of the dead in the Banks Islands.²

This detachment of the gods from their natural phenomena results in a type of myth which, for rationality, approaches very much to the Greek. The constant confusion of the sun, its human representative, and its earthly counterparts, such as a wheel or a gold disc, completely disappears because the natural element drops out and only the human remains. Impossible as the Fijian myth may be, it is none the less plausible, because it is consistently human. The Kambara legend which was related in the fifteenth chapter is a typical Fijian legend: the actors are, like the Greek gods, just men, distinguished from other men only by the performance of feats far beyond the power of ordinary mortals. The following example is equally typical.

The island of Oneata swarms with mosquitoes. Of old there were no mosquitoes, but there were mosquitoes in Kambara. The god of Kambara came to the god of Oneata and said, "Would you like my insects?" The god of Oneata asked, "What insects?" The god of Kambara said, "My awakeners in the morning." The god of Oneata said, "Go and fetch them." The god of Kambara went to get them and wrapped them up in a young plantain leaf. The god of Oneata went to the marsh in his island and gathered the fresh-water shell-fish and gave them to the god of Kambara. The god of Oneata opened the plantain leaf and all the mosquitoes flew out. He went to sleep, but the mosquitoes kept biting him. He awoke and said, "The god of Kambara is indeed a knave," and pursued him and said to him, "You are a knave." "Why?" said the god of Kambara. "Inasmuch as you

¹ R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 168 ff., 369. Tregear, *Comparative Maori Dictionary*, s.v. "Tangaroa."

p. 144.

gave me the mosquitoes," said the god of Oneata, "where are my shell-fish?" The god of Kambara answered, "Go and look for them." The god of Oneata went to look for them but could not find them, so the mosquitoes remained in Oneata. Thus it comes about that there are plenty of fresh-water shells in Oneata, but there is no flesh in them, for the flesh is in Kambara, but there are no mosquitoes in Kambara.

The Fijian has indeed been, if anything, more thorough in eliminating the fantastic than the Greek. Few legends make a greater demand upon our credulity than the two examples given. We do not hear of one god being born from the thigh or the head of another god, or other impossibilities so gross that the Greeks were reduced to explaining them away as allegories: The reason is that the Fijians seem to have arrived at their humanized myth by a different way to that followed by the Greeks. The artistic and inquisitive spirit of the Greeks played a great part in actively remoulding their inherited legends. The Fijian, on the other hand, is simple-minded and matter-of-fact, cut off from the active mental life of the great Asiatic continent, and lacking any specialization and organized teaching. It was therefore quite impossible for him to maintain the difficult dogmas and the elaborate ritual based upon them; the myths ~~being~~ nothing more than records of those dogmas, and rites underwent the same simplification.

The transition from sun-worship to ancestor-worship, from sun-myth to hero-legend is so easy that we must be prepared to find it taking place independently in different parts of the world. Whenever the old religion of divine kingship extends to people who are incapable of grasping its fundamental tenets, ancestor-worship is almost inevitable. It is only therefore by studying the structure of the various forms taken by the cult of the dead in various parts of the world that we shall be able to answer the

question whether they all go back to one original ancestor worship, or whether the various groups are independent offshoots of the religion of divine kings.

The ancient ceremonies of creation and installation by putting into the consecrated person the essence, form, or double of the imperishable heavens, earth, or middle air, provided him with an immortal soul. As the consecration spread among all classes of society, so did the possession of a soul. It is usually supposed that the soul was common property from the very moment that it was discovered. How on that supposition can we explain the fact that, according to Mariner, the common people of Tonga had no souls? How is it that Fijians speak of children as having no soul and translate our expression, "I was too young then to remember," by, "I had then as yet no soul in regard to it"? These facts are sufficient to prove that man is not universally conceived to have been born with a soul, and we have to explain how a soul is acquired. I am confident that when field-workers turn their attention to this problem it will appear that it is through the initiation ceremony or some form of consecration that men first acquired a soul.

XIX

EPILOGUE

THESE studies, originally undertaken at random, merely in order to satisfy a spirit of curiosity as to the why and wherefore, have invariably led us back to the institution of divine kings and have gradually revealed it, not as an isolated proposition, or as an accidental conglomeration of ideas, but as an organism of many parts, mutually interdependent. Just as in organisms of flesh and blood the various members may persist almost unchanged, or develop out of proportion to other parts, or become atrophied and even disappear, or else become so altered by the need of adaptation to new circumstances as to be scarcely recognizable, so in this social structure which we call divine kingship the various parts persist, expand, shrink, or lose their old function, and with it their old form, in order to acquire a new one; yet through all those changes we can recognize the same structure. When the form has completely changed we can often only identify the part by its relation to other parts and by its own intimate structure; for the parts themselves can be dissected into smaller elements.

