

Introduction
By Mircea Eliade.

The instigation for this anthology of religious texts came during my first years of teaching History of Religions at the University of Chicago. In discussing a specific problem, I expected my students to read at least some of the basic original sources; but I soon discovered that I was unable to recommend to them any single work where one might find a number of essential texts regarding, for example, high gods cosmogonic myths, conceptions of death and the afterlife, etc. Although we have many source books, some of them excellent, for the most important religions, there are no comprehensive anthologies in English presenting religious documents according to themes and topics. It seems to me that only by reading a certain number of religious texts related to the same subject (cosmogony, initiation, myths on the origin of death, etc.) is a student able to grasp their structural similarities and their differences.

I have tried to include documents from almost all the important religious traditions, from primitive religion to the Ancient Near East to Islam, late Buddhism, and Zen. I have not included Hittite and Ugaritic texts, however, because their fragmentary condition would have demanded too extensive a commentary; furthermore, there are many readily available and competent translations of such texts. A more serious omission is that of Judaism and Christianity. But one cannot present these religions without quoting extensively from the Old and New Testaments, and it seemed unwise to increase the bulk of this source book considerably by reproducing such well known texts. However, a companion volume presenting the Judaic and Christian documents on a somewhat similar thematic basis would be timely. For the moment, the omission of Judaism and Christianity may give the reader a rather inexact idea of the novelty and uniqueness of Muhammad's prophetic experience and of Islamic mystical and theological speculations of the One God. But of course I am assuming that the majority of readers will know something of the other two older monotheistic traditions.

I have to thank my friend and colleague Professor Joseph Kitagawa for helping me in the selection of Japanese materials, Mrs. Rehova Arthur for carefully typing a great portion of the manuscript, Mr. Allan Miller for reading a number of Islamic texts, and Mr. David Knipe for editing and providing notes (not otherwise credited) to the Indian materials. I am grateful to Miss Nancy Auer for typing and editing most of the Mesopotamian documents, for helping me at various stages of the work, and also for reading, and correcting the proofs. Finally, I am thankful to my wife not only for type a certain number of texts, but especially for encouraging me to continue and complete this work, which has kept me intermittently busy for the past five years.. Of course, had I known that so much work would be involved, I would not have dared to embark on such a project. My one consolation for the time and energy consumed is that such a source book will help the student and the interested reader to confront and understand the religious life of ancient and non-Western man.

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University of Chicago

1966

| Main |

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":
AUSTRALIAN SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

Beliefs of tribes of Southeast Australia.

The Following are the beliefs of the Kulin as they appear in their legends, and from the statements of surviving Wurunjerrri to me. Bunjil, as represented by them, seems to be an old man, the being Ngurugaeta or Headman or the tribe, with his two wives, who were Ganawarra (Black Swan), and his son Binleal, the rainbow, whose wife was the second rainbow which is sometimes visible. Bunjil taught the

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Another Legend relates that he [Bunjil] finally went up to the sky-land with all his people (the legend says his 'sons') in a whirlwind, which Bellin-bellin (the Musk-crow) let out of his skin bag at his order. There, as the old men instructed the boys, he still remains, looking down on the Kulin. A significant instance of this belief is that Berak, when a boy, 'before his whiskers grew,' was taken by his Kangun (Mother's brother) out of the camp at night, who, pointing to the star Altair with his spear-thrower said: 'See! That one is Bunjil; you see him and he sees you.' This was before Batman settled on the banks of the Yarra river, and is conclusive as to the primitive character of this belief. . . .

Usually Bunjil was spoken of as Mami-Ngata, that is 'Our Father,' instead of by the other name Bunjil.

It is a striking phrase in the legends about him that the human element preponderates over the animal element. In fact, I cannot see any trace of the latter in him, for he is in all cases the old black-fellow, and not the eagle-hawk, which his name denotes; while another actor may be the kangaroo, the spiny ant-eater, or the crane, and as much animal as human. . . .

Among the Kurnai, under the influence of the initiation ceremonies, the knowledge of the being who is the equivalent of Bunjil is almost entirely restricted to the initiated men. The old women know that there is a supernatural being in the sky, but only as Mungan-Ngaua, 'our father.' It is only at the last and the most secret part of the ceremonies that the novices are made aware of the teachings as to Mungan-Ngaua, and this is the only name for this being used by the Kurnai. . . .

The conception of Baiame may be seen from Ridley's statements, and so far as I now quote them, may be accepted as sufficiently accurate. I have omitted the colouring which appears to be derived from his mental bias as a missionary to Blacks. He says that Baiame is the name in Kamilaroi of the maker (from Biai, 'to make or build') who created and preserves all things. Generally invisible, he has, they believe, appeared in human form, and has bestowed on their race various gifts.

The following is a statement of one of the early settlers in the Kamilaroi country, and, I think, gives the Aboriginal ideas of the Baiame free from any tinge derived from our beliefs. If you ask a Kamilaroi man 'Who made that?' referring to something, he replies, 'Baiame deah,' that is 'Baiame I suppose.' It is said that Baiame came from the westward long ago to Golarinbri on the Barwon, and stayed there four or five days, when he went away to the eastward with his two wives. They believe that in some time, he will return again. . . .

The belief in Daramulum, the 'father,' and Biamban, or 'master,' is common to all the tribes who attend the

Yuin Kuringal. Long ago Daramulum lived on the earth with his mother Ngalalbal. Originally the earth was bare 'like the sky, as hard as a stone,' and the land extended far out where the sea is now. There were no men or women, but only animals, birds, and reptiles. He placed trees on the earth. After Kaboka, the thrush, had caused a great flood on the earth, which covered all the coast country, there were no people left, excepting some who crawled out of the water on to Mount Dromedary. Then Daramulun went up to the sky, where he lives and watches the actions of men. It was he who first made the Kurningal and the bull-roarer, the sound which represents his voice. He told the Yuin what to do, and he gave them the laws which the old people have handed down from father to son to this time. He gives the Gommeras their power to use the Joias, and other magic. When a man dies and his Tulugal (spirit) goes away, it is Daramulun who meets it and takes care of it. It is a man's shadow which goes up to Daramulun.

It seems quite clear that Nurrundere, Nurelli, Bunjil, Mungan-ngaua, Daramulun, and Baiame all represent the same being under different names. To this may be reasonably added Koin of the Lake Macquarie tribes, Maamba, Birral, and Kohin of those on the Herbert River, thus extending the range of this belief certainly over the whole of Victoria and of New South Wales, up to the eastern boundaries of the tribes of the Darling River. If the Queensland coast tribes are included, then the western bounds might be indicated by a line drawn from the mouth of the Murray River to Cardwell, including the Great Dividing Range, with some of the fall inland in New South Wales. This would define the part of Australia in which a belief exists in an anthropomorphic supernatural being, who lives in the sky, and who is supposed to have some kind of influence on the morals of the natives. No such belief seems to obtain in the remainder of Australia, although there are indications of a belief in anthropomorphic beings inhabiting the sky-land. . . .

This supernatural being, by whatever name he is known, is represented as having at one time dwelt on the earth, but afterwards to ascended to a land beyond the sky, where he still remains, observing mankind. As Daramulun, he is said to be able to 'go anywhere and do anything.' He can be invisible; but when he makes himself visible, it is in the form of an old man of the Australian race. He is evidently everlasting, for he existed from the beginning of all things, and he still lives. But in being so, he is merely in that state in which, the aborigines believe, every one would be if not prematurely killed by evil magic.

A.W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904) pp.491-500

AFRICAN HIGH GODS

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": African High Gods

Like many celestial Supreme beings of 'primitive' peoples, the High Gods of a great number of African ethnic groups are regarded as creators, all-powerful, benevolent, and so forth; but they play a rather insignificant part in the religious life. Being either too distant or too good to need a real cult, they are invoked only in cases of great crises (Cf. M.Eliade, 'Patterns in Comparative Religion')

Nzambi, The High God of the Bakongo

The Bakongo tribe is native to the lower Congo River area.

Nzambi Mpungu is a being, invisible, but very powerful, who made all men and things, even fetishes which he has given to men for their own good. 'If he had not given us our fetishes, we should all be dead long ago.' He intervenes in the creation of every child, he punishes those who violated his prohibitions. They render him no worship, for he has need of none and is inaccessible. On earth man lives with his incessant needs to satisfy; the aged have their privileged position. Above all is Nzambi, the sovereign Master, unapproachable, who has placed man here below to take him away some day, at the hour of death. He watches man, searches him out everywhere and takes him away, inexorably, young or old... Among the laws there are nkondo mi Nzambi, "God's prohibitions," the violation of which constitutes a sumu ku Nzambi [a sin against Nzambi], and an ordinary sanction of this is lufwa lumbi 'a bad death'

Van Wing, *Etudes Bakongo* (Brussels 1921; pp.170 ff.) as translated by Edwin W. Smith in Smith (ed.), *African Ideas of God: A Symposium* (2nd ed; London, 1950), p.159
More on African Mythologies:

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": The Supreme Being of the Isoko (of Southern Nigeria)

Isoko Religion begins with Cghene the Supreme Being, who is believed to have created the world and all peoples, including the Isoko. He lives in the sky which is a part of him, sends rain and sunshine, and shows his anger through thunder. Cghene is entirely beyond human comprehension, has never been seen, is sexless, and is only known by his actions, which have led men to speak of Cghene as 'him', because he is thought of as the creator and therefore the father of all the Isokos. He is spoken of as Our Father never as My Father. Cghene always punishes evil and rewards good, a belief that leads the Isokos to blame witchcraft for any evil which may happen to a good man. As however Cghene is so distant and unknowable, he has no temples or priests, and no prayers or sacrifices are offered to him direct. To bridge the gulf between himself and man, Cghene appointed an intermediary called oyise, which is referred to as uko Cghene or 'messenger of Cghene.' This oyise is a pole about eight feet long made from the oyise tree, erected after a seven-fold offering to Cghene, in the compound of the oldest member of the family, and only in his. Before this pole the family elder throws his used chewing stick each morning and offers prayer for the family and town. Through oyise, Cghene can be invoked in case of calamity or need.

James W. Telch, 'The Isoko Tribe,' *Africa VII* (1934), pp 160-73; quotation from p. 163

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": Ngai, The High God of the Kikuyu

The Kikuyu are a Bantu-speaking tribe of East Africa

First we have Gothaithaya Ngai, which means 'to beseech Ngai,' or 'to worship Ngai.' Ngai is a name of the High God. The difference between deity worship and ancestor worship is demonstrated by the fact that Gothaithaya is never used in connection with the ancestral spirits.

The conception of a Deity. The Kikuyu believes in one God, Ngai, the creator and giver of all things. He has no Father, Mother or companion of any kind. He loves or hates people according to their behaviour. The creator lives in the sky, but has temporary homes on earth, situated on mountains, where he may rest during his visits. The visits are made with a view to his carrying out a kind of 'general inspection,' Koroora thi, and to bring blessings and punishments to the people. Ngai cannot be seen by mortal eyes. He is a distant being and takes but little interest in individuals in their daily walks of life. Yet at the crises of their lives he is called upon. At the birth, initiation, marriage and death of every Kikuyu, communication is established on his behalf with Ngai. The ceremonies for these four events leave no doubt as to the importance of the spiritual assistance which is essential to them. . . .In the ordinary way of everyday life, there are no prayers or religious ceremonies, such as 'morning and evening prayers.' So long as people and things go well and prosper, it is taken for granted that God is pleased with the general behaviour or the people and the welfare of the country. In this happy state there is no need for prayers. Indeed, they are inadvisable, for Ngai must not needlessly be bothered. It is only when humans are in real need that they must approach him without fear of disturbing him and incurring his wrath. But when people meet to discuss public affairs or decide a case, or at public dances, they offer prayers for protection and guidance. When a man is stricken by lightning it is said: 'He has been smashed to smithereens for seeing Ngai in the act of cracking his joints in readiness to go to smash and chase away his enemies.'
It is said that lightning is a visible representation of some of God's weapons which he uses on ahead to warn people of his coming and to prepare and clear the way. His approach is foretold only by the sounds of his own preparations. Thunder is the cracking of his joints, as a warrior limbering up for action.

Jomo Kenyatta, 'Kikuyu Religion, Ancestor-worship, and Sacrificial Practices.' *Africa, X* (1937) pp. 308-28

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": LEZA, THE HIGH GOD OF THE BA-ILA

The Ba-ila are a tribe of Northern Rhodesia.

Long ago the Ba-ila did not know Leza as regards his affairs-no, all that they knew about him, was that he created us, and also his unweariedness in doing things. As at present when the rainy season is annoying and he does not fall, when then they ask of Leza different things: they say now: 'Leza annoys by not falling': then later when he falls heavily they say: 'Leza falls too much.' If there is cold they say 'Leza makes it too cold,' and if it is not they say 'Leza is much too hot, let it be overclouded.' All the same, Leza as he is the Compassionate, that is to say, as he is Merciful, he does not get angry, he doesn't give up falling, he doesn't give up doing them all good- no, whether they curse, whether they mock him, whether they grumble at him, he does good at all times, that is how they trust him always. But as for seeing his affairs, no, the Ba-ila do not know, all they say is: 'Leza is the good-natured one; he is one from whom you beg different things. We Ba-ila have no more that we know.'

Edwin W. Smith and A.M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking People of Northern Rhodesia*, II (London, 1920) p.199

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": The Supreme Being of the Herero

The Herero are a Bantu Tribe of South-West Africa.

'The Hereros know a supreme being whom they call by two names: Ndjambi Karunga. The Karunga has an Ovambo derivation and is only known intimately to those Hereros, who have been in contact with the Ovambo in former times. . . . Ndjambi is the Heavenly God. He lives in Heaven, yet is omnipresent. His most striking characteristic is kindness. Human life is due to and dependant on him and all blessings ultimately come from him. He who dies a natural death is carried away by Ndjambi. As his essence is kindness people cherish no fear but a veneration for him. As his blessings are the gifts of his kindness without any moral claims, the belief in Ndjambi has no moral strength, nor has the worship of Ndjambi become a cult. At best his name is invoked only in Thanksgiving after some unexpected luck or they pray to him when all other means of help fail. For the rest, the utterance of his name is not allowed. In reply to a question I put to a Tjimba woman in the Kaokoveld as to the abode of Ndjambi Karunga, she said: 'He stays in the clouds because, when the clouds rise, his voice is clearly heard,' and further research has brought to light that the Tjimba look upon Ndjambi as the giver of rain.' (H. Vedder, *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, Capetown, 1928, p.164)

Dr. Vedder's statement that the sacred name should not be uttered is significant. It explains partly, if not wholly, why the missionaries who had lived in close contact with the Herero since 1844 heard his name for the first time only in 1871.

Dr H. Vedder, as quoted and commented on by Edwin W. Smith (ed.), *African Ideas of God; A Symposium* (2nd ed: London, 1950 pp.132-33)

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": RALUVHIMBA, THE HIGH GOD OF THE VENDA

The Venda are a Bantu tribe of northern Transvaal.

The name is composed of the prefix Ra-, which is honorific and perhaps connected with the idea of 'Father'; luvhimba is the eagle, the bird that soars aloft. It symbolizes the great power which travels through the cosmos, using the heavenly phenomena as its instruments.

'Raluvhimba is connected with the beginning of the world and is supposed to live somewhere in the heavens and to be connected with all astronomical and physical phenomena. . . . A shooting star is Raluvhimba traveling; his voice is heard in the thunder; comets, lightning, meteors, earthquakes, prolonged drought, floods, pests, and epidemics- in fact, all the natural phenomena which affect the people as a whole- are revelations of the great god. In thunderstorms he appears as a great fire near the chief's kraal, whence he booms his desires to the chief in a voice of thunder; this fire always disappears before any person can reach it. At these visitations the chief enters the hut and, addressing Raluvhimba as Makhalu [Grandfather], converses with him, the voice of god replying either from the thatch of the hut

or from a tree nearby; Raluvhimba then passes on in further clap of thunder. Occasionally he is angry with the chief and takes revenge on the people by sending them a drought or a flood, or possibly by opening an enormous cage in the heavens and letting loose a swarm of locusts on the land.'

(H.A. Stayt, *The Bavenda*, Oxford, 1931, p.236)

Raluvhimba, it is said, was wont to manifest himself by appearing from time to time as a great flame on a platform of rock above a certain cave. With the flame there came a sound as of clanking irons on hearing which the people shouted with joy and their cries passed on throughout the country. The Chief mounted to the platform where he called upon Raluvhimba, thanked him for revealing himself and prayed on behalf of his people for rain, felicity and peace.

He is at times greeted spontaneously by the whole people in a way that is most unusual amongst the southern Bantu. The Rev. G. Westphal of the Berlin Mission relates that in 1917 a meteor burst in the middle of the day making a strange humming sound followed by a thunder-like crash. This portent was greeted by the people, not with terror but with cries of joy. Another Missionary, the Rev. McDonald, tells how after a slight tremor of the earth there was an extraordinary clamour among the people, the lulluung of women, clapping of hands and shouting 'The whole tribe was greeting Raluvhimba who was passing through the country.' People say that during an earthquake they hear a noise in the sky similar to thunder. Then they clap their hands to welcome the mysterious god and pray: 'Give us rain! Give us health.' Dr H.A. Junod says that Raluvhimba is regarded as the maker and former of everything and as the rain-giver. If rain is scarce and starvation threatens, people complain: 'Raluvhimba wants to destroy us,' they say the same if floods spoil their fields. Prayers and sacrifices are offered in times of drought. There is some notion of Raluvhimba as Providence. He takes care not only of the tribe as a whole but of individual members. When a man has narrowly escaped drowning he will say: 'I have been saved by Raluvhimba, Mudzimu.'