Let us take an instance. From one end of our area to another the monarchical system includes the coronation ceremony. In importance and development this varies greatly, to the point of disappearing altogether, for instance in certain states of Europe. It has dropped out

because it has ceased to play any useful function. The original function was to turn a man into a god; but when a prince succeeds his father on the throne automatically, and is a king by the mere fact of his father's demise, the coronation ceremony ceases to fulfil any practical purpose and succumbs as soon as it enters into conflict with anti-ritualistic or other antagonistic motives. The coronation ceremony in its turn can be analyzed into component rites such as the communion, the unction, the investiture, the oath. These again are discovered to have a structure, and it is only by a careful examination of the structure of the Sermon on the Mount and its relation to other members that we can identify it as the equivalent, the homologue as the naturalists would say, of the coronation oath.

Thus, as soon as we begin to dissect, we fall almost unconsciously into the methods of comparative history as they have long been practised by philologists. Linguists have for a century or so been accustomed to treat words as systems of sounds and meaning, to accept obvious resemblances of structure as evidence of a common origin, to deduce from these cases laws of change, to apply these laws to less obvious cases and so proceed from the known to the unknown. They have been driven to do so, not by any philosophical arguments, but by the constant pressure of the facts which they accumulated in the course of a minute analysis of the Indo-European tongues. Even so as we analyze monarchical institutions from Europe to the Pacific we shall gradually find ourselves tracing all the manifold variety to the same original: the institution of Divine Kings.

The phrase is high sounding: for the Divinity is sublime and kings are majestic. Yet it would be an error to ascribe to the founders of that institution, in its earliest forms, the feelings of later times, or seek in an appetite for the grandiose the origin either of gods or kings. We have seen reason to believe that gods were at first quite

impersonal, more useful than impressive. We have also seen reason to think that the original priest-king was not a person of great majesty; prosaic, at times grotesque, his humdrum function was to ensure a regular supply of food and a satisfactory birthrate by the best means inference could suggest, whether dignified or undignified. He was probably not much more august than the divine kings of the island of Futuna who, notwithstanding that upon them depends the prosperity of the people, are often threatened with deposition if they express opinions distasteful to their unruly subjects; or than the sacred Sau of Rotuma who during his annual reign was distinguished above the people chiefly by sitting on a stool and eating three meals at night as well as by day.¹

If the king raised himself by degrees to a station of pomp and grandeur it was doubtless due largely to the expansion of his functions and of his realm, and to that ambition which impells every man to magnify himself in the eyes of his fellows whenever the opportunity offers; and the priest-king did not lack opportunity: controller of weather, he had favours to bestow which placed him at a great advantage with his people; supporter of the eternal order of nature, he had to bear himself with a restraint such as always inspires respect, and had to be provided with authority to impose the same restraint on others; impersonator of deities, his fortunes rose as the gods rose from being impersonal doubles of natural objects to the greatest heights of ideal personality. It was through the kings and his lesser satellites that the gods acquired that personality, but by combining it with the vastness of their attributes and workings they became more than the men who lent them human form, became ideal figures that in turn reflected lustre on their earthly representatives.

The sun, whether from the beginning or in the course

¹ Probably because if the king enjoys plenty his people do also.

of later speculations, took the lead in this glorification of gods and kings. It has been thought that glory is such an obvious attribute of the sun that men fell down and worshipped it by natural impulse, yet to that great portion of mankind which lives in the torrid regions the sun is more of a nuisance than a blessing, a necessary evil perhaps, but one to whose evening decline both men and the higher animals look forward through the blazing day. It is only in the more northern climes that its appearance can be hailed with delight, but that delight among the masses is inarticulate and expresses itself in such banal phrases as, "A fine day," "Glorious weather"; it requires the exceptional sensibility of the poet to clothe those feelings in richer forms, the poet

" hidden
In the light of thought
Singing songs unbidden,
Till the world is wrought

To sympathy with hopes and fears it heeded not."

Of old he had to extract his honey from the insipid materials of a prosaic cosmology, just as at the present day the mathematical theory of sound-waves enables him to hear

" The holy organ rolling waves
Of sound on roof and floor ";

and the doctrine of natural selection moves him to a passionate outburst of doubt when he considers the ruthlessness of nature,

" So careful of the type she seems
So careless of the single life."

It is not the poet who made religion, but the plodding search after material benefits that gives both poetry and religion their opportunity. They seize upon the crude ore, refine it into pure gold, and reject the dross. We have seen the victory of sunshine over bad weather and

cold spiritualized into a triumph of good over evil; the rays of the sun sublimated into miraculous power, and thence into omnipotence; the regular succession of the seasons transfigured as the moral law; the draught which imparted vigour to resist decay and death is transmuted into an emanation of the divine which confers spiritual eternity; a rite to secure the proper interaction of sky and earth is refined into a sacrament which invests the mating of sexes with a dignity and a permanency which has contributed not a little to the progress of civilization.

To follow out in detail this process of sublimation lies beyond the scope of the present work, which aims merely at providing materials for such a study; first let us make sure what has happened, and then let us speculate why it happened. I will nevertheless indicate what I believe to have been two powerful agents of spiritualization.

Paradoxical as it may sound, unbelief is a condition of faith: it is only when we cease to believe in a thing literally, to accept it in its entirety with all its crudities as well as its excellences, that we can refashion it on an ideal model; we can please ourselves within limits when we are no longer bound to be over-exact. There is little scope for art when, as in Vedic India, the bricks of the altar must each be laid exactly in such a manner as will secure food, life, posterity to the builder. When men cease to trouble why one brick should be here and another there, they are free to express their sense of beauty and dignity which had been cramped before. When men cease to believe that each god has a number which determines the number of syllables of which the verses addressed to him must be composed, they can cast their emotions into that form which allows them to develop most freely. We do not expect poetry of a high order from a man who composes a hymn to the Trinity with one eye on the Nicene Creed, fearful lest a single word contain the least taint of heresy; nor shall we find great depth of religious feeling

in the Vedic theologian who is preoccupied whether the altar shall be simple or sevenfold in order to correspond with the sevenfold nature of the universal god.¹ Such a man may be a most ingenious thinker, and make important contributions to the thought of his time, but he can no more claim to be called religious by reason of his decision than a judge in giving judgment in a case of church property, or an engineer in determining the strains and stresses set up by the sinking pier of a cathedral. Zeal for accuracy is inconsistent with faith. The success of Christianity is largely due to the fact that it does not oppress the spirit with nice precision; the founder of Buddhism wisely refused to be bound by the hard and fast doctrines of metaphysics.²

Decadence is another sublimating force. This may at first seem a strange saying, so accustomed are we to look with contempt upon periods of decadence as ages of utter worthlessness. Yet we have only to reflect that both Christianity and Buddhism are the products of decadence in order to reconsider our opinion. Such periods are not wholly unproductive; they make their own peculiar contributions, and notable ones too, to the progress of civilization. How?

Historians are familiar with the phenomenon of rise and fall, though ignorant of its causes. Students of the history of art are, however, well acquainted with the mental symptoms that mark its course. At first it is placid; it does not fuss, it is not continually aspiring, but is readily pleased; it delights in the objects of the senses, ennobling them without seeking to transcend them; but by degrees it begins to strive to raise itself above the earth to the ethereal regions of the intellect, it soars higher and higher until, ceasing to find support in the rarer atmosphere, it sinks from its high altitudes exhausted and disappointed.

¹ *Sat. Br.* x. 2. 3. 17 ff.

² Answers to Malunkyaputta in *Majjhima Nikaya*, ii. 428 ff.

Or, setting aside the imagery of the poets for the prose of the psychologist, the intellect and the emotions become intensified, tend more and more to gain the upper hand over the lower activities, till they become completely emancipated, and finally break loose from the healthy control of the lower faculties ; then disorders ensue, and art degenerates into empty cleverness and neurotic sensibility. It is a kind of nervous breakdown. In short, the phenomenon is psychological, not physical, as is popularly supposed. It is not that the body is weaker, but that the soul is less healthy ; it sickens, and when the soul is sick it turns instinctively to that which will heal it. Just as the body when weakened by disease seeks rest, and the disordered stomach rejects strong meat, so the afflicted soul turns away from trouble to seek that which will soothe its pain. Just as a tooth-ache engrosses the sufferer's attention and prompts him to devise, or imagine, methods of relief, so the soul-ache is ever insistent and never allows itself to be forgotten long, but forces the brain to think out the means to allay it. Those means may in part be illusory, as when the victim of a tooth-ache comforts himself awhile with the mental image of the dentist pulling out the tooth ; but others are real. Among the latter we could mention confession : in the Vedic Age it was merely the removal of an untruth which imperilled the success of the sacrifice ; ¹ it became in time the unburdening of the soul ; it has become a recognized method of mental treatment and has thus been justified of Science.