Raluvhimba is identified with Mwari (or Nwali) whose earthly abode (like Yahwe's on Mount Sinai) is in the Matopo Hills of Southern Rhodesia. Every year the Venda used to send a special messenger (whose office was hereditary) with a black ox and a piece of black cloth as an offering to Mwari. The black ox was set free in the forest to join the god's large herd which had accumulated there.

Edwin W. Smith, 'The Idea of God among South African Tribes' in Smith (ed.), *African Ideas of God*, a Symposium (2nd Ed. London, 1950) pp.124-126

NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": WAKAN TANKA, THE SUPREME DEITY OF THE DAKOTA

Following are the words of Sword, an Oglala of the Teton division of the Dakota Indians, as recorded by J.R. Walker.

Every object in the world has a spirit and that spirit is wakan. Thus the spirits of the tree or things of that kind, while not like the spirit of man, are also wakan. Wakan comes from the wakan beings. These wakan beings are greater than mankind in the same way that mankind is greater than animals. They are never born and never die. They can do many things that mankind cannot do. Mankind can pray to the wakan beings for help. The word Wakan Tanka means all the wakan beings because they are all as if one. Wakan Tanka Kin signifies the chief or leading Wakan being is Nagi Tanka, the Great Spirit who is also Taku Skanskan. Taku Skanskan signifies the Blue, in other words, the sky. . . . Mankind is permitted to pray to Wakan beings. If their prayer is directed to all the good Wakan beings, they should pray to Wakan Tanka; but if a prayer is offered to only one of these beings, then the one addressed should be named. . . . Wakan Tanka is like sixteen different persons but each person is kan. Therefore, they are only the same as one.

J.R. Walker, *The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota* (American Museum of Natural History, *Anthropological Papers*, vol XVI, part II, (1917) pp.152-3)

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE 'GREAT SPIRIT' OF THE LENAPE

The Lenape (or Delaware) Indians, an important Algonquian tribe, occupied a large area from Ontario southward into the middle Atlantic region, and westward principally in Oklahoma.

All the Lenape so far questioned, whether followers of the native or of the Christian religion unite in saying that their people have always believed in a chief Mani 'to, a leader of all the gods, in short, in a Great Spirit or Supreme Being, The other mani 'towuk for the greater part being merely agents appointed by him. His name, according to present Unami usage is Gicelemu 'kaong, usually translated 'great spirit,' but meaning literally, 'creator.' Directly or through the mani 'towuk his agents, he created the earth and everything in it, and gave to the Lenape all they possessed, 'the trees, the waters, the fire that springs from flint,--everything.' To him the people pray in their greatest ceremonies, and give thanks for the benefits he has given them. Most of the direct worship, however is addressed to the mani 'towuk his agents, to whom he has given charge of the elements, and with whom the people feel they have a closer personal relation, as their actions are seen in every sunrise and thunderstorm, and felt in every wind that blows across woodland and prairie. Moreover, as the Creator lives in the twelfth or highest heaven above the earth, it takes twelve shouts or cries to reach his ear.

M.R Harrington, Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape (New York, 1921) pp 18-19

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": TIRAWA, THE SUPREME GOD OF THE PAWNEE

Once among the strongest tribes of the Plains Indians, the Pawnee were found from the shores of the Platte River in Nebraska south to the Arkansas River. Today they live mostly in Oklahoma.

'The white man' said the Kurahus, 'speaks of a heavenly Father; we say Tirawa atius, the Father above, but we do not think of Tirawa as a person. We think of Tirawa as in everything, as the Power which has arranged and thrown down from above everything that man needs. What the Power above, Tirawa atius, is like, no one knows; no one has been there.'

When Kawas explains to the Kurahus the meaning of the signs in the East, 'she tells him that Tirawa atius there moves upon Darkness, the Night, and causes her to bring forth the Dawn. It is the breath of the new-born Dawn, the child of Night and Tirawa atius, which is felt by all the powers and all things above and below and which gives them new life for a new day.'

H.B. Alexander, The World's Rim (University of Nebraska Press, 1953) p.132

POLYNESIA, COLUMBIA, LABRADOR, NEW GUINEA

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE MAORI SUPREME BEING (POLYNESIA)

The core of the esoteric theology of the Maori was the concept of the Supreme Io which remained wholly unrevealed to foreign inquirers for many decades after the first contact of Europeans and Maori. I cannot help feeling that our lack of knowledge of such a supreme god in other island groups is due largely to the fact that the knowledge was limited to the ancient priesthood, whose rules would have compelled them to conceal from outsiders the most sacred of the lore; while personal instinct would have at the same time have led them to shelter their hallowed beliefs from strangers with the attitude typical of practically all the early inquirers. With the ancient priest hoods, the knowledge of the great body of the most sacred Polynesian lore died. The following pictures well the attitude of Maori priests towards the indiscreetly inquisitive and disrespectful. Tregear writes:

'C.O. Davis mentions that when attempting to question an old priest on the subject of the ancient Maori worship of the Supreme Being he was refused information, and politely referred to another priest 100 miles away. Probably that priest would have referred him again to someone else and so on. Each initiate into the sacred mysteries considered his knowledge as a trust to be guarded against the outer world, and it is only under most exceptional circumstances that information could be acquired. Some gods could only

be named in the Whare Kura and Wharewanagna (temples) of the tribe. To utter "the ineffable name" (Io) under a roof of any kind was to blaspheme most frightfully, and would be a sacrilege that only an ignorant person (religiously ignorant) like a European would have the depravity to attempt. Even the names of ancestors, as god-descended, would not be regarded as treated with due respect if mentioned at certain times or in unsuitable localities. A European student of Maori lore once ventured to speak to an old priest whom he met in a country store (shop) and asked him some question about ancient history. The Maori turned round with a disgusted look and remarked, "This is no place in which to speak of solemn things," . . . Only one who loved the enquirer and dared unknown terrors for the sake of that love would answer such questions (about sacred things) or repeat the consecrated hymns for him. It is not unusual for a priest after going a certain length to say, "If I tell you any more death will overtake me," or "I must not repeat what follows, because there is now no priest alive sacred enough to perform the ceremonies necessary to purify me from such sacrilege." Another has been known to say, "The presence of the Christian God has silenced the Maori gods, but the gods of the Maori still hold us in their power, and if I break their laws they will punish me with death."

The mere fact of the existence of Io was unknown to most Maoris. Best writes that:

'The number of men initiated into the cult of Io was but small; only members of the higher grade of priestly experts and men of high-class families, were allowed to learn the ritual pertaining to it. The common folk apparently had no part in it and it is doubtful if they were even allowed to know the name of the Supreme Being. The cult of Io was an esoteric one; that of the lower tribal gods may be termed exoteric. All ritual and ceremonial pertaining to Io was retaining in the hands of the superior priesthood, by no means a numerous body. It may be described as an aristocratic cultus, known only to such experts and the more important chiefs. It is quite probable, indeed, that this superior creed may have been too exalted for ordinary minds, that such would prefer to depend on more accessible and less moral deities. 'It is interesting to note that no form of offering or sacrifice was made to Io, that no image of him was ever made, and that he had no aria, or form of incarnation, such as inferior gods had.'

E.S. Craighill Handy, Polynesian Religion, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 34 (Honolulu 1927), pp. 95-6; quoting Edward Treagear, The Maori Race (Wanganui, 1904) pp. 450-2 and Elsdon Best, Some Aspects of Maori Myth and Religion, p.20

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE UNIVERSAL MOTHER AND SUPREME DEITY

The following comes from the Kagaba people of Colombia, South America.

'The mother of our songs, the mother of our seed, bore us in the beginning of things and so she is the mother of all types of men, the mother of all nations. She is mother of the thunder, the mother of the streams, the mother of the trees and of all things. She is the mother of the world and of the older brothers, the stone-people. She is the mother of the fruits of the earth and of all things. She is the mother of our youngest brothers, the French and the strangers. She is the mother of our dance paraphernalia, of all temples and she is the only mother we possess. She alone is mother of the fire and the Sun and the Milky Way. . . . She is the mother of the rain and the only mother we possess. And she has left us a token in all the temples . . . a token in the form of songs and dances.'

She has no cult, and no prayers are really directed to her, but when the fields are sown and the priests chant their incantations the Kagaba say, 'And then we think of the one and only mother of the growing things, of the mother of all things.' One prayer was recorded. 'Our mother of the growing fields, our mother of the streams, will have pity upon us. For whom do we belong? Whose seeds are we? To our mother alone do we belong.'

Paul Radin, Monotheism among Primitive Peoples. New York, p.15; translating and quoting K.T. Pruess

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":
A SOUTH AMERICAN EPIPHANY OF THE SUN GOD

The Apinaye, one of the Ge tribes of eastern Brazilia, regard the Sun as creator and father of men. They

address the Sun God as 'my father' and he calls men his children. The following experience was told to the anthropologist Curt Nimuendaju by an Apinaye village chief.

'I was hunting near the sources of the Botica creek. All along the journey there I had been agitated and was constantly startled without knowing why.

'Suddenly I saw him standing under the drooping branches of a big steppe tree. He was standing there erect. His club was braced against the ground beside him, his hand he held on the hilt. He was tall and light-skinned, and his hair nearly descended to the ground behind him. His whole body was painted, and on the outer side of his legs we broad red stripes. His eyes were exactly like two stars. He was very handsome.

'I recognized at once that it was he. Then I lost all courage. My hair stood on end, and my knees were trembling. I put my gun aside, for I thought to myself that I should have to address him, but I could not utter a sound because he was looking at me unwaveringly. Then I lowered my head in order to get hold of myself and stood thus for a long time. When I had grown somewhat calmer, I raised my head. He was still standing and looking at me. Then I pulled myself together and walked several steps towards him, then I could not go any further for my knees gave way. I again remained standing for a long time, then lowered my head, and tried again to regain composure. When I raised my eyes again, he had already turned away and was slowly walking through the steppe.

'Then I grew very sad. I kept standing there for a long time after he had vanished, then I walked under the tree where he had stood. I saw his footprints, painted red with urucu at the edges; beside them was the print of his clubhead. I picked up my gun and returned to the village. On the way I managed to kill two deer, which approached me without the least bit of shyness. At home I told my father everything. Then all scolded me for not having the courage to talk to him.

'At night while I was asleep he reappeared to me. I addressed him, and he said he had been waiting for me in the steppe to talk to me, but since I had not approached he had gone away. He led me some distance behind the house and there showed me a spot on the ground where, he said, something was lying in storage for me. Then he vanished.

'The next morning I immediately went there and touched the ground with the tip of my foot, perceiving something hard buried there. But others came to call me to go hunting. I was ashamed to stay behind and joined them. When we returned, I at once went back to the site he had shown me, but did not find anything any more.

'Today I know I was very stupid then. I should have certainly have received from him great assurance (seguranca) if I had been able to talk to him. But I was still very young then; today I act quite differently.'

Curt Nimuendaju, *The Apinaye* (Washington D.C. 1939), 136-7

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE MASTER OF THE CARIBOU

A belief of the Naskapi Indians of the Labrador Peninsula

In the interior between Ungava Bay and Hudson's Bay is a distant country where no Indians will go under any consideration for the following reason. There is range of big mountains pure white in colour formed neither of snow, ice, nor white rock, but of caribou hair. They are shaped like a house and so they are known as Caribou House. One man of the Petisigabau band says there are two houses. In this enormous cavity live thousands upon thousands of caribou under the overlordship of a human being who is white and dressed in black. Some say there are several of them and they have beards. He is master of the caribou and will not permit anyone to come within some one-hundred and fifty miles of his abode, the punishment being death. Within his realm the various animals are two or three times their ordinary size. The few Indians who have approached the region say that the caribou enter and leave their kingdom each year, passing through a valley between two high mountains about fifteen miles apart. And it is also asserted that the deer hair on the ground here is several feet in depth, that for mile around the cast-off antlers on the ground form a layer waist deep, that the caribou paths leading back and forth there are so deep as to reach a man's waist, and that a young caribou going along in one would be visible only by its head.

F.G. Speck, *Naskapi, The Savage Hunters of the Labrador Peninsula* (University of Oklahoma press, 1935), p.84

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":
HAINUWELE AND THE 'CREATIVE MURDER' (CERAM, NEW GUINEA)

The Marind-anim apply the term dema to the divine creators and primordial beings who existed in mythical times. The dema are described sometimes in human form, sometimes in the form of animals and plants. The central myth narrates the slaying of the dema-divinity by the dema-men of the primordial time. Especially famous is the myth of the girl Hainuwele, recorded by A.E. Jensen in Ceram, one of the islands of the New Guinea Archipelago. In substance it runs:

In mythical Times, a man named Ameta, out hunting, came on a wild boar. Trying to escape, the boar was drowned in a lake. On its tusk Ameta found a coconut. That night he dreamed of the coconut and was commanded to plant it, which he did the next morning. In three days a coconut palm sprang up, and three days later it flowered. Ameta climbed it to cut some flowers and make a drink from them. But he cut his finger and the blood dropped on a flower. Nine days later he found a girl-child on the flower. Ameta took her and wrapped her in coconut fronds. In three days the child became a marriageable girl, and he named her Hainuwele ('coconut branch'). During the great Maro festival Hainuwele stood in the middle of the dancing place and for nine nights distributed gifts to the dancers. But on the ninth day the men dug a grave in the middle of the dancing place and threw Hainuwele into it during the dance. The grave was filled in and men danced on it.

The next morning, seeing that Hainuwele did not come home, Ameta divined that she had been murdered. He found the body, disinterred it, and cut it into pieces, which he buried in various places, except the arms. The buried pieces gave birth to plants previously unknown, especially to tubers, which since then are the chief food of human beings. Ameta took Hainuwele's arms to another dema-divinity, Satene. Satene drew a spiral with nine turns on a dancing ground and placed herself at the centre of it. From Hainuwele's arms she made a door, and summoned the dancers. 'Since you have killed,' she said, 'I will no longer live here. I shall leave this very day. Now you will have to come to me through this door.' Those who were able to pass through it remained human beings. The others were changed into animals (pigs, birds, fish) or spirits. Satene announced that after her going men would meet her only after their death, and she vanished from the surface of the Earth.

A.E. Jensen has shown the importance of this myth for the understanding of religion and world image of the paleocultivators. The murder of the dema divinity by the dema, the ancestors of present humanity, ends an epoch (which cannot be considered 'paradisaal') and opens that in which we live today. The dema became men, that is, sexed and mortal beings. As for the murdered dema-divinity, she survives both in her 'creations' (food, plants, animals, etc.) And in the house of the dead into which she was changed, or in the 'mode of being death,' which she established by her own demise.

M. Eliade, *Myth and Reality* (New York, 1963), pp 104-5; translated and abridged from A.E. Jensen, *Das religiöse Weltbild einer frühen Kultur* (Stuttgart, 1948) pp.35-8

GODS OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST, ANCIENT INDIA, AND JAPAN

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":
ENKI, A SUMERIAN HIGH GOD

'Enki and the World Order' is one of the longest and best preserved of the extant Sumerian narrative poems. The poem begins with a hymn of praise addressed to Enki; some of it is destroyed and unintelligible, but generally speaking, it seems to exalt Enki as the god who watches over the universe and is responsible for the fertility of field and farm, flock and herd. It continues to follow the same motif at some length, with Enki now praising himself, now being praised by the gods. Next, a badly damaged passage seems to describe the various rites and rituals performed by some of the more important priests and spiritual leaders of Sumer in Enki's Abzu-shrine. The scene shifts again to reveal Enki in his boat, passing from city to city to 'decree the fates' and render proper exaltation to each. Two inimical lands are not so fortunate; he destroys them and carries off their wealth.

Enki now turns from the fates of the various lands which made up the Sumerian inhabited world and performs a whole series of acts vital to the earth's fertility and productiveness. He fills the Tigris with

life-giving water, then appoints the god Enbilulu, the 'canal inspector,' to make sure that the Tigris and Euphrates function properly. He 'calls' the marshland and the canebrake, supplies them with fish and reeds, and again appoints a deity for them. He erects his own shrine by the sea and places the goddess Nanshe in charge of it. Similarly, he 'calls' the earth's plow, yoke, and furrow, the cultivated field, the pickaxes and brick Mould; he turns to the high plain, covers it with vegetation and cattle, stall and sheepfolds; he fixes the borders and cities and states; finally he attends to 'woman's task,' particularly the weaving of cloth. For each realm a deity is appointed.

The poem comes to an end in yet another key as the ambitious and aggressive Inanna complains that she has been slighted and left without any special powers and prerogatives. Enki reassures her with a recitation of her own insignia and provinces.

Enki, the king of the Abzu, overpowering in his majesty, speaks up with authority:

'My father, the king of the universe,

Brought me into existence in the universe,

My ancestor, the king of all the lands,

Gathered together all the, me's, placed the me's in my hand.

From the Ekur, the house of Enlil,

I brought craftsmanship to my Abzu of Eridu.

I am the fecund seed, engendered by the great wild ox, I am the first born son of An,

I am the "great storm" who goes forth out of the "great below," I am the lord of the Land,

I am the gugal of the chieftains, I am the father of all the lands,

I am the "big brother" of the gods, I am he who brings full prosperity,

I am the record keeper of heaven and earth,

I am the car and the mind of all the lands,

I am he who directs justice with the king An on An's dais,

I am he who decrees the fates with Enlil in the "mountain of wisdom," He placed in my hand the decreeing of the fates of the "place where the sun rises,"

I am he to whom Nintu pays due homage,

I am he who has been called a good name by Ninhursag,

I am the leader of the Anunnaki,

I am he who has been born as the first son of the holy An.

After the lord had uttered (his) exaltedness,

After the great Prince had himself pronounced his praise,

The Anunnaki came before him in prayer and supplication:

'Lord who directs craftsmanship,

Who makes decisions, the glorified; Enki praise!'

For a second time, because of his great joy,:

Enki, the king of the Abzu, in his majesty, speaks up with authority

'I am the lord, I am one whose command is unquestioned, I am the
foremost in all things,

At my command the stalls have been built, the sheepfolds have been
enclosed,

When I approached heaven a rain of prosperity poured down from
heaven,

When I approached the earth, there was a high flood,

When I approached its green meadows,

The heaps and mounds were piled up at my word.

[After the almost unintelligible description of Enki's rites, Enki proceeds
to decree the fates of a number of cities. Ur is one example.]

He proceeded to the shrine Ur,

Enki, the king of the Abzu decrees its fate:

City possessing all that is appropriate, water-washed, firm-standing ox,

Dais of abundance of the highland, knees open, green like a mountain,

Hashur-grove, wide of shade-he who is lordly because of his might

Has directed your perfect me's,

Enlil, the "great mountain," has pronounced your lofty -name in the universe.

City whose fate has been decreed by Enlil,

Shrine Ur, may you rise heaven high

[Enki next stocks the land with various items of prosperity: A deity
is placed in charge of each. For example:]

He directed the plow and the . . . yoke,

The great prince Enki put the 'horned oxen' in the . . . Opened the holy furrows,

Made grow the grain in the cultivated field.

The lord who do-ns the diadem, the ornament of the high plain, The robust,,the farmer of Enlil,

Enkimdu, the man of the ditch and dike, Enki placed in charge of them.

The lord called the cultivated field, put there the checkered grain, Heaped up its . . . grain, the checkered grain, the innuba-grain into piles,

Enki multiplied the heaps and mounds,

With Enlil he spread wide the abundance in the Land,

Her whose head and side are dappled, whose face is honey-covered, The Lady, the procreatress, the vigour of the Land, the 'life' of the black-heads,

Ashnan, the nourishing bread, the bread of all,

Enki placed in charge of them.

He built stalls, directed the purification rites,

Erected sheepfolds, put there the best fat and milk,

Brought joy to the dining halls of the gods,

In the vegetation-like plain he made prosperity prevail.

.....

He filled the Ehur, the house of Enlil, with possessions,

Enlil rejoiced with Enki, Nippur was joyous,

He fixed the borders, demarcated them with boundary stones,

Enki, for the Anunnaki,

Erected dwelling places in the cities,

Set up kids for them in the countryside,

The hero, the bull who comes forth out of the hashur (forest), who roars lion-like,

The valiant Utu, the bull who stands secure, who proudly displays his power,

The father of the great city, the place where the sun rises, the great herald of holy An,

The judge, the decision-maker of the gods,

Who wears a lapis lazuli beard, who comes forth from the holy heaven,

the .. . heaven,

Utu, the son born of Ningal,

Enki placed in charge of the entire universe.

[The remainder of the extant text is devoted to Inanna's challenge and Enki's response.]

Translation by Samuel Noah Kramer, in his *The Sumerians. Their History, Culture and Character* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), PP. 174-83; introductory material paraphrased and summarized by M. Eliade from Kramer, *OP. Cit.*, PP. 171-4

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":
THE EGYPTIAN HIGH GOD IN THE AGE OF THE COFFIN TEXTS

('Coffin Texts,' 714)

The so-called 'Coffin Texts,' inscribed on the interior of coffins, belong to the middle kingdom (2250-1580 B.C.)

I was (the spirit in ?) The Primeval Waters,

he who had no companion when my name came into existence.

The most ancient form in which I came into existence was as a drowned one.

I was (also) he who came into existence as a circle,

he who was the dweller in his egg.

I was the one who began (everything), the dweller in the Primeval Waters.

First Hahu¹ emerged from me

and then I began to move.

I created my limbs in my 'glory'

I was the maker of myself, in that I formed myself according to my desire and in accord with my heart.

1. Hahu, the wind which began the separation of the waters and raised the sky.

Translated by R.T. Rundle Clark, in his *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (London 1959) p.74

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":
ATUM, A BISEXUAL HIGH GOD

('Coffin Texts,' I, 161: ff)

I am Atum, the creator of the Eldest Gods,

I am he who gave birth to Shu,

I am that great He-She,

I am he who did what seemed good to him,

I took my space in the place of my will,

Mine is the space of those who move along

like those two serpentine circles.

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": DEBATE BETWEEN OSIRIS AND THE HIGH GOD

('Book of the Dead,' Chapter 175)

After his death Osiris finds himself in a cheerless underworld and laments his lot.

OSIRIS O'Atum! What is this desert place into which I have come? It has no water, it has no air, it is depth unfathomable, it is black as the blackest night. I wander helplessly herein. One cannot live here in peace of heart, not may the longings of love be satisfied herein.

ATUM You may live in peace of heart, I have provided illumination in place of water and air, and satisfaction and quiet in the place of bread and beer. Thus spoke Atum.

OSIRIS But shall I behold your face?

ATUM I will not allow you to suffer.

OSIRIS But every other god has his place in the Boat of Millions of Years.

ATUM Your place now belongs to your son Horus. Thus spoke Atum.

OSIRIS But ,will he be allowed to dispatch the Great Ones?

ATUM I have allowed him to dispatch the Great Ones, for he will inherit your throne on the Isle of fire.

OSIRIS How good would it be if one god could see another!

ATUM My face will look upon your face.

OSIRIS But how long shall I live? says Osiris.

ATUM You will live more than millions of years, an era of millions, but in the end I will destroy everything that I have created, the earth will become again part of the Primeval Ocean, like the Abyss of waters in their original state. Then I will be what will remain, just I and Osiris, when I will have changed myself back into the Old Serpent who knew -no man and saw no god.

How fair is that which I have done for Osiris, a fate different from that of all the other gods! I have given him the region of the dead while I have put his son Horus as heir upon his throne in the Isle of Fire, I have thus made his place for him in the Boat of Millions of Years, in that Horus remains on his throne to carry on his work.

OSIRIS But will not also the soul of Seth be sent to the West-a fate different from that of all other gods?

ATUM I shall hold his soul captive in the Boat of the Sun-such is my will- So that he will no longer terrorize the divine company,

Translation and introductory note by R. T. Rundle Clark, in his Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt (London, 1959), pp 130-40

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":

AMENHOTEP IV AND THE HYMN TO ATEN

At the time when Egypt was at the height of her career as a world power during the New Kingdom, the land was shaken by a revolutionary religious doctrine which threatened to sweep away the theological dogmas of centuries. The key figure in this iconoclastic movement was the Pharaoh Amenhotep IV who came to the throne c. 1370 B.C. to reign as co-regent with his father Amenhotep III (c. 1397-1360 B.C.). This youth, frail of body, with the temperament of a dreamer and the fanatical zeal of a reformer, inspired the somewhat extravagant description of him as 'the first individual in human history' (J. H. Breasted). So romantic a figure has he appeared to historians, that many have credited him with originating the worship of the god Aten and establishing the first monotheistic faith.

There is, however, a continually increasing body of evidence which points to the fact that the cult of Ten had developed before the time of Amenhotep IV, indeed probably as early as the reign of Thutmose IV (c. 1411-1397 B.C.). It is likely that the worship of Ten developed from the ancient cult of the Helopolitan sun-god Re. In the course of time the syncretistic character of Egyptian religious thinking had led to the fusion of the god Re with many other deities such as Atum, Horns, and Amun, with the consequent assimilation of their characteristics and functions. The new cult paid homage to the physical orb of the sun (for which the Egyptian word was Ten), stripped of its mythological accretions. Hence, except in the earliest period, no images or other representations of Aten were employed other than the figure of the sun disc with its rays extending towards the earth, each ending with a hand beneficently proffering the hieroglyphic symbol for life. . Central to the new faith was the idea of 'living on ma 'at.' This important term ma 'at, variously translated 'righteousness, justice,' or 'truth,' meant basically the divinely ordained cosmic order. By the Middle Kingdom it had acquired the overtones of social justice. But Akhenaten's use of it emphasized the aspect of truth, by which he meant the subjective truth of the senses rather than the traditional objective, universal truth. This is consonant with the further observation that the Atenist faith was an intellectual rather than an ethical one, a fact which is apparent in the Aten Hymn. . . .

Noble though this doctrine may have been in many ways, it failed to win the approval or support of any but Akhenaten's circle of courtiers and adherents. To the people, as from time immemorial in Egypt, the Pharaoh was himself a god, and Akhenaten did not seek to alter this. Only he and his family were privileged to offer worship directly to Ten; the people directed their prayers to the king, and through him the blessings of Ten were vouchsafed to them. It was inevitable that a doctrine of so contemplative and intellectual a nature would be incomprehensible to the common folk who either ignored it or adopted a hostile attitude towards it. This fact, combined with the lack of a spirit of compromise, so essential to the syncretistical-minded Egyptian, spelled disaster for Atenism. Under Akhenaten's co-regent and successor Smenkhkare, perhaps even before the former's death, a movement for reconciliation with the Amon-Re cult began. Before many years had passed, Atenism was forgotten, and the heretic king Akhenaten was anathematized by later generations. . . .

The first strophe extols the splendor of Aten as he rises in the heaven. Re, the sun-god of Heliopolis, is identified with Aten in line 7. . . . The next two strophes describe the terrors of darkness, when Aten is absent from the sky, as contrasted with the joys of day, when he has returned to pour his beneficent rays on the earth. . . . The fourth strophe speaks of Aten's life-giving powers in the world of nature. . . . The fifth and sixth strophes laud Aten as creator of the Universe. . . . In the seventh strophe Aten is hailed as a universal god, creating and sustaining all people..... The eighth strophe tells of Aten's concern for foreign lands..... Ten is viewed as the creator of the seasons in the next strophe.

1. Thou dost appear beautiful on the horizon of heaven, O' living Aten, thou who wast the first to live.
When thou hast risen on the eastern horizon, Thou hast filled every land with thy beauty.

5. Thou art fair, great, dazzling, high above every land;

Thy rays encompass the lands to the very limit of all thou hast made. Being Re, thou dost reach to their limit
And curb them [for] thy beloved son; Though thou art distant, thy rays arc upon the earth;

10. Thou art in their faces, yet thy movements are unknown. When thou dost set on the western

horizon, The earth is in darkness, resembling death. Men sleep in the bed-chamber with their heads covered, Nor does one eye behold the other.

15. Were all their goods stolen which are beneath their heads They would not be aware of it. Every lion has come forth from his den, All the snakes bite. Darkness prevails, and the earth is in silence,

20. Since he who made them is resting in his horizon, At daybreak, when thou dost rise on the horizon, Dost shine as Aten by day, Thou dost dispel the darkness And shed thy rays.

25. The two Lands are in a festive mood, Awake, and standing on (their) feet, For thou hast raised them up; They cleanse their bodies and take (their) garments; Their arms are (lifted) in adoration at thine appearing;

30. The whole land performs its labor. All beasts are satisfied with their pasture; Trees and plants are verdant. The birds which fly from their nests, their wings are (spread) in adoration to thy soul; All flocks skip with (their) feet; All that fly up and alight Live when thou has risen [for] them. Ships sail upstream and downstream alike, For every route is open at thine appearing. The fish in the river leap before thee,

40. For thy rays are in the midst of the sea Thou creator of issue in woman, who makest semen into mankind, And dost sustain the son in mother's womb, Who dost soothe him with that which stills his tears, Thou nurse in the very womb, giving breath to sustain all thou dost make!

45- When he issues from the womb to breathe on the day of his birth, Thou dost open his mouth completely and supply his needs. When the chick in the egg cheeps inside the shell, Thou givest it breath within it to sustain it. Thou hast set it its appointed time in the egg to break it,

50. That it may emerge from the egg to cheep at its appointed time; That it may walk with its feet when it emerges from it. How manifold is that which thou hast made, hidden from view! Thou sole god, there is no other like thee! Thou didst create the earth according to thy will, being alone:

55. Mankind, cattle, all flocks, Everything on earth which walks with (its) feet, And what are on high, flying with their wings. The foreign lands of Huru and Nubia, the land of Egypt- Thou dost set each man in his place and supply his needs;

60. Each one has his food, and his lifetime is reckoned. Their tongues are diverse in speech and their natures likewise; Their skins are varied, for thou dost vary the foreigners. Thou dost make the Nile in the underworld, And bringest it forth as thou desirest to sustain the people

65 As thou dost make them for thyself, Lord of them all, who dost weary thyself with them, Lord of every land, who dost rise for them, Thou Ten of the day, great in majesty. As for all distant foreign lands, thou makest their life,

70. For thou hast set a Nile in the sky, That it may descend for them, That it may make waves on the mountains like the sea, To water their fields amongst their towns. How excellent are thy plans, thou lord of eternity!

75. The Nile in the sky is for the foreign peoples, For the flocks of every foreign land that walk with (their) feet, While the (true) Nile comes forth from the underworld for Egypt. Thy rays suckle every field; When thou dost rise, they live and thrive for thee.

80. Thou makest the seasons to nourish all that thou hast made: The winter to cool them; the heat that they (?) may taste thee. Thou didst make the distant sky to rise in it, To see all that thou hast made. Being alone, and risen in thy form as the living Aten,

85. Whether appearing, shining, distant, or near, . Thou makest millions of forms from thyself alone: Cities, towns, fields, road, and river. . . There is no other that knows thee,

95- Save thy son Akhenaten, For thou hast made him skilled in thy plans and thy might. The earth came into being by thy hand, just as thou didst make them (i.e mankind).When thou hast risen, they live;

100. When thou dost set, they die.For thou art lifetime thyself, one lives through thee;Eyes arc upon (thy) beauty until thou dost set. All labor is put aside when thou dost set in the west; When [thou] risest [thou] makest . . . flourish for the king.

105. As for all who hasten on foot,Ever since thou didst fashion the earth,Thou dost raise them up for thy son who came forth from thyself,The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Akhnaten.

Introduction and translation by R. J. Williams, in D. Winton Thomas (ed.), Documents from Old Testament Times (London: Thomas Nelson, 1958)

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": VARUNA, THE ALL-KNOWING GOD

'He knows the pathway of the wind. . . '

('Rig Veda,' I, 25, 1-3, 7-14)

1. Whatever law of thine O god, O Varuna as we are men, Day after day we violoate,
2. Give us not as a prey to death, to be destroyed by thee in wrath, To thy fierce anger when displeased.
3. To gain thy mercy, Varuna, with hymns we bind thy heart, as binds the Charioteer his tethered horse. . .
7. He knows the path of birds that fly through heaven, and , sovereign of the sea, He knows the ships that are thereon.
8. True to his holy law, he knows the twelve moons with their progeny: He knows the moon of later birth ¹
9. He knows the pathway of the wind, the spreading, high and mighty wind: He knows the gods who dwell above.
10. Varuna, true to holy law, sits down among his people; he, Most wise, sits there to govern all.
11. From thence percieving he beholds all wondrous things, both what hath been, And what hereafter will be done.
12. May that Adyita very wise, make fair paths for us all our days; May he prolong our lives for us.
13. Varuna, wearing golden mail, hath clad him in shining robe; His spies ² are seated round about.
17. The god whom enemies threaten not, nor those who tyrannize o'er men, Nor those whose minds are bent on wrong.

¹ Twelve months have days as the progeny: 'the moon of later birth' is perhaps an intercalary 'thirteenth' month. Thus is there no 'time' to which Varuna is not a witness.

² Perhaps the other Adityas (cf. Rigveda VIII, 47, 11)

Translation by Ralph T.H. Griffith, in his The Hymns of the Rigveda, 1 (Benares, 1889) pp.42-43

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": KING VARUNA IS THERE

('Atharva Veda,' IV, 16, 1-6)

1. The great guardian among these (gods) sees as if from anear. He that thinketh he is moving stealthily- all this the gods know.
2. If a man stands, walks, or sneaks about, if he goes slinking away, if he goes into his hiding-place; if two persons sit together and scheme, King Varuna is there as a third, and knows it.
3. Both this earth here belongs to King Varuna, and also yonder broad sky whose bounderies are far away. Moreover these two oceans are the loins of Varuna; yea, he is hidden in this small (drop of) water.
4. He that should flee beyond the heaven far away would not be free from King Varuna. His spies come hither (to the earth) from heaven, with a thousand eyes do they watch over the earth.
5. King Varuna sees through all that is between heaven and earth, and all that is beyond. He has counted the winking of men's eyes. As a (winning) gamester puts down his dice, thus does he establish these (laws).
6. May all thy faithful toils which seven by seven, threefold, lie spread out, ensnare him that speaks falsehood; him that speaks the truth they shall let go!