Ages of decadence are therefore ages of spiritual discovery. But, as I have insisted in these pages, no man is absolutely original : he must always build on the work of his predecessors ; even so decadent peoples have not produced entirely new religions, but have merely given a new turn to old ones ; they have extracted from them

¹ *Sat. Br.* ii. 5. 2. 20.

what was of spiritual value and rejected what was merely practical, using that word in its common, limited meaning. Thus the sacrificial Lamb is no longer the young of an ewe slaughtered at the Paschal Feast as the embodiment of some god in order to promote the life of the crops, but a symbol expressing, by what psychologists call condensation, a sum of innocence, purity, gentleness, self-sacrifice, redemption and divinity which no form of words could express with such forceful appeal.

Doubtless many will be scandalized at any attempt to derive the cure of souls from the cravings of the stomach. Even so the orthodox of the past generation raised an outcry when Darwin and Wallace sought to derive man from the brute ; they branded as impious the thought that man might be related to the monkey. Their sons have not only got used to the idea, but have even derived from it a more exalted idea of the Deity which throughout countless aeons leads creation from the humblest beginnings to the noblest goal. Even so the rising generation may find cause not for anger, but for wonder, in the rapidity with which Man, so late emerged from the brute, has proceeded from the conquest of matter to that of the spirit.

INDEX

Arabic numerals refer to pages ; Roman numerals to chapters.

- Abhiseka*, 79, 81, *see* Consecration, King's.
 Abundantia, 36.
 Abyssinia, 91.
 Acclamations, 73, 76, 82, 86, 88, 90 f., 96.
 Admonition, 135, 137, 144, 150, 151, *see* Oath.
 Adultery, 56.
 Africa, 149 ff., 205, *see* Abyssinia, Kipsiki, Rhodesia, Ruanda.
 Agni, *see* Fire.
 Altar, 176, 191.
 Ambrosia, VI, *see* Soma.
 Amon, 31, 145.
Amyta, 61 f., *see* Ambrosia.
 Animals, 85, 143, 145 f., 148, 149, 150, 152, 158.
 Annona, 36.
 Anthropomorphism, 160, XVIII.
 Antics, 74, 148.
 Apollo, 173.
 Arabs, 132.
Archon basileus, 9.
 Armenia, 111.
 Art, 240 f.
 Article, 3 f.
 Asceticism, 78, 107, 122, 141, 149, 215, 217, *see* Fasting, Ordeals.
 Atalanta, 109.
Atman, 199, 217, 223 f., 227.
 Australia, 147 ff.
 Avalokitesvara, 163.
 Babylonia, 7, 8, 25, 35, 54, 106, 128, 145, 173, 192, 193, 202.
 Bactria, 48.
 Banks Islands, 144.
 Baptism, 79, 93, 127, 141, 142 *see* Lustration.
 Barrows, 37, XIV, XV, 125, 201, *see* Tope.
 Betwixt-and-betweens, 213.
 Bhutan, 53.
 Bible, 8, 30, *see* Hebrews.
 Bishop, 127.
 Brahma, 11.
 Brahman, 100, 114, 120, 124, 126, 132, 190, 195, 205.
Brâhmaṇa, 11, 24, 104, 169, 176 ff., 195, 211 ff., 214, 218.
 Bride's choice, 107, 108, 162.
 Brhaspati, 114 f., 120.
 Brunhild, 109.
 Buddha, 22, 102, 109, 121 ff., 132, 169.
 Buddhism, 11, 22 ff., 120, 169, 218, 241.
 Buffoonery, 148, 158, *see* Antics.
 Bull-roarers, 148, 150.
 Burgundians, 37, 49.
 Burial, XIV, XV, *see* Cremation.
 Byzantine Empire, 30, 89, 97, 103.
Cakravartin, *see* Emperor.
 Cambodia, 22, 81, 116, 179, 202.
 Caverns, 142, 180.
 Ceram, 137.
 Ceres, 36.
 Ceylon, 11, 19, 21, 27, 35, 47, 50, 54, 78, 101, 108, 132, 146, 163, 170 ff., 179, 186.
 Challenge, 94, *see* Victory.
 Charlemagne, 129.
 Charles I. of England, 109.