Translation by Maurice Bloomfield, Hymns of the Atharva-Veda, in Sacred Books of the East, XLII (Oxford, 1897) pp.88-9

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":
VARUNA AND INDRA

- 1 I am the royal ruler, mine is empire, as mine who sway all life are all the immortals. Varuna's will the gods obey and follow. I am the king o'er folk of sphere sublimest.
2. I am King Varuna. To me was given these first existing high celestial powers. 1
Varuna's will the gods obey and follow. I am the king o'er the folk of the sphere sublimest.
3. I Varuna am Indra: in their greatness, these the two wide deep fairly-fashioned regions, These the two world-halves have I, even as Tvashtar 2 knowing all beings, joined and held together.
4. I made to flow the moisture-shedding waters, and set the heaven firm in the seat of Order³
By Law, the son of Aditi,⁴ Law-observer, hath spread abroad the world in three fold measure.
5. Heroes with noble horses, fain for battle, selected warriors, call on me in combat.
I, Indra Maghavan,⁵ excite the conflict; I stir the dust, lord of surpassing vigor.
6. All this I did. The gods' own conquering power never impedeth me to whom none opposeth.
When lauds and Soma-juice have made me joyful, both the unbounded regions are affrighted.
7. All beings know these deeds of thine: thou tellest this unto Varuna, thou great disposer!
Thou art renowned as having slain the Vritras. Thou madest flow the floods that were obstructed. . . .

10. May we, possessing much, delight in riches, gods in oblations and the kine in pasture;
And that milch-cow who shrinks away not from the milking
O Indra Varuna, give to us daily.

1 Varuna speaks in stanzas 1 to 4, stressing that celestial sovereignty which is rightfully his as creator of the universe and maintainer of the cosmic order (rita).

2 Varuna, master of maya, here identifies himself with the divine artificer, Tvashtar, who is significantly, the father of Indra and of Vritrain the later Samhitas.

3 Rita

4 Varuna, son of Aditi

5 Indra, the 'Bountiful One,' now replies in stanzas 5 and 6. His boasts of physical power, of his exploits in battle and of the 'surpassing vigor' of his generative strength, illustrate how 'might makes right' for this warrior god. He is king by force and in the following stanza (7) the poet is dully impressed with the fact that Indra has successfully challenged the sovereign lordship of Varuna.

6. i.e. Wealth.

Translation by Ralph T.H. Griffith, in his *The Hymns of the Rigveda*, II (Benares, 1890) pp.163-5

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": 'WHAT GOD SHALL WE ADORE WITH OUR OBLATION?'

1. In the beginning rose Hiranyagarbha, 1 born only lord of all created beings.

He fixed and holdeth up this earth and heaven.

What god shall we adore with out oblation?

2. Giver of vital breath, of power and vigor, he whose commandments all the gods acknowledge;

Whose shade is death, whose lustre makes immortal.

What god shall we adore with our oblation?

3. Who by his grandeur hath become sole ruler of all the moving world that breathes and slumbers;

He who is lord of men and lord of cattle.

What god shall we adore with our oblation?

4. His, through his might, are these snow-covered mountains, and men call sea and Rasa 2 his possession;

His arms are these, his are these heavenly regions.

What god shall we adore with our oblation?

5. By him the heavens are strong and earth is steadfast, by him light's

realm and sky-vault are supported;³

By him the regions in mid-air were measured.

What god shall we adore with our oblation?

6. To him, supported by his help, two armies embattled look while
trembling in their spirit,

When over them the risen sun is shining.

What god shall we adore with our oblation?

7. What time the mighty waters ⁴ came, containing the universal germ, producing Agni,
Thence sprang the gods' one spirit ⁵ into being.

What god shall we adore with our oblation?

8. He in his might surveyed the floods containing productive force
and generating worship.⁶

He is the god of gods, and none beside him.

What god shall we adore with our oblation?

9. Ne'er may he harm us who is earth's begetter, nor he whose laws
are sure, the heavens' creator,

He who brought forth the great and lucid waters.

What god shall we adore with our oblation?

10. Prajapatil ⁷ thou only comprehendest all these created things, and none beside thee.

Grant us our hearts' desire when we invoke thee;

may we have store in riches in possession.

Notes

1 The refrain concluding each stanza asks, 'Who is the god whom I should worship?' The poet in this creation hymn seeks to name That One who is the true source of being. Later reciters, confused by the recurrent interrogative, posited a deity named 'Ka' (Who?) to whom this hymn was thenceforth addressed.

2 The mythological river which encompasses the earth and the atmosphere.

3 As Varuna, in his work of creation (see vii, 86, l) propped apart heaven and earth, so here does Hiranyagarbha perform the same divisive operation, creating a mid-space (antariksha) in the process.

4 Again, as in x, 129, it is the primordial waters which bear creation's germ. Here the solar germ and the fire forms of Agni are generated from the waters. Hiranyagarbha and Agni are both golden sons of the

waters; they portray that unique coincidence of creation-in-chaos where the bright fire glows in the lap of dark chaotic waters,

5 The living spirit (asu) of all the gods is manifest uniquely when Hiranygarbha comes with the flooding waters.

6 Or, generating sacrifice.

7 Lord of creatures, the answer to the interrogative refrain. This is an important text for the later bramanas, where Prajapati is identical with the sacrifice and 'creates the all out of himself.'

Translation by Ralph T. H. Griffith, in his *The Hymns of the Rigveda* iv (Benares, 1892), pp. 355-6

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": 'INDRA- WHO AS SOON AS BORN

SURPASSED THE GODS IN POWER'

('Rig Veda,' II, 12, 1-5 13)

1. The chief wise god who as soon as born
surpassed the gods in power;
Before whose vehemence the two worlds trembled by reason
of the greatness of valour: he, O men, is, Indra¹

2. Who made firm the quaking earth,
who set at rest the agitated mountains;
Who measures out the air more widely,
who supported the heaven: he, O men, is Indra.

3. Who having slain the serpent released the seven streams,
who drove out the cows by the unclosing of Vala,
Who between two rocks has produced fire,
victor in battles: he, O men, is Indra.²

4. By whom all things here have been made unstable,³
who has made subject the Dasa color⁴ and has made it
disappear;
Who, like a sinning gambler the stake,
has taken the possessions of the foe: he, O men, is Indra.

5. The terrible one of whom they ask 'where is he,'
of whom they also say 'he is not':
He diminishes the possessions of the foe like the stakes of
gamblers. Believe in him: he, O men, is Indra. . . .

13. Even heaven and Earth bow down before him;⁵
before his vehemence even the mountains are afraid.
Who is known as the Soma-drinker, holding the bolt in his arm,
who holds the bolt in his hand: he, O men, is Indra.⁶

Notes:

1. In contrast with Varuna and the asuras, another group of gods, the devas, is led by Indra, the warrior god, who is king (svaraj) not like Varuna through the evolving cosmic order, but rather by virtue of his own dynamic being.

2 Here the famous exploits of Indra are recalled: the slaying of the serpent Vritra, who encompassed the cosmic waters, released for men the seven rivers; Vala, another demon and the brother of Vritra, was also slain by Indra: and Agni as lightning was generated by Indra from the clouds, as fire is struck from flint. All of Indra's effusive deeds are the result of his generative bull-like nature.

3 Cyavana, 'shaking': the advent of Indra's power has calmed earthquakes (stanza 2) but has agitated and made transient all worldly phenomena.

4 The non-Aryan population.

5 Gradually in the Rig Veda Indra takes over those roles which formerly has been Varuna's, until eventually Indra too achieves sovereignty. (cf. Rig Veda IV, 42 and X, 124)

6 Indra is the greatest drinker of intoxicating soma. The vajra, his thunderbolt, is in constant use against his foes.

Translated by A.A. Macdonell, in his A Vedic Reader for Students (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1917), pp45-54

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": A VEDIC HYMN TO THE GODDESS EARTH

('Atharva-Veda,' XII, I, selections)

1. Truth, greatness, universal order (rita), strength, consecration, creative fervour (tapas) spiritual exaltation (Brahman), the sacrifice,

support the earth. May this earth, the mistress of that which was and shall be, prepare for us a broad domain!

2. The earth that has heights, and slopes, and great plains, that supports the plants of manifold virtue, free from the pressure that comes from the midst of men, she shall spread out for us, and fit herself for us!

3. The earth upon which the sea, and the rivers and the waters, upon which food and the tribes of men have arisen, upon which this breathing, moving life exists, shall afford us precedence in drinking

4. The earth whose are the four regions of space upon which food and the tribes of men have arisen, which supports the manifold breathing, moving things, shall afford us cattle and other possessions also!

5. The earth upon which of old the first men unfolded themselves, upon which the gods overcame the Asuras shall procure for us (all) kinds of cattle, horses, and fowls, good fortune, and glory!

6. The earth that supports all, furnishes wealth, the foundation, the golden breasted resting- place of all living creatures, she that supports Agni Vaishvanara, and mates with Indra, the bull shall furnish-us with property!

7. The broad earth, which the sleepless gods ever attentively guard, shall milk for us precious honey, and, moreover, besprinkle us with glory!

8. That earth which formerly was water upon the ocean (of space), which the wise (seers) found out by their skillful devices, whose heart is in the highest heaven, immortal, surrounded by truth, shall bestow upon us brilliancy and strength, (and place us) in supreme sovereignty!

10. The earth which the Ashvins have measured, upon which Vishnu has stepped out, which Indra, the lord of might, has made friendly to himself; she, the mother, shall pour forth milk for me, the son!

11. Thy snowy mountain heights, and thy forests, O earth, shall be kind to us! The brown, the black, the red, the multi-colored, the firm earth, that is protected by Indra, I have settled upon, not suppressed, not slain, not wounded.

12. Into thy middle set us, O earth, and into thy navel, into the nourishing strength that has grown up from

thy body; purify thyself for us ! The earth is the mother, and I the son of the earth: Parjanya 8 is the father; he, too, shall save us!

13. The earth upon which they (the priests) inclose the altar (vedi), upon which they, devoted to all (holy) works, unfold the sacrifice, upon which are set up, in front of the sacrifice, the sacrificial posts, erect and brilliant, that earth shall prosper us, herself prospering!

14. Him that hates us, O earth, him that battles against us, him that is hostile towards us with his mind and his weapons, do thou subject to us, anticipating (our wish) by deed !

15. The mortals born of thee live on thee, thou supportest both bipeds and quadrupeds. Thine, O earth, are these five races of men, the mortals, upon whom the rising sun sheds undying light with his rays. . . .

22. Upon the earth men give to the gods the sacrifice, the prepared oblation: upon the earth mortal men live pleasantly by food. May this earth give us breath and life, may she cause me to reach old age!

23. The fragrance, O earth, that has arisen upon thee, which the plants and the waters hold, which the Gandharvas and the Apsaras 9 have partaken of, with that make me fragrant: not any one shall hate us! . . .

40. May this earth point out to us the wealth that we crave: may Bhaga (fortune) add his help, may Indra come here as (our) champion!

41. The earth upon whom the noisy mortals sing and dance, upon whom they fight, upon whom resounds the roaring drum, shall drive forth our enemies, shall make us free from rivals!

42. To the earth upon whom are food, and rice and barley, upon whom live these five races of men, to the earth, the wife of Parjanya, that is fattened by rain, be reverence !

43. The earth upon whose ground the citadels constructed by the gods unfold themselves, every region of her that is the womb of all, Prajapati 10 shall make pleasant for us ! .

45. The earth that holds people of manifold varied speech, of different customs, according to their habitations, as a reliable milchcow that does not kick, shall she milk for me a thousand streams of wealth!

46. The serpent, the scorpion with' thirsty fangs, that hibernating torpidly lies upon thee; the worm, and whatever living thing, O earth, moves in the rainy season, shall, when it creeps not creep upon us; with what is auspicious (on thee) be gracious to us! . . .

48. The earth holds the fool and holds the wise, endures that good and bad dwell (upon her), she keeps company with the boar, gives herself up to the wild hog. . . .

52. The earth upon whom day and night jointly, black and bright, have been decreed, the broad earth covered and enveloped with rain, shall kindly place us into every pleasant abode!

53. Heaven, and earth, and air have here given me expanse: Agni, Surya 11 I the waters, and all the gods together have given me wisdom. . . .

63. O mother earth, kindly set me down upon a well-founded place! With (father) heaven cooperating, O thou wise one, do thou place me into happiness and prosperity ! 12

Notes

1 Purvajana, 'men of former times.'

2 By the time of the composition of the Atharvaveda, as in the late Rigveda, the asuras, sovereign gods

under Varuna's command, have become demons; the devas were the gods who 'overcame' them.

3 Vaishvanara, 'belonging to all men,' is a frequent epithet of Agni, the fire, and refers to his omnipresence.

4 Indra's fecund powers are often characterized by his bull form: here, 'the earth (bhumi) whose bull is Indra.'

5. 'Maya'.

6 The divine twins, beautiful and amiable physicians among the gods, whose golden chariot traverses heaven and earth in a day.

7 Vishnu, still a minor god in the Atharvaveda, is celebrated for his three great strides: already the first of these covered the broad span of earth, the second then limited the sky, and the third encompassed transcendent space.

8 A lesser deity associated with the rain clouds and terrestrial fertility. Verse 42 calls earth his wife.

9 The Gandharvas are a class of celestial beings sometimes described as dwelling with their Apsaras nymphs in the waters on earth. [See below, selection no. 116, the story of Pururavas, Urvashi and the lotus lake. M.E.] Lord of creatures and protector of generation.

10 Lord of creatures and protector of generation

11 The sun.

12 Vaitana-sutra 27.8 prescribes this verse for recitation upon descending from the sacrificial post (W. D. Whitney [trans-], Atharva-Veda Samhita [ed. by C. R. Lanman], Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1905, P. 67i). The hymn itself is one of the few examples of freshly inspired poetry in the Atharvaveda. 'Its chief use is at the agrahayani-ceremonies, the concluding ceremonies of the rites devoted to serpents, undertaken on the full-moon day of the month Margashirsha.' It is also connected with rites that firmly establish the house, homestead, or village. (Bloomfield, pp. 639-40.)

Translation by Maurice Bloomfield, Hymns of the Atharva-Veda, in The Sacred Books of the East, XLII (Oxford, 1891), PP. 199-207

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":
VISHNU, THE COSMIC GOD

('Vishnu Pura-na,' 3, 17, 14-34)

You are everything, earth, water, fire, air, and space,
the subtle world, the Nature-of-All (pradhana),
and the Person (pums) who stands forever aloof.

O Self of all beings!
From the Creator (Brahma) to the blade of grass
all is your body, visible and invisible,
divided by space and time.

We worship you as Brahma, the Immense Being, the first shape,
who sprang from the lotus of your navel to create the worlds.

We, the gods, worship you in our selves,
we, the King of Heaven, the Sun, the Lord of Tears,
the Indweller, the twin gods of agriculture,

the Lord of Wind, the Offering, who all are your shapes
while you are our Selves.

We worship you in your demonic shapes, deceitful and stupid,
wild in their passions, suspicious of wisdom.

We worship you in the genii, the yakshas,
with their narrow-minds obdurate to knowledge,
their blunt faculties covetous of the objects of words.

O Supreme Man! We bow to your fearful evil shapes
which wander at night, cruel and deceitful

O Giver-of-Rewards (Jundardana)!
We worship you as the Eternal Law
whence virtuous men, who dwell in the heaven,
obtain the blissful fruit of their just deeds.
We bow to the Realized (Siddhas) who are your shapes of joy;
free from contacts, they enter and move within all things.

O Remover-of-Sorrow (Hari)! We bow to you the serpent shapes,
lustful and cruel, whose forked tongues know no mercy.

O Pervader! We worship you as knowledge
in the peaceful form of the seers,
faultless, free from sin.

O Dweller in the lotus of the Heart! We bow to you
as the self of Time which, at the end of the ages,
infallibly devours all beings.

We worship you as the Lord of Tears,
who dances at the time of destruction,
having devoured gods and men alike.

O Giver of Rewards! We worship your human shape
bound by the twenty-eight incapacities (badha),
ruled by the powers of darkness.

We bow to you as vegetal life (mukhya rupa),
by which the world subsists and which-six in kind,
trees, [creepers, bushes, plants, herbs and bamboo]
supports the sacrificial rites.

O Universal Self! We bow to you under that elemental shape
from which beasts and men have sprung,
gods and living beings, ether and the elements,
sound and all the qualities.

O Transcendent Self! We bow to you as the Cause of causes,
the Principal shape beyond compare,
beyond Nature (pradhana) and Intellect.

O All-powerful (Bhagavan)! We bow to your shape
which the seers alone perceive and in which is found
no white nor other colour, no length nor other dimension,

no density nor other quality.

Purer than purity it stands
beyond the sphere of quality.

We bow to you, the birthless, the indestructible,
outside whom there is but nothingness.

You are the ever-present within all things,
as the intrinsic principle of all.

We bow to you, resplendent Indweller (Vasudeva)! the seed of all
that is!
You stand changeless, unsullied.

The Supreme stage is your core, the Universe your shape.
You are the unborn, Eternal.

Translation by Alain Danielou, in his Hindu Polytheism (New York: Bollingen Series LXXIII, 1964).PP.
367-8

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": KRISHNA'S EPIPHANY

(Bhagavad-Gita, XI, Selections)

3. Thus it is, as Thou declarest
Thyself, O Supreme Lord.
I desire to see Thy form.
As God, O Supreme Spirit!

4. If Thou thinkest that it can
Be seen by me, O Lord,
Prince of mystic power, then do Thou to me
Reveal Thine immortal Self.

The Blessed One said:

5. Behold My forms, son of Prtha,
By hundreds and by thousands,
Of various sorts, marvelous,
Of various colours and shapes. . . .