Charles V. of France, 92, 97, 104.
 Charles X. of France, 40.
 Chess, 152.
 China, 175.
 Christ, 16, 110, 126, 160 f.
 Christianity, 67 ff., 89, 126 f., 159, 241.
 Church, 110, 129.
 Circe, 101, 103.
 Circumambulation, 22, 80, 82, 85, 112, 139, 152, *see* Deasil, Royal Progress.
 Circumcision, 136.
 Cobra-kings, 146, 171.
 Commandments, 86, 126, 138, 146, 148, 160, *see* Law.
 Communion, 111, 127, 128, 142, 148, 160, 224, 243.
 Comparative Philology, 3, 44, 70, 98, 102, 153 f.
 Condensation, 243.
 Confession, 242.
 Consecration, King's, 24, 30, 31, 42, 53, 59, VII, 101, 102, 109, IX, 119, 120, 134 f., 152 ff., 163, 164, 178, 186, 188, 201, 237, *see* Coronation.
 Convergence, 2 ff., 158.
 Coronation, 37, 39, *see* Consecration, King's.
 Creation, XVI, 212.
 Cremation, 125, 169, 172 f.
 Crown, 76, 80, 82, 84, 86, 88, 91, 92, 97, 110, 112, 124, 128, 140, 142, 144, 149, 151.
 Dalai Lama, 25.
 Darkness, 26, 28.
 Dead, Spirits of the, 144, 149, 231 f.
 Deasil, 24, 26, 171, *see* Circumambulation.
 Death, 74, 83.
 Decadence, 17, 241.
 Demeter, 140.
 Demons, 24 f., 30, 79, 94 f., 123, 177, 210 ff., 216 f.
 Devil, 126, 160, *see* Demons, Māra, Namuci.
 Dharma, 48, *see* Law.
 Dice, 25, 79.
 Diffusion, 2, 14, 15.
 Dikē, 47 f., 54 f., *see* Law.

Dismemberment, 37, 140, 151, 192 ff., 196.
 Divergence, 5.
 Divine Right, 16, 50 f.
 Double, 156, 200, 218, 223, 229, 238.
 Dragon, 26.
 Dual Kingship, 27.
 Earth, 105 ff., 110, 124 f., 141, 176, 193, 202.
 Eddystone Island, 196.
 Edward the Confessor, 38, 49.
 Egypt, 7, 9, 19, 30, 43, 49, 83, 116, 125, 128, 156, 192, 196, 203, 212, 227.
 Elements, Sacramental, 60, 62, 64, 160.
 Eleusis, 139, 192.
 Emperor, 11, 22 ff., 36, 78, 97, 120, 121, 125, 169, 178, *see* Emperor, Sovereignty.
 Empire, 126, *see* Holy Roman Empire.
 England, 26, 38, 49, 97, 104, 109, 187.
 Evil, *see* Demons, Māra, Namuci.
 Evolution, 2, 118.
 Eye, 165, 199.
 Fasting, 78, 93, 111, 126, 127, 135, 139, 144, 148, 159, *see* Asceticism.
 Fiji, 5, 33, 49 f., 51, 59, 72 ff., 99, 104, 113, 116, 120, 131, 135, 144, 165, 168, 183, 188 f., 204, 208, 232, 233 ff.
 Fire, 10, 11, 18, 28, 53 ff., 112 ff., 120, 193, 195, 201, 230.
 Flying through the Air, 19, XIII.
 Fortuna, 36.
 France, 38 f., 40, 49, 92, 97, 104.
 Futuna, 12, 32.
 Gaia, 107.
 General, 113, 125.
 George II., 97.
 Germans, 37, 63, 187, 188, 194, 202, 227.
 Gilbert Islands, 41, 194.
 Glory, 27.
 Gnosticism, 5.
 Gods, 18, 122, 133, 145, 149, 162, 171 f., 176, 191, 200, XVIII.
 Dismemberment, 37, 140, 151, 192 ff., 196.
 Divergence, 5.
 Divine Right, 16, 50 f.
 Double, 156, 200, 218, 223, 229, 238.
 Dragon, 26.
 Dual Kingship, 27.
 Earth, 105 ff., 110, 124 f., 141, 176, 193, 202.
 Eddystone Island, 196.
 Edward the Confessor, 38, 49.
 Egypt, 7, 9, 19, 30, 43, 49, 83, 116, 125, 128, 156, 192, 196, 203, 212, 227.
 Elements, Sacramental, 60, 62, 64, 160.
 Eleusis, 139, 192.
 Emperor, 11, 22 ff., 36, 78, 97, 120, 121, 125, 169, 178, *see* Emperor, Sovereignty.
 Empire, 126, *see* Holy Roman Empire.
 England, 26, 38, 49, 97, 104, 109, 187.
 Evil, *see* Demons, Māra, Namuci.
 Evolution, 2, 118.
 Eye, 165, 199.
 Fasting, 78, 93, 111, 126, 127, 135, 139, 144, 148, 159, *see* Asceticism.
 Fiji, 5, 33, 49 f., 51, 59, 72 ff., 99, 104, 113, 116, 120, 131, 135, 144, 165, 168, 183, 188 f., 204, 208, 232, 233 ff.
 Fire, 10, 11, 18, 28, 53 ff., 112 ff., 120, 193, 195, 201, 230.
 Flying through the Air, 19, XIII.
 Fortuna, 36.
 France, 38 f., 40, 49, 92, 97, 104.
 Futuna, 12, 32.
 Gaia, 107.
 General, 113, 125.
 George II., 97.
 Germans, 37, 63, 187, 188, 194, 202, 227.
 Gilbert Islands, 41, 194.
 Glory, 27.
 Gnosticism, 5.
 Gods, 18, 122, 133, 145, 149, 162, 171 f., 176, 191, 200, XVIII.

Gontran of France, 38, 49.
 Gordian knot, 91.
 Goths, 9.
 Great Man, *see* Man.
 Greece, 8, 54 f., 62, 100, 132, 140, 165, 173, 177, 187, 192, 227, *see* Homer.
 Ghyasutra, 107.
 Gujerat, 100, 107 f.
 Hair, 138.
 Halo, 27.
 Haoma, 142, *see* Ambrosia, Soma.
 Hats, 144, *see* Crown.
 Hawaii, *see* Sandwich Islands.
 Heaven, 60, *see* Sky.
 Hebrews, 8, 30, 35, 48, 86, 202, 203, 205.
 Helyas, *see* Lohengrin.
 Henry II. of England, 38.
 Heraclitus, 54 f.
 Heretics, 30, 31, 94, 97, 169.
 Hermes, 62.
 Hittites, 8.
 Holy Roman Empire, 97.
 Homer, 8, 36, 47, 102, 109.
 Horse, 199.
 House of the Morning, 83.
 Horus, 46, 116, 145.
 Human Sacrifice, 73, 80, 84, 88, 142, 160, *see* Dismemberment.
 Hvareñ, 27.
 Hymns, 58, 60, 134, 160 f., 198, 217, 219, 220 ff., 224.
 Hysteria, 165 f.
 Iddhi, 34, 163, *see* Miracles.
 Ikṣvaku, 11.
 Illumination, 122 ff.
 Imandwa, 150.
 Immortality, VI, 212, 224, 235, 240.
 Imperator, 89.
 Imperium, 87 f., *see* Sovereignty.
 Inauguration, 184 ff.
 Incarnation, 60, 63, 64 f., 87, 131, 135, *see* Inspiration, Possession.
 India, 10, 18, 20, 21 ff., 30, 42, 48, 50, 54, 59, 99 f., 101 f., 107, 111, 132, 146, 169, 192 ff., 205, 229, *see* Ceylon.
 Indo-Europeans, 3, 15, 142.

Indra, 10, 11, 18, 26, 114, 116, 120 ff., 163, 193, 210, 211 ff., 215, 219, 223, 230.
 Initiation, 78, XII, 235.
 Inspiration, 86, 92 f., 127, *see* Possession.
 Intoxicants, VI, 142, 150, 151, *see* Kava, Soma.
 Isis, 83.
 Jains, 4.
 Jaya, 21, 27, *see* Victory.
 Jersey, 174.
 Jewels, 114.
 Jupiter, 87 f.
 Justice, V, 95, 97, *see* Law.
 Ka, 156.
 Kakihan, 137.
 Kava, 12, 58, 134, 136, 186.
 Khotan, 48.
 King's Evil, 26, IV.
 Kipsiki, 149.
 Kṛṣṇa, 205.
 Kṣatriya, 51, 53, 109, 120, 126.
 Kuringal, 149.
 Kurnai, 147.
 Kuru, 34, 85.
 Lakṣmī, 43.
 Law, 10, 34, V, 121, 123, 125, 126, 138, 240, *see* Commandments.
 Leper's Island, 131.
 Levitation, *see* Flying through the Air.
 Lion, 125, 146.
 Lohengrin, 103, 109.
 Lotus, 84.
 Luck, IV.
 Lustration, 42, 79, 82, 84, 107, 108, 124, 127, 138, 151, 160, *see* Baptism.
 Maat, 54.
 Mahāsudassana, 22, 78, 82, 178.
 Malays, 11, 33, 99, 106.
 Man, 121, 146, 191 ff., 202, *see* Dismemberment, Human Sacrifice.
 Mana, *see* Miracles.
 Manu, 10, 19, 105, 120, 139, 190.
 Maori, 12.
 Māra, 123, 124, 125.