8. But thou canst not see Me
With this same eye of thine own;
I give thee a supernatural eye:
Behold My mystic power as God!

Samjaya said:

9. Thus speaking then, O king,
Hari (Visnu), the great Lord of Mystic Power,
Showed unto the son of Prtha
His supernal form as God: . . .

12. Of a thousand suns in the sky
If suddenly should burst forth
The light, it would be like

Unto the light of that exalted one. . . .

14. Then filled with amazement,
His hair standing upright, Dhanamjaya
Bowed with his head to the God,
And said with a gesture of reverence:

Arjuna said:

15. I see the gods in Thy body, O God,
All of them, and the hosts of various kinds of beings too,
Lord Brahma sitting on the lotus-seat,
And the seers all, and the divine serpents.

16. With many arms, bellies, mouths, and eyes,
I see Thee, infinite in form on all sides;
No end nor middle nor yet beginning of Thee
Do I see, O All-God, All-formed!

17. With diadem, club, and disc,
A mass of radiance, glowing on all sides,
I see Thee, hard to look at, on every side
With the glory of flaming fire and sun, immeasurable.

18. Thou art the Imperishable, the supreme Object of Knowledge
Thou art the ultimate resting-place of this universe;
Thou art the immortal guardian of the eternal right.
Thou art the everlasting Spirit, I hold.

19. Without beginning, middle, or end, of infinite power,
Of infinite arms, whose eyes are the moon and sun,
I see Thee, whose face is flaming fire,
Burning this whole universe with thy radiance.

20. For this region between heaven and earth
Is pervaded by Thee alone, and all the directions;
Seeing this Thy wondrous, terrible form,
The triple world trembles, O exalted one!

21. For into Thee are entering yonder throngs of gods;
Some, affrighted, praise Thee with reverent gestures;
Crying 'Hail!' the throngs of the great seers and perfected ones
Praise Thee with abundant laudations. . . .

24. Touching the sky, aflame, of many colours,
With yawning mouths and flaming enormous eyes,
Verily seeing Thee (so), my inmost soul is shaken,
And I find no steadiness nor peace, O Visnu!

25. And Thy mouths, terrible with great tusks,
No sooner do I see them, like the fire of dissolution (of the world),
Than I know not the directions of the sky, and I find no refuge.
Have mercy, Lord of Gods, Thou in whom the world dwells! . . .

31. Tell me, who art Thou, of awful form?
Homage be to Thee: Best of Gods, be merciful!

I desire to understand Thee, the primal one;
For I do not comprehend what Thou hast set out to do.

The Blessed One said:

32. I am Time (Death), cause of destruction of the worlds, matured
And set out to gather in the worlds here.
Even without thee (thy action), all shall cease to exist,
The warriors that are drawn up in the opposing ranks.

33. Therefore arise thou, win glory,
Conquer thine enemies and enjoy prospered kingship;
By Me Myself they have already been slain long ago;
Be thou the mere instrument, left-handed archer!

34. Drona and Bhishma and Jayadratha,
Karna too, and the other warrior-heroes as well,
Do thou slay, (since) they are already slain by Me; do not hesitate!
Fight! Thou shalt conquer thy rivals in battle. . . .

Arjuna said:

36. It is in place, Hrsikesa, that at Thy praise
The world rejoices and is exceeding glad;
Ogres fly in terror in all directions,
And all the hosts of perfected ones pay homage.

37. And why should they not pay homage to Thee, Exalted One?
Thou art greater even than Brahman; Thou art the First Creator;
infinite Lord of Gods, in whom the world dwells,
Thou the imperishable, existent, non-existent, and beyond both!

38. Thou art the Primal God, the Ancient Spirit,
Thou art the supreme resting-place of this universe;
Thou art the knower, the object of knowledge, and the highest station,
By Thee the universe is pervaded, Thou of infinite form! . . .

42. And if I treated thee disrespectfully to make sport of Thee,
In the course of amusement, resting, sitting, or eating,
Either since, O unshaken one, or in the presence of those (others),
For that I beg forgiveness of Thee, the immeasurable one.

43. Thou art the father of the world of things that move and move not,
And thou art its revered, most venerable Guru;
There is no other like Thee, how then a greater?
Even in the three worlds, O Thou of matchless greatness!

44. Therefore, bowing and prostrating my body,
I beg grace of Thee, the Lord to be revered:
As a father to his son, as a friend to his friend,
As a lover to his beloved, be pleased to show mercy, O God!

45. Having seen what was never seen before, I am thrilled,
And (at the same time) my heart is shaken with fear;
Show me, O God, that same form of Thine (as before)!
Be merciful, Lord of Gods, Abode of the World!

Translation by Franklin Edgerton, in Edgerton Bhagavad-Gita, Vol I. Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 38 (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1944)

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE TATHAGATA ANNOUNCES THAT HE HAS ENTERED NIRVANA

('Saddharmapundarika,' XV, 268-72)

The Buddha, considered as a spiritual principle and not as a historical person, is called 'Tathagata.' The original meaning of the term is no longer known.

The Lord said- As a result of my sustaining power this world, with its Gods, men and Asuras, forms the notion that recently the Lord Shakyamuni, after going forth from his home among the Shakyas, has awoken to full enlightenment, on the terrace of enlightenment, by the town of Gaya,

But one should not see it thus, sons of good family. In fact it is many hundreds of thousands of myriads of Kotis of aeons ago that I, have awoken to full enlightenment. . . . Ever since, during all that time I have demonstrated Dharma to beings in this Saha world system, and also in hundreds of thousands of Nayutas of Kotis of other world systems. But when I have spoken of other Tathagatas, beginning with the Tathagata Dipinkara, and of the Nirvana of these Tathagatas, then that has just been conjured up by me as an emission of the skill in means by which I demonstrate Dharma.

Moreover, the Tathagata surveys the diversity in the faculties and vigour of successive generations of beings. To each generation he announces his name, declares that he has entered Nirvana, and brings peace to beings by various discourses on Dharma. To beings who are of low disposition, whose store of merit is small, and whose depravities are many, he says in that case: 'I am young in years, monks, I have left the home of my family, and but lately have I won full enlighten ment.' But when the Tathagata, although fully enlightened for s long, declares that he has been fully enlightened but recently, the such discourses on Dharma have been spoken for no other reason than to bring beings to maturity and to save them. All these discourse on Dharma have been taught by the Tathagata in order to discipline beings.

And whatever the Tathagata says to educate beings, and whatever the Tathagata utters,-whether he appears as himself or as another whether under his own authority or another,-all these discourses o Dharma are taught as factually true by the Tath-agata, and there I no false speech in them on the part of the Tathagata. For the Tath-a gata has seen the triple world as it really is: It is not born, it dies not there is no decease or rebirth, no Samsara- or Nirvana; it is not real or unreal, not existent, or non-existent, not such, or otherwise, no false or not-false. Not in such a way has the Tathagata seen the triple world as the foolish common people see it. The Tathagata I face to face with the reality of dharmas; he can therefore be under no delusion about them. Whatever words the Tathagata may utter with regard to them, they are true, not false, not otherwise.

He utters, however, different discourses on Dharma, which differ I their objective basis, to beings who differ in their mode of life an their intentions, and who wander amidst discriminations and percep tions, in order to generate the roots of good in them. For a Tathagata performs a Tathagata's work. Fully enlightened for ever so long, the Tathagata has an endless span of life, he lasts for ever. Although the Tathagata has not entered Nirvana, he makes a show of entering Nirvana, for the sake of those who have to be educated. And eve today my ancient course as a Bodhisattva is still incomplete, and m life-span is not yet ended. From today onwards still twice as man hundreds of thousands of Nayutas of Kotis of aeons must elapse before my life-span is complete. Although therefore I do not at present enter into Nirvana (or extinction), nevertheless I announce my Nirvana. For by this method I bring beings to maturity. Because it might b that, if I stayed here too long and could be seen too often, beings wh have performed no meritorious actions, who are without merit, poorly lot, eager for sensuous pleasures, blind, and wrapped in net of false views, would, in the knowledge that the Tathagata stay (here all the time), get the notion that life is a mere sport, and would not conceive the notion that the (sight of the) Tathagata is hard to obtain. In the conviction that the Tathagata is always at hand they would not exert their vigour for the purpose of

escaping from the triple world, and they would not conceive of the Tathagata as hard to obtain.

Translation by Edwin Conze, in Conze, et al., *Buddhist Texts through the Ages* (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1954)

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE BODHISATTVA'S INFINITE COMPASSION

('Shikshasamuccaya,' 280-2 ['Vajradhvaha-sutra'])

A Bodhisattva resolves: I take upon myself the burden of all suffering. I am resolved to do so, I will endure it. I do not turn or run away, do not tremble, am not terrified, nor afraid, do not turn back or despond. And why? At all costs I must bear the burdens of all beings. In that I do not follow my own inclinations. I have made the vow to save all beings. All beings I must set free. The whole world of living beings I must rescue, from the terrors of birth, of old age, of sickness, of death and rebirth, of all kinds of moral offence, of all states of woe, of the whole cycle of birth-and-death, of the jungle of false views, of the loss of wholesome dharmas, of the concomitants of ignorance, from all these terrors I must rescue all beings. . . . I walk so that the kingdom of unsurpassed cognition is built up for all beings. My endeavours do not merely aim at my own deliverance. For with the help of the boat of the thought of all-knowledge, I must rescue all these beings from the stream of Samsara, which is so difficult to cross, I must pull them back from the great precipice, I must free them from all calamities, I must ferry them across the stream of Samsara. I myself must grapple with the whole mass of suffering of all beings. To the limit of my endurance I will experience in all the states of woe, found in any world system, all the abodes of suffering. And I must not cheat all beings out of my store of merit, I am resolved to abide in each single state of woe for numberless aeons; and so I will help all beings to freedom, in all the states of woe that may be found in any world system whatsoever.

And why? Because it is surely better that I alone should be in pain than that all these beings should fall into the states of woe. There I must give myself away as a pawn through which the whole world is redeemed from the terrors of the hells, of animal birth, of the world of Yama, and with this my own body I must experience, for the sake of all beings, the whole mass of all painful feelings. And on behalf of all beings I give surety for all beings, and in doing so I speak truthfully, am trustworthy, and do not go back on my word. I must not abandon all beings.

And why? There has arisen in me the will to win all-knowledge, with all beings for its object, that is to say, for the purpose of setting free the entire world of beings. And I have not set out for the supreme enlightenment from a desire for delights, not because I hope to experience the delights of the five-sense qualities, or because I wish to indulge in the pleasures of the senses. And I do not pursue the course of a Bodhisattva in order to achieve the array of delights that can be found in the various worlds of sense-desire.

And why? Truly no delights are all these delights of the world. All this indulging in the pleasures of the senses belongs to the sphere of Mara.

Translation by Edward Conze, in Conze, et al., *Buddhist Texts through the Ages* (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1954)

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE SUN GOD AMATERASU AND THE STORM GOD SUSANO-O

('Nihongi,' 1, 40-5)

In Japanese tradition, Amaterasu and Susano-o were the two most important among many offspring of the primordial pair, Izanagi and Izanami.

After this Susano-o Mikoto's behaviour was exceedingly rude. In what way? Amaterasu [the

Heaven-shining Deity] had made august rice fields of Heavenly narrow rice fields and Heavenly long rice fields. Then Susa-no-o, when the seed was sown in spring, broke down the divisions between the plots of rice, and in autumn let loose the Heavenly piebald colts, and made them lie down in the midst of the rice fields. Again, when he saw that Amaterasu was about to celebrate the feast of first-fruits, he secretly voided excrement in the New Palace. Moreover, when he saw that Amaterasu was in her sacred weaving hall, engaged in weaving garments of the Gods, he flayed a piebald colt of Heaven, and breaking a hole in the roof-tiles Of the hall, flung it in. Then Amaterasu started with alarm, and wounded herself with the shuttle. Indignant of this, she straightway entered the Rock-cave of Heaven, and having fastened the Rock-door, dwelt there in seclusion. Therefore constant darkness prevailed on all sides, and the alternation of night and day was unknown.

Then the eighty myriads of Gods met on the bank of the Tranquil River of Heaven, and considered in what manner they should supplicate her. Accordingly omoi-kane 1 no Kami, with profound device and far-reaching thought, at length gathered long-singing birds 2 of the Eternal Land and made there utter their prolonged cry to one another. Moreover he made Ta-jikara-o 3 to stand beside the Rock door. Then Ame no Koyane no Mikoto, ancestor of the Nakatomi Deity Chieftains, and Futo-dama no Mikoto, ancestor of the Imibe Chieftains, dug up a five-hundred branched True Sakaki tree of the Heavenly Mt. Kagu. On its upper branches they hung an august five-hundred string of Yasaka jewels. On the middle branches they hung an eight-hand mirror.4 . . .

On its lower branches they hung blue soft offerings and white soft offerings. Then they recited their liturgy together.

Moreover Ama no Uzume 5, no Mikoto, ancestress of the Sarume 6 Chieftain, took in her hand a spear wreathed with Eulalia grass, and standing before the door of the Rock-cave of Heaven, skilfully performed a mimic dance. 7 She took, moreover, the true Sakaki tree of the Heavenly Mount Kagu, and made of it a head-dress, she took clubmoss and made of it braces, she kindled fires, she placed a tub bottom upwards, 8 and gave forth a divinely-inspired utterance.

Now Amaterasu heard this, and said 'Since I have shut myself up in the Rock-cave, there ought surely to be continual night in the Central Land of fertile reed-plains. How then can Ama no Uzume no Mikoto be so jolly?' So with her august hand, she opened for a narrow space the Rock-door and peeped out. Then Ta-jikara-o no Kami forthwith took Amaterasu by the hand and led her out. Upon this th Gods Nakatomi no Kami and Imibe no Kami at once drew a limit by means of a bottom-tied rope 9 (also called a left-hand rope) and begged her not to return again [into the cave].

After this all the Gods put the blame on Susa-no-o, and imposed on him a fine of one thousand tables 10 and so at length chastised him. They also had his hair pluck out, and made him therewith expiate his guilt.

Notes

1. Thought combining or thought-including
2. The cock is meant
3. Hand-strength male.
4. It is said to be this mirror which is worshipped at Ise as an emblem of the Sun Goddess.
5. Terrible female of heaven.
6. Monkey-female.
7. This is said to be the origin of the kagura or pantomime dance performed at Shinto festivals.
8. The Nihongi strangely omits to say that, as we learn from the kojiki, she danced on this and made it give out a sound.
9. A rope made of straw of rice which has been pulled up by the roots.
- 10 By tables are meant tables of offerings.

Adapted from Aston's translation of Nihongi by Wm. Theodore de Bary (ed.) Sources of Japanese Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958) pp. 29-31; note by de Bary.

GREEK GODS AND HEROES, AND THE IRANIAN SUPREME BEING, AHURA-MAZDA

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": TO PYTHIAN APOLLO

('The Homeric Hymns,' III, 179 ff)

O Lord, Lycia is yours and lovely Maeonia and Miletus, charming city by the sea, but over Delos you greatly reign your own self.

Leto's all-glorious son goes to rocky Pytho, playing upon his hollow lyre, clad in divine, perfumed garments; and at the touch of the golden key his lyre sings sweet. Thence, swift as thought, he speeds from earth to Olympus, to the house of Zeus, to join the gathering of the other gods: then straightway the undying gods think only of the lyre and song, and all the Muses together, voice sweetly answering voice, hymn the unending gifts the gods enjoy and the sufferings of men, all that they endure at the hands of the deathless gods, and how they live witless and helpless and cannot find healing for death or defense against old age. Meanwhile the rich-tressed races and cheerful Seasons dance with Harmonia and Hebe and Aphrodite, daughter of Zeus, holding each other by the wrist. And among them sings one, not mean nor puny, but tall to look upon and enviable in mien, Artemis who delights in arrows, sister of Apollo. Among them Sport Ares and the keen-eyed Slayer of Argus, while Apollo plays his lyre stepping high and featly and a radiance shines around him, the gleaming of his feet and dose-woven vest. And they, even gold-tressed Leto, and wise Zeus, rejoice in their great hearts as they watch their dear son playing among the undying gods.

How then shall I sing of you-though in all ways you are a worthy theme for song? Shall I sing of you as wooer and in the fields of love, how you went wooing the daughter of Azan along with god-like Ischys the son of well-horsed Flatius, or with Phorbas sprung from Triops, or with Eretheus, or with Leucippus and the wife of Leucippus . . . you on foot, he with his chariot, yet he fell not short of Triops. Or shall I sing how at the first you went about the earth seeking a place of oracle for men, O far-shooting Apollo? To Pieria first you went down from Olympus and passed by sandy Lectus and Enienae and through the land of the Perrhaebi. Soon you came to folcus and set foot on Cenaeum in Euboea, famed for ships: you stood in the Lelantine plain, but it pleased not your heart to make a temple there and wooded groves. . . .

And further still you went, O far-shooting Apollo, and came to Orchestus, Poseidon's bright grove: there the new-broken colt distressed with drawing the trim chariot gets spirit again, and the skilled driver springs from his car and goes on his way. . . .