Marae, 12.
Marduk, 25.
Marriage, 97, VIII, 139, 161, 240.
Maruts, 114.
Masks, 85, 136, 142 f., 145, 150, 158.
Mass, 85, 159 ff., 195, 243.
Matter, 106, 111, 200.
Maui, 200.
Mbaki, 135.
Meaning, 29, 96, 155.
Meistersinger, 109.
Melanesia, 4, 33, *see* Fiji, Solomons, Leper's Is., Ceram, Banks Is., New Hebrides, New Britain.
Meru, 179.
Microcosm, 193 ff., 198 ff., 223.
Micronesia, *see* Gilbert Islands.
Middle Ages, 16 f., 31.
Midgard, 188, 194.
Mind, 45, 55.
Minne drinking, 63.
Miracles, IV, 163, 240.
Mithra, 27, 141 ff., 180.
Mitra, 18.
Moluccas, 137.
Moon, 10, 19 f., 126, 193.
Mounds, *see* Barrows.
Mountains, 194.
Mysteries, 139 ff., 159.
Myths, 44, XV, 201, 210 ff., 222 ff.

Naga, 146, 171, *see* Cobra-kings.
Nala, 162.
Name, 77, 80, 85, 89.
Namuci, 210 ff.
Navarre, 96.
Nectar, 62.
New Hebrides, 232, *see* Banks Is.
New Britain, 144.
Nirukta, 222.
Nine, *see* Savage Is.
Nobility, 50 f., *see* *Kṣatriya*.
Norway, 37.

Oath, Coronation, 72, 78, 81, 86, 90, 95, 111, 127, 128, 142, 237.
Obscenity, 88.
Ocean, 176, 188, 191.
Odysseus, 102, 108.
Oedipus, 102, 109.
Officials, 16, IX, 125, *see* Vassals.
Omphalos, 173, 179.

Ordeals, 139, 144, 149, 151, 155.
Ordination, X, 152, 158 f.
Orientalism, 16, 27 f., 37, 89.
Osiris, 85, 156.
Ouranos, 107.

Papa, 107.
Parasol, 82.
Parvati, 100, 107.
Peace, 56, 66, 95, 96, 151.
Peers, 116 f.
Penelope, 102, 109.
Persephone, 140.
Persia, 180, *see* Mithra, Zoroaster.
Phaeton, 44.
Philip I. of France, 38, 49.
Philosophers, 54 f., 56, 63, 158, 230 f.
Plato, 54 f.
Plural, XI.
Plural Incarnation, 18, 20, 115.
Poets, 56, 100 f., 239.
Polynesia, 12, 15, 32, 59, 114, 201, *see* Tahiti, Tonga, Samoa, Sandwich Islands, Wallis Is., Futuna, Tokelau, Maori, Rotuma.
Possession, demoniac, 59, 117, 131, 165.
Prajāpati, 24 f., 105, 115, 177, 192, 216, 218.
Pravargya, 105, 124.
Priest, 59, 114, X, 132, 138, 145, *see* Ordination.
Primitive, 143, 147, 149, 153, 198.
Prosperity, 27, IV, V, 62.
Psychology, 195, 198, 208, 242 f.
Puritans, 35.
Puruṣa, *see* Man.
Puṣan, 114 f.

Quakers, 130.
Quarters of the World, 10, 23, 37, 79, 80, 86, 138, 162, 171, 177, 193.
Queen, VIII, 113, 116, 124, 127, 201.

Ra, 54, 84.
Radiation, 19, 41.
Rāma, 215.
Rāni, 107.
Rationalization, 29, 155.
Rebirth, 75, 77, 79, 83, 93, 102, 137, 138, 139, 141, 147, 161.

Regalia, 11, 77, 80, 82, 84, 88, 91, 97, 124, 127, 128.
Rex Nemorensis, 9.
Rex Sacrorum, 9.
Rhodesia, 205.
Ring, 97, 110, 112, 128.
Robes, 74, 76, 79, 81, 82, 84, 87 f., 91, 92, 95, 108, 112, 123, 127, 128, 136, 140, 150, 151.
Rome, 9, 15, 27, 30, 36, 86, 100, 132, 159, 227.
Rotuma, 99, 185, 238.
Royal Progress, 37, 77, 80, *see* Circumambulation.
Rta, 53.
Ruanda, 150 ff.
Rudra, 114 f.
Russia, 90, 100.