Then you went towards Telpusa: and there the pleasant place seemed fit for making a temple and wooded grove. You came very near and spoke to her: 'Telpusa, here I am minded to make a glorious temple, and oracle for men, and hither they will always bring perfect hecatombs, both those, who live in rich Peloponnesus and those of Europe all the wave-washed isles, coming to seek oracles. And I will deliver to them all counsel that cannot fail, giving answer in my rich temple.,

So said Phoebus Apollo, and laid out all the foundations throughout, wide and very long. But when Telpusa saw this, she was angry in heart and spoke, saying: 'Lord Phoebus, worker from afar, I will speak a word of counsel to your heart, since you are minded to make here a glorious temple to be an oracle for men who will always bring hither perfect hecatombs for you; yet I will speak out, and do you lay up my words in your heart. The trampling of swift horses and the sound of mules watering at my sacred springs will always irk you, and men like better to gaze at the well-made chariots and stamping, swift-footed horses than at your great temple and the many treasures that are within. But if you will be moved by me-for you, lord, are stronger and mightier than I, and your strength is very great-build at Crisa below the glades of Parnassus, there no bright chariot will clash, and there will be no noise of swift-footed horses near your well-built altar. But so the glorious tribes of men will bring gifts to you as Iepaeon ("Hail-Healer"), and you will receive with delight rich sacrifices from the people dwelling round about.' So said Telpusa, that she alone, and not the Far-Shooter, should have renown there; and she persuaded

the Far-Shooter.

Further yet you went, far-shooting Apollo, until you came to the town of the presumptuous Phlegyae who dwell on this earth in a lovely glade near the Cephisian lake, caring not for Zeus. And thence you went . . . to Crisa beneath snowy Parnassus, a foothill turned towards the west: a cliff hangs over it from above, and a hollow, rugged glade runs under. There the lord Phoebus Apollo resolved to make his lovely temple, and thus he said

'In this place I am minded to build a glorious temple to be an oracle for men, and here they will always bring perfect hecatombs, both they who dwell in rich Peloponnesus and the men of Europe and from all the wave-washed isles, coming to question me. And I will deliver to them all counsel that cannot fail, answering them in my rich temple.

When he had said this, Phoebus Apollo laid out all the foundations throughout, wide and very long; and upon these the sons of Erginus, Trophonius and Agamedes, dear to the deathless gods, laid a footing of stone. And the countless tribes of men built the whole temple of wrought stones, to be sung of for ever.

But near by was a sweet flowing spring, and there with his strong bow the lord, the son of Zeus, killed the bloated, great-she-dragon, a fierce monster wont to do great mischief to men upon earth, to men themselves and to their thin-shanked sheep; for she was a very bloody plague. She it was who once received from gold-throned Hera and brought up fell, cruel Typhaon to be a plague to men. Once on a time Hera bare him because she was angry with father Zeus, when the son of Cronos bare all-glorious Athena in his head. . . .

And this Typhaon used to work great mischief among the famous tribes of men. 'whosoever met the dragoness, the day of doom would sweep him away, until the lord Apollo, who deals death from afar, shot a strong arrow at her. Then she, rent with bitter pangs, lay drawing great gasps for breath and rolling about that place. An awful noise swelled up unspeakable as she writhed continually this way and that amid the wood: and so she left her life, breathing it forth in blood. Then Phoebus Apollo boasted over her:

'Now rot here upon the soil that feeds man I You at least shall live no more to be a fell bane to men who eat the fruit of the all nourishing earth, and who will bring hither perfect hecatombs. Against cruel death neither Typhoeus shall avail you nor ill-famed Chimera, but here shall the Earth and shining Hyperion make you rot.'

Thus said Phoebus, exulting over her: and darkness covered her eyes. And the holy strength of Helios made her rot away there: wherefore the place is now called Pytho, and men call the lord Apollo by -another name, Pythian; because on that spot the power of piercing Helios made the monster rot away.

Then Phoebus Apollo saw that the sweet flowing spring had beguiled him, and he started out in anger against Telphusa; and soon coming to her, he stood close by and spoke to her:

'Telphusa, you were not, after all, to keep to yourself this lovely place by deceiving my mind, and pour forth your clear flowing water: here my renown shall also be and not yours alone.'

Thus spoke the lord, far working Apollo, and pushed over upon her a crag, with a shower of rocks, hiding her streams: and he made himself an altar in a wooded grove very near the clear-flowing stream. In that place all men pray to the great one by the name Telphusian, because he humbled the stream of holy Telphusa.

Translation by Hugh G. Evans-White, in the Loeb Classical Library (New York, 1914) pp337 ff

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE EARTH, MOTHER OF ALL

('The Homeric Hymns,' xxx)

I will sing of well-founded Earth, mother of all, eldest of all beings. She feeds all creatures that are in the world, all that go upon the goodly land, and all that are in the paths of the seas, and all that fly: all these

are fed of her store. Through you, O queen, men are blessed in their children and blessed in their harvests, and to you it belongs to give means of life to mortal men and to take it away. Happy is the man whom you delight to honour! He has all things abundantly: his fruitful land is laden with corn, his pastures are covered with cattle, and his house is filled with good things. Such men rule orderly in their cities of fair women: great riches and wealth follow them: their sons exult with everfresh delight, and their daughters with flower laden hands play and skip merrily over the soft flowers of the field. Thus it is with those whom you honour O holy goddess, bountiful spirit.

Hail, Mother of the gods, wife of starry Heaven; freely bestow upon me for this my song substance that cheers the heart! And now I will remember you and another song also.

Translation by Hugh G. Evans-White, in the Loeb Classical Library (New York, 1914) p. 456

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": HERCULES, HIS LABOURS, HIS DEATH, HIS APOTHEOSIS

(Apollodorus, 'The Library,' 11; IV, 8-VII, 7)

. . . But before Amphitryon reached Thebes, Zeus came by night and prolonging the one night threefold he assumed the likeness of Amphitryon and bedded with Alcmena and related what had happened concerning the Teleboans. But when Amphitryon arrived and saw that he was not welcomed by his wife, he inquired the cause; and when she told him that he had come the night before and slept with her, he learned from Tiresias how Zeus had enjoyed her. And Alcmena bore two sons, to wit, Hercules, whom she had by Zeus and who was the elder by one night, and Iphicles, whom she had by Amphitryon. When the child was eight months old, Hera desired the destruction of the babe and sent two huge serpents to the bed. Alcmena called Amphitryon to her help, but Hercules arose and killed the serpents by strangling them with both his hands. However, Pherecydes says that it was Amphitryon who put the serpents in the bed, because he would know which of the two children was his, and that when Iphicles fled, and Hercules stood his ground, he knew that Iphicles was begotten of his body.

Hercules was taught to drive a chariot by Amphitryon, to wrestle by Autolycus, to shoot with the bow by Eurytus, to fence by Castor, and to play the lyre by Linus. This Linus was a brother of Orpheus; he came to Thebes and became a Theban, but was killed by Hercules with a blow of the lyre; for being struck by him, Hercules flew into a rage and slew him. When he was tried for murder, Hercules quoted a law of Rhadamanthys, who laid it down that whoever defends himself against a wrongful aggressor shall go free, and so he was acquitted. But fearing he might do the like again, Amphitryon sent him to the cattle farm; and there he was nurtured and outdid all in stature and strength. Even by the look of him it was plain that he was a son of Zeus; for his body measured four cubits, and he flashed a gleam of fire from his eyes; and he did not miss, neither with the bow nor with the javelin.

While he was with the herds and had reached his eighteenth year he slew the lion of Cithaeron, for that animal, sallying from Cithaeron, harried the kine of Amphitryon and of Thespius. Now this Thespius was king of Thespieae, and Hercules went to him when he wished to catch the lion. The king entertained him for fifty days, and each night, as Hercules went forth to the hunt, Thespius bedded one of his daughters with him (fifty daughters having been borne to him by Megamede, daughter of Arneus); for he was anxious that all of them should have children by Hercules. Thus Hercules, though he thought that his bedfellow was always the same, had intercourse with them all. And having vanquished the lion, he dressed himself in the skin and wore the scalp as a helmet. . . .

Having first learned from Eurytus the art of archery, Hercules received a sword from Hermes, a bow and arrows from Apollo, a golden breastplate from Hephaestus, and a robe from Athena; for he had himself cut a club at Nemea.

Now it came to pass that after the battle with the Minyans Hercules was driven mad through the jealousy of Hera and flung his own children, whom he had by Megara, and two children of Iphicles into the fire;

wherefore he condemned himself to exile, and was purified by Thespius, and repairing to Delphi he inquired to the god where he should dwell. The Pythian priestess then first called him Hercules, for hitherto he was called Alcides. And she told him to dwell in Tiryns, serving Eurystheus for twelve years and to perform the ten labours imposed on him, and so, she said, when the tasks were accomplished, he would be immortal.

When Hercules heard that, he went to Tiryns and did as he was bid by Eurystheus. First, Eurystheus ordered him to bring the skin of the Nemean lion; now that was an invulnerable beast begotten by Typhon. . . . And having come to Nemea and tracked the lion, he first shot an arrow at him, but when he perceived that the beast was invulnerable, he heaved up his club and made after him. And when the lion took refuge in a cave with two mouths, Hercules built up the one entrance and came in upon the beast through the other, and putting his arm round its neck held it tight till he had choked it, so laying it on his shoulders he carried it to Cleonae. . . .

As a second labour he ordered him to kill the Lernaean hydra. That creature, bred in the swamp of Lerna, used to go forth into the plain and ravage both the cattle and the country. Now the hydra had a huge body, with nine heads, eight mortal, but the middle one immortal. So mounting a chariot driven by Iolaus, he came to Lerna, and having halted his horses, he discovered the hydra on a hill beside the springs of the Amymon, where was its den. By pelting it with fiery shafts he forced it to come out, and in the act of doing so he seized and held it fast. But the hydra wound itself about one of his feet and clung to him. Nor could he effect anything by smashing its heads with his club, for as fast as one head was smashed there grew up two. A huge crab also came to the help of the hydra by biting his foot. So he killed it, and in his turn called for help on Iolaus who, by setting fire to a piece of the neighbouring wood and burning the roots of the heads with the brands, prevented them from sprouting. Having thus got the better of the sprouting heads, he chopped off the immortal head, and buried it, and put a heavy rock on it, beside the road that leads through Lerna to Elaeus. But the body of the hydra he slit up and dipped his arrows in the gall. However, Eurystheus said that this labour should not be reckoned among the ten because he had not got the better of the hydra by himself, but with the help of Iolaus.

As a third labour he ordered him to bring the Cerynithian hind alive to Mycenae. Now the hind was at Oenoe; it had golden horns and was sacred to Artemis; so wishing neither to kill nor wound it, Hercules hunted it for a whole year. But when, weary with the chase, the beast took refuge on the mountain called Artemisius, and thence passed to the river Ladon, Hercules shot it just as it was about to cross the stream, and catching it put it on his shoulders and hastened through Arcadia. But Artemis with Apollo met him, and would have wrestled the hind from him, and rebuked him for attempting to kill her sacred animal. Howbeit, by pleading necessity and laying the blame on Eurystheus, he appeased the anger of the goddess and carried the beast alive to Mycenae.

As a fourth labour he ordered him to bring the Erymanthian boar alive; now that animal ravaged Psophis, sallying from a mountain which they call Erymanthus. . . .

The fifth labour he laid on him was to carry out the dung of the cattle of Augeas in a single day. Now Augeas was king of Elis; some say that he was a son of the Sun, others that he was a son of Poseidon, and others that he was a son of Phorbas; and he had many herds of cattle. Hercules accosted him, and without revealing the command of Eurystheus, said that he would carry out the dung in one day, if Augeas would give him the tithe of the cattle. Augeas was incredulous, but promised. Having taken Augeas's son Phyleus to witness, Hercules made a breach in the foundations of the cattle-yard, and then, diverting the courses of the Alpheus and Peneus, which flowed near each other, he turned them into the yard, having first made an outlet for the water through another opening. . . .

The sixth labour he enjoined on him was to chase away the Stymphalian birds. Now at the city of Stymphalus in Arcadia was the lake called Stymphalian, embosomed in a deep wood. To it countless birds had flocked for refuge, fearing to be preyed upon by the wolves. So when Hercules was at a loss how to drive the birds from the wood, Athena gave him brazen castanets, which she had received from Hephaestus. By clashing these on a certain mountain that overhung the lake, he scared the birds. They could not abide the sound, but fluttered up in a fright, and in that way Hercules shot them.

The seventh labour he enjoined on him was to bring the Cretan Bull. Acusilaus says that this was the bull that ferried across Europa for Zeus; but some say it was the bull that Poseidon sent up from the sea when Minos promised to sacrifice to Poseidon what should appear out of the sea. And they say that when he saw the beauty of the bull he sent it away to the herds and sacrificed another to Poseidon; at which the god was angry and made the bull savage. To attack this bull Hercules came to Crete, and when, in reply to his request for aid, Minos told him to fight and catch the bull for himself, he caught it and brought it to Eurystheus, and having shown it to him he let it afterwards go free. But the bull roamed to Sparta and all Arcadia, and traversing the Isthmus arrived at Marathon in Attica and harried the inhabitants.

The eighth labour he enjoined on him was to bring the mares of Diomedes the Thracian to Mycenae. . . .

The ninth labour he enjoined on Hercules was to bring the belt of Hippolyte. She was queen of the Amazons, who dwelt about the river Thermodon, a people great in war; for they cultivated the manly virtues, and if ever they gave birth to children through intercourse with the other sex, they reared the females; and they pinched off the right breasts that they might not be trammelled by them in throwing the javelin, but they kept the left breasts, that they might suckle. Now Hippolyte had the belt of Ares in token of her superiority to all the rest. Hercules was sent to fetch this belt because Admete, daughter of Eurystheus, desired to get it. So taking with him a band of volunteer comrades in a single ship he set sail and put it to the island of Paros, which was inhabited by the sons of Minos, to wit, Eurymedon, Chryses, Nephalion, and Philolaus. . . .

Having put in at the harbour of Themiscyra, he received a visit from Hippolyte, who inquired why he was come, and Promised to give him the belt. But Hera in the likeness of an Amazon went up and down the multitude saying that the strangers who had arrived were carrying off the queen. So the Amazons in arms charged on horseback down on the ship. But when Hercules saw them in arms, he suspected treachery, and killing Hippolyte stripped her of her belt. And after fighting the rest he sailed away and touched at Troy. . . .

As a tenth labour he was ordered to fetch the kine of Geryon from Erythia. Now Erythia was an island near the ocean; it is now called Gadira. This island was inhabited by Geryon, son of Chrysaor by Callirrhoe, daughter of Ocean. He had the body of three men grown together and joined in one at the waist, but parted in three from the flanks and thighs. He owned red kine, of which Eurytion was the herdsman and Orthus, the two-headed hound, begotten by Typhon on Echidna, was the watch-dog. So journeying through Europe to fetch the kine of Geryon he destroyed many wild beasts and set foot in Libya, and proceeding to Tartessus he erected as tokens of his journey two pillars over against each other at the boundaries of Europe and Libya. But being heated by the Sun on his journey, he bent his bow at the god, who in admiration of his hardihood, gave him a golden goblet in which he crossed the ocean. And having reached Erythia he lodged on Mount Abas. However the dog, perceiving him, rushed at him; but he smote it with his club, and when the herdsman Eurytion came to the help of the dog, Hercules killed him also. But Menoetes, who was there pasturing the kine of Hades, reported to Geryon what had occurred, and he, coming up with Hercules besides the river Anthemus, as he was driving away the kine, joined battle with him and was shot dead. And Hercules, embarking the kine in the goblet and sailing across to Tartessus, gave back the goblet to the Sun. . . .

When the labours had been performed in eight years and a month, Eurystheus ordered Hercules, as an eleventh labour, to fetch golden apples from the Hesperides, for he did not acknowledge the labour of the cattle of Augeas nor that of the hydra. These apples were not, as some have said, in Libya, but on Atlas among the Hyperboreans. They were presented by Earth to Zeus after his marriage with Hera, and guarded by an immortal dragon with a hundred heads, offspring of Typhon and Echidna, which spoke with many and divers sorts of voices. With it the Hesperides also were on guard, to wit, Aegle, Erythia, Hesperia, and Arethusa. . . .

And passing by Arabia he slew Emathion, son of Tithonus, and journeying through Libya to the outer sea he received the goblet from the Sun. And having crossed to the opposite mainland he shot on the Caucasus the eagle, offspring of Echidna and Typhon, that was devouring the liver of Prometheus, and he

released Prometheus, after choosing for himself the bond of olive, and to Zeus he presented Chiron who, though immortal, consented to die in his stead.

Now Prometheus had told Hercules not to go himself after the apples but to send Atlas, first relieving him of the burden of the sphere; so when he was come to Atlas in the land of the Hyperboreans, he took the advice and relieved Atlas. But when Atlas had received three apples from the Hesperides, he came to Hercules, and not wishing to support the sphere he said that he would himself carry the apples to Eurystheus, and bade Hercules hold up the sky in his stead. Hercules promised to do so, but succeeded by craft in putting it on Atlas instead. For at the advice of Prometheus he begged Atlas to hold up the sky till he should put a pad on his head. When Atlas heard that, he laid the apples down on the ground and took the sphere from Hercules. And so Hercules picked up the apples and departed. But some say that he did not get them from Atlas, but that he plucked the apples himself after killing the guardian snake. And having brought the apples he gave them to Eurystheus. But he, on receiving them, bestowed them on Hercules, from whom Athena got them and conveyed them back again; for it was not lawful that they should be laid down anywhere.

A twelfth labour imposed on Hercules was to bring Cerberus from Hades. Now this Cerberus had three heads of dogs, the tail of a dragon, and on his back the heads of all sorts of snakes. When Hercules was about to depart to fetch him, he went to Eumolpus at Eleusis, wishing to be initiated. However it was not then lawful for foreigners to be initiated, since he proposed to be initiated as the adoptive son of Pylus. But not being able to see the mysteries because he had not been cleansed of the slaughter of the centaurs, he was cleansed by Eumolpus and then initiated. And having come to Taenarum in Laconia, where is the mouth of the descent to Hades, he descended through it. But when the souls saw him, they fled, save Meleager and the Gorgon Medusa. And Hercules drew his sword against the Gorgon, as if she were alive, but he learned from Hermes that she was an empty phantom. And being come near to the gates of Hades he found Theseus and Pirithous, him who wooed Persephone in wedlock and was therefore bound fast. And when they beheld Hercules, they stretched out their hands as if they should be raised from the dead by his might. And Theseus, indeed, he took by the hand and raised up, but when he would have brought up Pirithous, the earth quaked and he let go. And he rolled away also the stone of Ascalaphus. And wishing to provide the souls with blood, he slaughtered one of the kin of Hades. But Menoetes, son of Ceuthonymus, who tended the kine, challenged Hercules to wrestle, and, being seized round the middle, had his ribs broken; howbeit, he was let off at the request of Persephone. When Hercules asked Pluto for Cerberus, Pluto ordered him to take the animal provided he mastered him without the use of the weapons which he carried. Hercules found him at the gates of Acheron, and, cased in his cuirass and covered by the lion's skin, he flung his arms round the head of the brute, and though the dragon in its tail bit him, he never relaxed his grip and pressure till it yielded. So he carried it off and ascended through Troezen. But Demeter turned Ascalaphus into a short-eared owl, and Hercules, after showing Cerberus to Eurystheus, carried him back to Hades. . . .

. . . And having - come to Calydon, Hercules wooed Deianira, daughter of Oeneus. He wrestled for her hand with Achelous, who assumed the likeness of a bull; but Hercules broke off one of his horns. So Hercules married Deianira. . . . And taking Deianira with him, he came to the river Evenus, at which the centaur Nessus sat and ferried passengers across for hire, alleging that he had received the ferry from the gods for his righteousness. So Hercules crossed the river by himself, but on being asked to pay the fare he entrusted Deianira to Nessus to carry over. But he, in ferrying her across, attempted to violate her. She cried out, Hercules heard her, and shot Nessus to the heart when he emerged from the river. Being at the point of death, Nessus called Deianira to him and said that if she would have a love-charm to operate on Hercules she should mix the seed he had dropped on the ground with the blood that flowed from the wound inflicted by the barb. She did so and kept it by her. . . .

On his arrival at Trachis he mustered an army to attack Oechalia, wishing to punish Eurystus. Being joined by Arcadians, Melians from Trachis, and Epienemidian Locrians, he slew Eurystus and his sons and took the city. After burying those of his own side who had fallen, to wit, Hippasus, son of Ceyx, and Argius and Melas, the sons of Licymnius, he pillaged the city and led Iole captive. And having put in at Cenaeum; a headland of Euboea, he built an altar of Cenaeon Zeus. Intending to offer sacrifice, he sent the herald

Lichas to Trachis to fetch fine raiment. From him Deianira learned about Iole, and fearing that Hercules might love that damsel more than herself, she supposed that the spilt blood of Nessus was in truth a love-charm, and with it she smeared the tunic. So Hercules put it on and proceeded to offer sacrifice. But no sooner was the tunic warmed than the poison of the hydra began to corrode his skin; and on that he lifted Lichas by the feet, hurled him down from the headland, and tore off the tunic, which clung to his body, so that his flesh was torn away with it. In such a sad plight he was carried on shipboard to Trachis: and Deianira, on learning what had happened, hanged herself. But Hercules, after charging Hyllus his elder son by Deianira, to marry Iole when he came of age, proceeded to Mount Oeta, in the Trachinian territory, and there constructed a pyre, mounted it, and gave orders to kindle it. When no one would do so, Poeas, passing by to look for his flocks, set a light to it. On him Hercules bestowed his bow. While the pyre was burning, it is said that a cloud passed under Hercules and with a peal of thunder wafted him up to heaven. Thereafter he obtained immortality, and being reconciled to Hera he married her daughter Hebe, by whom he had sons, Alexiades and Anicetus.

Translation by Sir James George Frazer, in the Loeb Classical Library, vol. I (New York, 1921), pp. 173-237. 257-73

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": DEMETER AND THE FOUNDING OF THE ELEUSIAN MYSTERIES

('The Homeric Hymns': To Demeter, 11, 185-299)

Hades has carried off Demeter's daughter, Kore. After vainly searching for her, Demeter comes to Eleusis, in disguise as an old woman, and there is received into the house of King Celeus.

Soon they came to the house of heaven-nurtured Celeus and went through the portico to where their queenly mother sat by a pillar of the close-fitted roof, holding her son, a tender scion, in her bosom. And the girls ran to her. But the goddess walked to the threshold: and her head reached the roof and she filled the doorway with a heavenly radiance. Then awe and reverence and pale fear took hold of Metaneira, and she rose up from her couch before Demeter, and bade her be seated. But Demeter, bringer of seasons and giver of perfect gifts, would not sit upon the bright couch, but stayed silent with lovely eyes cast down until careful lambe placed a jointed seat for her and threw over it a silvery fleece. Then she sat down and held her veil in her hands before her face. A long time she sat upon the stool without speaking because of her sorrow, and greeted no one by word or by sign, but rested, never smiling, and tasting neither food nor drink, because she pined with longing for her deep-bosomed daughter, until careful lambe-who pleased her moods in aftertime also-moved the holy lady with many a quip and jest to smile and laugh and cheer her heart. Then Metaneira filled a cup with sweet wine and offered it to her; but she refused it, for she said it was not lawful for her to drink red wine, but bade them mix meal and water with soft mint and give her to drink. And Metaneira mixed the draught and gave it to the goddess as she bade. So the great queen Deo received it to observe the sacrament .2

And of them all, well-girded Metaneira first began to speak: 'Hail, lady! For I think you are not meanly but nobly born; truly dignity and grace are conspicuous upon your eyes as in the eyes of kings that deal justice. Yet we mortals bear perforce what the gods send us, though we be grieved; for a yoke is set upon our necks. But now, since you are come here, you shall have what I can bestow: and nurse me this child whom the gods gave me in my old age and beyond my hope, a son much prayed for. If you should bring him up until he reach the full measure of youth, any one of womankind that sees you will straightway envy you, so great reward would I give for his upbringing.'

Then rich-haired Demeter answered her: 'And to you, also, lady, all hail, and may the gods give you good! Gladly will I take the boy to my breast, as you bid me, and will nurse him. Never, I ween, through any heedlessness of his nurse shall witchcraft hurt him nor yet the Undercutter: for I know a charm far stronger than the Woodcutter, and I know an excellent safeguard against woeful witchcraft.' When she had so spoken, she took the child in her fragrant bosom with her divine hands: and his mother was glad in her heart. So the goddess nursed in the place Demophon, wise Celeus' goodly son whom well-girded Metancira bare. And the child grew like some immortal being, not fed with food nor nourished at the

breast: for by day rich-crowned Demeter would anoint him with ambrosia as if he were the offspring of a god and breathe sweetly upon him as she held him in her bosom. But at night she would hide him like a brand in the heart of the fire, unknown to his dear parents. And it wrought great wonder in these that he grew beyond his age; for he was like the gods face to face. And she would have made him deathless and unaging, had not well-girded Metaneira in her heedlessness kept watch by night from her sweet-smelling chamber and spied. But she wailed and smote her two hips, because she feared for her son and was greatly distraught in her heart, so she lamented and uttered winged words:

'Demophon, my son, the strange woman buries you deep in fire and works grief and bitter sorrow for me.'

Thus she spoke, mourning. And the bright goddess, lovely-crowned Demeter, heard her, and was wroth with her. So with her divine hands she snatched from the fire the dear son whom Metaneira had borne unhopd-for in the palace, and cast him from her to the ground, for she was terribly angry in her heart. Forthwith she said to well-girded Metaneira:

'Witless are you mortals and dull to foresee your lot, whether of good or evil, that comes upon you. For now in your heedlessness you have wrought folly past healing; for-be witness the oath of the gods, the relentless water of Styx-I would have made your dear son deathless and unaging all his days and would have bestowed on him everlasting honour, but now he can in no way escape death and the fates. Yet shall unfailing honour always rest upon him, because he lay upon my knees and slept in my arms. But, as the years move round and when he is in his prime, the sons of the Eleusinians shall ever wage war and dread strife with one another continually. Lo! I am that Demeter who has share of honour and is the greatest help and cause of joy to the undying gods and mortal men. But now, let all the people build me a great temple and an altar below it and beneath the city and its sheer wall upon a rising hillock above Callichorus. And I myself will teach my rites, that hereafter you may reverently perform them and so win the favour of my heart.'

When she had so said, the goddess changed her stature and her looks, thrusting old age away from her: beauty spread round about her and a lovely fragrance was wafted from her sweet-smelling robes, and from the divine body of the goddess a light shone afar, while golden tresses spread down over her shoulders, so that the strong house was filled with brightness as with lightning. And so she went out from the palace.

And straightway Metaneira's knees were loosed and she remained speechless for a long while and did not remember to take up her late born son from the ground. But his sisters heard his pitiful wailing and sprang down from their well-spread beds; one of them took up the child in her arms and laid him in her bosom, while another revived the fire, and a third rushed with soft feet to bring their mother from her fragrant chamber. And they gathered about the struggling child and washed him, embracing him lovingly; but he was not comforted, because nurses and handmaids much less skillful were holding him now.

All night long they sought to appease the glorious goddess, quaking with fear. But, as dawn began to show, they told powerful Celeus all things without fail, as the lovely-crowned goddess Demeter charged them. So Celeus called the countless people. to an assembly and bade them make a goodly temple for rich-haired Demeter and an altar upon the rising hillock. And they obeyed him right speedily and harkened to his voice, doing as he commanded. As for the child, he grew like an immortal being.

Notes

1 Demeter chooses the lowlier seat, supposedly as being more suitable to her assumed condition, but really because in her sorrow she refuses all comforts.

2 An act of communion-the drinking of the potion (kykeon) here described was one of the most important pieces of ritual in the Eleusinian mysteries, as commemorating the sorrow of the goddess.

Translation by Hugh G. Evelyn-White, in the Loeb Classical Library (New York, 1936)

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": ZALMOXIS, THE GOD OF THE GETAE

(Herodotus, 'History.' IV, 93-6)

Zalmoxis (Saitnoxis) was the Supreme God of the Getae (or Dacians), a Thracian people inhabiting a territory including today's Romania, but also extending farther east and northeast. Our only important information concerning this rather enigmatic deity is the text of Herodotus quoted below. The scholars have interpreted Zalmoxis as a Sky-god, a god of the dead, a Mystery-god, etc.

93. But before he came to the Ister, he first subdued the Getae, who pretend to be immortal. The Thracians of Salmydessus and of the country above the towns of Appolonia and Mesambria, who are called Cyrmaianae and Nipsaei, surrendered themselves unresisting to Darius; but the Getae, who are the bravest and most law-abiding of all Thracians, resisted with obstinacy, and were enslaved forthwith.

94. As to their claim to be immortal, this is how they show it: they believe that they do not die, but that he who perishes goes to the god Salmoxis of Gebelexis, as some of them call him. Once in every five years they choose by lot one of their people and send him as a messenger to Salmoxis, charged to tell of their needs; and this is their manner of sending: Three lances are held by men thereto appointed; others seize the messenger to Salmoxis by his hands and feet, and swing and hurl him aloft on to the spear-point. If he be killed by the cast, they believe that the gods regard them with favour; but if he be not killed, they blame the messenger himself, deeming him a bad man, and send another messenger in place of him whom they blame. It is while the man yet lives that they charge him with the message. Moreover when there is thunder and lightning these same Thracians shoot arrows skyward as a threat to the god, believing in no other god but their own.

95. For myself, I have been told by the Greeks who dwell beside the Hellespont and Pontus that this Salmoxis was a man who was once a slave in Samos, his master being Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus; presently, after being freed and gaining great wealth, he returned to his own country. Now the Thracians were a meanly-living and simple witted folk, but this Salmoxis knew Ionian usages and a fuller way of life than the Thracian; for he had consorted with Greeks, and moreover with one of the greatest Greek teachers, Pythagoras; wherefore he made himself a hall, where he entertained and feasted the chief among his countrymen, and taught them that neither he nor his guests nor any of their descendants should ever die, but that they should go to a place where they would live for ever and have all good things. While he was doing as I have said and teaching this doctrine, he was all the while making him an underground chamber. When this was finished, he vanished from the sight of the Thracians, and descended into the underground chamber, where he lived for three years, the Thracians wishing him back and mourning him for dead; then in the fourth year he appeared to the Thracians, and thus they came to believe what Salmoxis had told them. Such is the Greek story about him.

96. For myself, I neither disbelieve nor fully believe the tale about Salmoxis and his underground chamber; but I think that he lived many years before Pythagoras; and whether there was a man called Salmoxis, or this be the name the Getae for a god of their country, I have done with him.

Translation by A.D. Godley, in the Loeb Classical Library, vol II (New York, 1938)

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":
GATHA OF THE CHOICE

ZARATHUSTRA REVEALS THE EXEMPLARY CHOICE WHICH TOOK PLACE AT THE BEGINNING OF
THE WORLD

('Gatha:Yasna' 30)

Yasna 30 is one of the clearest and most frequently quoted Gathas. Zarathustra manifests his powerful

originality by reducing the history of the origins to that of a choice. . . . Better still, in Zoroaster's poem this tale of the original choice is balanced by an announcement of the final things, choice and rewards being closely interdependent. The whole human drama, reduced to its essential structure, is contained in a few stanzas.

1. Now will I speak to those who will hear
Of the things which the initiate should remember,
The praises and prayer of the Good Mind to the Lord
And the joy which he shall see in the light who has remembered
them -well.

2. Hear with your ears that which is the sovereign good;
With a clear mind look upon the two sides
Between which each man must choose for himself,
Watchful beforehand that the great test may be accomplished in
our favour,

3. Now at the beginning the twin spirits have declared their nature, The better and the evil,
In thought and word and deed. And between the two
The wise ones choose well, not so the foolish.

4. And when these two spirits came together,
In the beginning they established life and non-life,
And that at the last the worst experience should be for the wicked,
But for the righteous one the Best Mind.

5- Of these two spirits, the evil one chose to do the worst things, But the most Holy Spirit, clothed in the
most steadfast heavens, joined himself unto Righteousness;
And thus did all those who delight to please the Wise Lord by
honest deeds.

6. Between the two, the false gods also did "not choose rightly,
For while they pondered they were beset by error,
So that they chose the Worst Mind.
Then did they hasten to join themselves unto Fury,
That they might by it deprave the existence of man.

7. And to him came Devotion, together with Dominion, Good Mind
and Righteousness;
She gave perpetuity of body and the breath of life,
That he may be thine apart from them,
As the first by the retributions through the metal.

8. And when their punishment shall come to these sinners,
Then, O Wise One, shall thy Dominion, with the Good Mind, Be granted to those who have delivered Evil
into the hands of
Righteousness, O Lord!

9. And may we be those that re-new this existence!
-O Wise One, and you other Lords, and Righteousness, bring
your alliance,
That thoughts may gather where wisdom is faint.

10. Then shall Evil cease to flourish,
While those who have acquired good fame
Shall reap the promised reward

In the blessed dwelling of the Good Mind, of the Wise One, and of Righteousness.

11. If you, O men, understand the commandments which the Wise One has given,
Well-being and suffering-long torment for the wicked and salvation for the righteous-
All shall hereafter be for the best.

Translation and introductory note by Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, in his *The Hymns of Zarathustra* (London 1952), pp. 102-7

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE SECOND GATHA OF THE CHOICE

('Gatha:Yasna' 31)

Yasna 31 is closely connected with the preceding one, Yasna 30. It adds supplementary words which are meant for the faithful and which were judged necessary because the choice to be made did not yet appear clearly enough.

7. He who first through the mind filled the blessed spaces with light,
He it is who by his will created Righteousness,
Whereby he upholds the Best Mind.
This thou hast increased, O Wise One, by the Spirit
Which is even now one with thee, O Lord!

8. Through the mind, O Wise One, have I known thee as the first
and the last,
As the father of the Good Mind,
When I perceived thee with thine eyes as the true creator of
Righteousness,
As the Lord in the deeds of existence. . . .

11. Since thou, O Wise One, at the first didst create for its by thy mind
Beings and consciences and wills,
Since thou didst give a body to the soul of life,
Since thou didst create deeds and words, that man may decide freely

12.. Since then does the man of false words lift up his voice as well as the man of true words,
The initiate as well as the -non-initiate, each according to his heart and his mind.
May devotion put to the proof, one after the other, the spirits
where there is bewilderment! . . .

17. Is it righteous, or is it the wicked one that takes to himself the
greater part?
Let him that knows speak knowledge; let the unlearned cease to
deceive!
O Wise Lord, be thou our teacher in Good Mind! . . .

20. Whoever stands by the righteous man, to him shall future glory
appear,
Long lasting darkness, ill food, and wailing-

To such an existence shall your conscience
Lead you by your own deeds, O wicked ones.