Sacrifice, 11, 24 f., 60, 115, 177, 190 ff., 195, 199 f., 212, 217 ff., 224 ff., 242.
Sāhu, 227.
Saints, 48, 49, 52, 163.
Saint Paul, 110, 127.
Sakya, 121.
Samoa, 12, 185, 195.
Sandwich Islands, 12, 144, 164.
Sarasvati, 114, 207, 211 f.
Sau, 12, 53.
Savage Island, 33.
Savitṛ, 11, 18, 114.
Secrecy, 135, 137, 140, 141, 148, 150, 151.
Sed festival, 83 ff.
Semites, 199, *see* Arabs, Hebrews.
Set, 116.
Sexual intercourse, 136, 147, 149, 150, *see* Marriage.
Shakespeare, 38.
Shepherd's Crook, 84.
Shoes, 80, 81, 84, 88, 91, 97, 124, 138, 163.
Siva, 100, 107.
Sky, 106 f., 110, 141, 148, 176, 193, 194, 202, 212, 219.
Snakes, 146, *see* Cobra-kings.
Sol Invictus, 27, 142.
Solar race, 11, 19, 107.
Solomon Islands, 132, 188 n., 196.
Soma, 10, 25, 59 ff., 78, 81, 123, 142, 207, 210 ff., 230.
Son of Man, *see* Man.

Sona, 163.
Soul, 231 f., 235.
Sovereignty, 11, 60, 76 f., 87 f., 91, 95 f., 104, 106.
Spain, 96.
Speech, 45, 207, 212, *see* Sarasvati.
Sphinx, 109.
Spirit, 105 f., 111.
Śrī, 35, 36, 43.
Steps, *see* Three Steps.
Structure, 3ff., 14, 236 f.
Sublimation, 122 ff., 126 f., 239 f.
Succession, 50.
Sumer, *see* Babylonia.
Sun, 8, 10, 13, 42, 110, 114, 126, 142, 144, 149, 150, 155, 161, 191, 193, XVII.
Survival, 155, 168, 233.
Śvayamvara, *see* Bride's Choice.
Swan-knight, *see* Lohengrin.
Sweden, 49.
Sword, 80, 81, 92, 97, 100, 124, 142, 151.
Syllogism, 105, 114, 115.
Symbols, 158.

Tahiti, 12, 42, 138, 165, 226.
Tamate, 144.
Tamils, 132.
Taṇaloa, 144 ff., 179.
Tee, 170 ff., 179.
Tejas, 42.
Temples, 168 f.
Tempter, 126, *see* Māra.
Theogony, 15, 18.
Three Steps, 80, 108, 178, 214 ff.
Three Worlds, 80.
Throne, 80, 82, 84, 86, 88, 91, 97, 124, 128, 139, 151, 163.
Thunder, 211 ff.
Tiamat, 193.
Tibet, 25, 106, 163.
Tokelau, 12.
Tonga, 12, 84.
Tope, 125, 169, 186 f., *see* Barrows.
Torres Straits, 146.
Toth, 116.
Transubstantiation, 200.
Trees, 184, 186 f., 195, 201.
Triumph, 78, 86 ff.
Tumulus, *see* Barrows.

- Unction, 39 f., 79, 84, 86, 91, 92,
 93, 96, 102, 108, 128, 129, 137,
 150, 160.
 Universe, 80, 89, 199, 202, *see*
 Prajāpati.
 Varuṇa, 10, 11, 18, 53, 56, 114 f.
 Vassals, 109, 150 ff., 155 f., 201,
see Officials.
 Veda, 10, 18, 53, 60, 66 f., 95, 173,
 191 ff., 195, 198, 208, 210 ff.,
 219, 240.
 Victoria, Queen, -40.
 Victory, III, 78, 81, 85, 90, 91, 94,
 97, 106, 107, 111, 122, 126, 138,
 142, 151, 152, 160, 210, 217.
 Vijaya, 101, 103.
 Viṣṇu, 42, 80, 108, 214 ff.
 Vṛtra, 219.
 Vulgarization, 156 f.
 Wagner, 109.
 Walhalla, 188.
 Wallis Is. (Uvea), 101.
 War, 30 f.
 Water-sprites, 59.
 Weather, IV, V.
 Wheel, 22, 53, 123, 125, 163.
 Wheel-king, *see* Emperor.
 Wine, 142.
 Winking, XIII.
 Winter, 26.
 Womb, 79, 80, 150.
 Word, *see* Speech.
 Worlds, 80, 176 ff., 188, 215.
 Yama, 10, 18.
 Ymir, 194, 202.
 Zagreus, 139 f.
 Zoroaster, 180.

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