Translation and introductory note by Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, in his *The Hymns of Zarathustra*
(London, 1953) pp. 108-17

ISLAM: ALLAH AND HIS PROPHET

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":
MUHAMMAD SPEAKS OF ALLAH:

'THERE IS NO GOD BUT HE. . . '

('Qur'an,' II, 256-9; VI, 102-3)

God
there is no god but He, the Living, the Everlasting.
Slumber seizes Him not, neither sleep;
to Him belongs
all that is in the heavens and the earth
Who is there that shall intercede with Him save by His leave?
He knows what lies before them
and what is after them,
and they comprehend not anything of His knowledge
save such as He wills.
His Throne comprises the heavens and earth;
the preserving of them oppresses Him not;
He is the All-high, the All-glorious.

No compulsion is there in religion.
Rectitude has become clear from error.
So whosoever disbelieves in idols
and believes in God, has laid hold of
the most firm handle, unbreaking; God is
All-hearing, All-knowing.
God is the protector of the believers;
He brings them forth from the shadows
into the light.
And the unbelievers-their protectors are
idols, that bring them forth from the light
into the shadows;
those are the inhabitants of the Fire,
therein dwelling forever. (II, 256-9)

That then is God your Lord;
there is no god but He,
the Creator of everything.
So serve Him,
for He is Guardian over everything.
The eyes attain Him not, but He attains the eyes;
He is the All-subtle, the All-aware. (VI, 102-3)

Translation by A.J Arberry

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":

ALLAH IS ALL-KNOWING, ALL-POWERFUL, THE CREATOR!

('Qur'an,' XXVII, 61-5; XXX, 47-54; XXXV, 36-9)

He who created the heavens and earth, and sent down for you
out of heaven water,
and We caused to grow therewith gardens full of loveliness
whose trees you could never grow.
Is there a god with God?
Nay, but they are a people who assign to Him equals!

He who made the earth a fixed place
and set amidst it rivers
and appointed it firm mountains
and placed a partition between the two seas.
Is there a god with God?
Nay, but the most of them have no knowledge.

He who answers the constrained, when he calls unto Him,
and removes the evil
and appoints you to be successors in the earth.
Is there a god with God?
Little indeed do you remember.

He who guides you in the shadows of the land and the sea
and looses the winds,
bearing good tidings before His mercy.
Is there a god with God?
High exalted be God, above that which they associate!

Who originates creation, then brings it back again,
and provides you out of heaven and earth.
Is there a god with God? (XXVII, 61-5)

God is He that looses the winds, that stirs up clouds,
and He spreads them in heaven how He will, and shatters them
then thou seest the rain issuing out of the midst of them,
and when he smites with it whomsoever of His servants
He will, lo, they rejoice,
although before it was sent down on them before that
they had been in despair.

So behold the -marks of God's mercy,
how He quickens the earth after it
was dead; surely He is the quickener
of the dead, and He is powerful
over everything.
But if We loose a wind, and they see it growing yellow,
they remain after that unbelievers.

Thou shalt not make the dead to hear,
neither shalt thou make the deaf to hear the call
when they turn about, retreating.
Thou shalt not guide the blind out of their error
neither shalt thou make any to hear

except for such as believe in Our signs, and so surrender.

God is He that created you of weakness, then He appointed after weakness strength, then after strength He appointed weakness and grey hairs; He creates what He will, and He is the All-knowing, the All-powerful. (XXX, 47-54)

God knows the Unseen in the heavens and the earth;
He knows the thoughts within the breasts.
It is He who appointed you viceroys in the earth.
So whosoever disbelieves, his unbelief shall be charged against him; their unbelief increases the disbelievers only in hate in God's sight; their unbelief increases the disbelievers only in loss.
Say: 'Have you considered your associates on whom you call, apart from God? Show what they have created in the earth; or have they a partnership in the heavens?' Or have We given them a Book, so that they are upon a clear sign from it?

Nay, but the evildoers promise one another naught but delusion.

God holds the heavens and the earth, lest they remove; did they remove, none would hold them after Him Surely He is All-clement, All-forgiving. (XXXV, 36-9)

Translation by A.J Arberry

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":
ALLAH 'IS THE FIRST AND THE LAST'

THE CREATOR, MAKER AND SHAPER. . . HE HAS KNOWLEDGE OF EVERYTHING

('Qur'an.' LVII, 1-5;LVIII, .7-8, LIX, 23-5)

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

All that is in the heavens and the earth magnifies God;
He is the All-mighty, the All-wise.
To Him belongs the Kingdom of the heavens and the earth;
He gives life, and He makes to die, and He is powerful
Over everything.
He is the First and the Last, the Outward and the Inward;
He has knowledge of everything.
It is He that created the heavens and the earth in six days
then seated Himself upon the Throne.
He knows what penetrates into the earth
and what comes forth from it,
what comes down from heaven, and what goes up into it.
He is with you wherever you are; and God sees
the things you do.
To Him belongs the Kingdom of the heavens and the earth;
and unto Him all matters are returned,
He makes the night to enter into the day

and makes the day to enter into the night..
He knows the thoughts within the breasts. (LVII, 1-5-)

Hast thou not seen that God knows whatsoever is in the heavens, and whatsoever is in the earth? Three men conspire not secretly together, but He is the fourth of them, neither five men, but He is the sixth of them, neither fewer than that, neither more, but He is with them, whoever they may be; then He shall tell them what they have done, on the Day of Resurrection. Surely God has knowledge of everything. (LIV 7-8)

He is God;
There is no god but He.
He is the knower of the Unseen and the Visible;
He is the All-merciful, the All-compassionate.

He is God;
There is no god but He.
He is the King, the All-holy, the All-peaceable,
the All-faithful, the All-preserver,
the All-mighty, the All-compeller,
the All-sublime.
Glory be to God, above that they associate!

He is, God;
the Creator, the Maker, the Shaper.
To Him belong the Names Most Beautiful.
All that is in the heavens and the earth magnifies Him;
He is the All-mighty, the All-wise. (LIX, 23-5-)

Translation by A. J Arberry

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":
ALLAH IS LIGHT

('Qur'an,' XXIV 33-44)

Now We have sent down to you signs
making all clear, and an example
of those who passed away before you,
and an admonition for the godfearing.

God is the Light of the heavens and the earth;
the likeness of His Light is as a niche
wherein is a lamp
(the lamp is a glass
the glass as it were a glittering star)
kindled from a Blessed Tree,
an olive that is neither of the East nor of the West
whose oil wellnigh would shine, even if no fire touched it;
Light upon Light;
(God guides to His Light whom He will.)

(And God strikes similitudes for men,
and God has knowledge of everything.)
in temples God has allowed to be raised up,
and His name to be commemorated therein;
therein glorifying Him, in the mornings and the evenings,
are men whom neither commerce nor trafficking
diverts from the remembrance of God
and to perform the prayer, and to pay the alms,
fearing a day when hearts and eyes shall be turned about,
that God may recompense them for their fairest works
and give them increase of His bounty;
and God provides whomsoever He will, without reckoning.
And as for the unbelievers,
their works are as a mirage in a spacious plain
which the man athirst supposes to be water
till, when he comes to it, he finds it is nothing;
there indeed he finds God,
and He pays him his account in full; (And God is swift
at the reckoning.)
or they are as shadows upon a sea obscure
covered by a billow
above which is a billow
above which are clouds,
shadows piled one upon another;
when he puts forth his hand, wellnigh he cannot see it.
And to whomsoever God assigns no light,
no light has he.
Hast thou not seen how that whatsoever is in the heavens
and in the earth extols God,
and the birds spreading their wings?
Each-He knows its prayer and its extolling; and God knows
the things they do.
To God belongs the Kingdom of the heavens and the earth,
and to Him is the homecoming.
Hast thou not seen how God drives the clouds, then composes them,
then converts them into a mass,
then thou seest the rain issuing out of the midst of them?
And He sends down out of heaven mountains, wherein is hail,
so that He smites whom He will with it, and turns it aside
from whom He will;
wellnigh the gleam of His lightning snatches away at the sight.
God turns about the day and the night;
surely in that is a lesson for those who have eyes.
God has created every beast of water,
And some of them go upon their bellies,
and some of them go upon two feet,
and some of them go upon four,
God creates whatever He will; God is powerful
over everything.

Translation by A. J. Arberry

MYTHS OF THE CREATION OF THE WORLD

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": CREATION BY THOUGHT

An account by a Winnebago Indian of Wisconsin, recorded by Paul Radin.

What it was our father lay on when he came to consciousness we do not know. He moved his right arm and then his left arm, his right leg and then his left leg. He began to think of what he should do and finally he began to cry and tears began to flow from his eyes and fall down below him. After a while he looked down below him and saw something bright. The bright objects were his tears that had flowed below and formed the present waters. . . . Earthmaker began to think again. He thought: "It is thus, If I wish anything it will become as I wish, just as my tears have become seas." Thus he thought. So he wished for light and it became light. Then he thought: "It is as I supposed; the things that I have wished for have come into existence as I desired." Then he again thought and wished for the earth and this earth came into existence. Earthmaker looked at the earth and he liked it but it was not quiet. . . . (After the earth had become quiet) he thought again of how things came into existence just as he desired. Then he first began to talk. He said, "As things are just as I wish them I shall make one being like myself." So he took a piece of earth and made it like himself. Then he talked to what he had created but it did not answer. He looked upon it and he saw that it had no mind or thought. So he made a mind for it. Again he talked to it, but it did not answer. So he looked upon it again and saw that it had no tongue. Then he made it a tongue. Then he talked to it again but it did not answer. So he looked upon it again and saw that it had no soul. So he made it a soul. He talked to it again and it very nearly said something. But it did not make itself intelligible. So Earthmaker breathed into its mouth and talked to it and it answered.'

Paul Radin, 'The Winnebago Indians,' in Thirty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, D.C., 1923), pp. 212-13

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": OMAHA COSMOGONY:

AT THE BEGINNING THE WORLD WAS IN GOD'S MIND

An Omaha Indian explains the Omaha belief about the creation of the world as recorded by Fletcher and La Flesche.

'At the beginning,' said the Omaha, 'all things were in the mind of Wakonda. All creatures, including man, were spirits. They moved about in space between the earth and the stars (the heavens). They were seeking a place where they could come into bodily existence. They ascended to the sun, but the sun was not fitted for their abode. They moved on to the moon and found that it also was not good for their home. Then they descended to the earth. They saw it was covered with water. They floated through the air to the north, the east, the south and the west, and found no dry land. They were sorely grieved. Suddenly from the midst of the water arose a great rock. It burst into flames and the waters floated into the air in clouds. Dry land appeared; the grasses and the trees grew. The hosts of the spirits descended and became flesh and blood. They fed on the seeds of the grasses and the fruits of the trees, and the land vibrated with their expressions of joy and gratitude to Wakonda, the maker of all things.'

Fletcher and La Flesche, 'The Omaha Tribe' in Twenty-seventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington D.C. 1911) pp.

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": CREATION FROM MERE APPEARANCE

A belief of the Uitoto of Colombia, South America.

In the beginning there was nothing but mere appearance, nothing really existed. It was a phantasm, an illusion that our father touched; something mysterious it was that he grasped. Nothing existed. Through the agency of a dream our father, He-who-is-appearance-only, Nainema, pressed the phantasm to his breast and then was sunk in thought.

Not even a tree existed that might have supported this phantasm and only through his breath did Nainema

hold this illusion attached to the thread of a dream. He tried to discover what was at the bottom of it, but he found nothing. 'I have attached that which was nonexistent,' he said. There was nothing. Then our father tried again and investigated the bottom of this something and his fingers sought the empty phantasm. He tied the emptiness to the dream-thread and pressed the magical glue-substance upon it. Thus by means of his dream did he hold it like the fluff of raw cotton. He seized the bottom of the phantasm and stamped upon it repeatedly, allowing himself finally to rest upon the earth of which he had dreamt. The earth-phantasm was now his. Then he spat out saliva repeatedly so that the forests might arise. He lay upon the earth and set the covering of heaven above it. He drew from the earth the blue and white heavens and placed them above.

Paul Radin, *Monotheism among Primitive Peoples* (Basel, 1954) pp 13-14; paraphrasing and summarizing K. T. Preuss, *Religion und Mythologie der Uitoto*, 1 (Göttingen, 1921) pp. 166-8

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": IO AND THE MAORI COSMOGONY

Io (Iho), the Supreme Being of the Maori of New Zealand, is regarded as eternal, omniscient, and the creator of the universe, of the gods, and of man. As will be seen from the following text, the cosmogonic myth constitutes, for the Maori, a paradigmatic model for every kind of 'creation': the procreation of a child, the inspiration of a poet, and the like. (Cf. M. Eliade, 'Myth and Reality' [New York: Harper & Row, 1963, pp. 30 ff])

Io dwelt within the breathing-space of immensity.
The Universe was in darkness, with water everywhere.
There was no glimmer of dawn, no clearness, no light.
And he began by saying these words,-
That He might cease remaining inactive -
'Darkness become a light-possessing darkness.'
And at once light appeared.
(He) then repeated those self-same words in this manner.
That He might cease remaining inactive:
'Light, become a darkness-possessing light.'
And again an intense darkness supervened.
Then a third time He spoke saying:
'Let there be one darkness above,
Let there be one darkness below.

.....
Let there be one light above,
Let there be one light below,
.....
A dominion of light,
A bright light.'
And now a great light prevailed.
(Io) then looked to the waters which compassed him about,
and spoke a fourth time, saying:
'Ye waters of Tai-kama, be ye separate.
Heaven, be formed.' Then the sky became suspended.
'Bring forth thou Tupua-horo-nuku.'
And at once the moving earth lay stretched abroad.

Those words (of Io) (the supreme god) became impressed on the minds of our ancestors, and by them were they transmitted down through generations, our priest joyously referred to them as being:

The ancient and original sayings.
The ancient and original words.

The ancient and original cosmological wisdom (wananga).
Which caused growth from the void,
The limitless space-filling void,
As witness the tidal-waters,
The evolved heaven,
The birth-given evolved earth.

And now, my friends, there are three very important applications of those original sayings, as used in our sacred rituals. The first occurs in the ritual for planting a child in the barren womb.

The next occurs in the ritual for enlightening both the mind and body. The third and last occurs in the ritual on the solemn subject of death, and of war, of baptism, of genealogical recitals and such like important subjects, as the priests most particularly concerned themselves in.

The words by which Io fashioned the Universe- that is to say, by which it was implanted and caused to produce a world of light-the same words are used in the ritual for implanting a child in a barren womb. The words by which Io caused light to shine in the darkness are used in the rituals for cheering a gloomy and despondent heart, the feeble aged, the decrepit; for shedding light into secret places and matters, for inspiration in song-composing, and in many other affairs, affecting man to despair in times of adverse war. For all such the ritual to enlighten and cheer includes the words (used by Io) to overcome and dispel darkness. Thirdly, there is the preparatory ritual which treats of successive formations within the universe, and the genealogical history of man himself.

Hare Hongi, 'A Maori Cosmogony,' Journal of the Polynesian Society, XVI (1907), PP. 113-114

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": POLYNESIAN THEOGONY AND COSMOGONY

(SOCIETY ISLANDS)

Ta'aroa (Tangararoa) is the Supreme Being, the noncreated Creator of the universe. He came forth from a shell (Rumia), which later became the world.

Ta'aroa was the ancestor of all the gods; he made everything. From time immemorial was the great Ta'aroa, Tahi-tumu (The-origin). Ta-aroa developed himself in solitude; he was his own parent, having no father and no mother. . .

Ta'aroa sat in his shell in darkness from eternity. The shell was like an egg revolving in endless space, with no sky, no land, no sea, no moon, no stars. All was darkness, it was continuous thick darkness. . . . The record then proceeds to describe Ta'aroa's breaking his shell, which became the sky, his swimming in empty space and retirement into a new shell which, after he had again emerged. . . he took. . . . for the great foundation of the world, for stratum rock and for soil for the world.

And the shell Rumia that he opened first, became his house, the dome of the god's sky, which was a confined sky, enclosing the world then forming

E.S. Craighill Handy, Polynesian Religion, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 34 (Honolulu 1927), pp 11-12

ircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": AN EARTH-DIVER CREATION MYTH

Beliefs of the Maidu Indians of California.

In the beginning there was no sun, no moon, no stars. All was dark and everywhere there was only water.

A raft came floating on water. It came from the north, and in it were two persons Turtle (A'noshma) and Father-of-the-Secret-Society (Pehe'ipe). The stream flowed very rapidly. Then from the sky a rope of feathers, called Po'kelma, was let down, and down it came Earth Initiate. When reached the end of the rope, he tied it to the bow of the raft, and stepped in. His face was covered and was never seen, but his body shone like the sun. He sat down, and for a long time said nothing. Last Turtle said, 'Where do you come from?' and Earth-Initiate answered, 'I come from above.' Then Turtle said, 'Brother, can not make for me some good dry land, so that I may sometimes come up out of the water?' Then he asked another time, 'Are there going to be any people in the world?' Earth-Initiate thought awhile, then said, 'Yes.' Turtle asked, 'How long before you are going to make people?' Earth-Initiate replied, 'I don't know. You want to have some dry land: well, how am I going to get any earth to make it of?' Turtle answered, 'If you will tie a rock about my left arm, I'll dive for some.' Earth Initiate did as Turtle asked, and then, reaching around, took the end of a rope from somewhere, and tied it to Turtle. When Earth-Initiate came to the raft, there was no rope there: he just reached out and found one. Turtle said, 'If the rope is not long enough, I'll jerk it once, and you must haul me up, if it is long enough, I'll give two jerks, and then you must pull me up quickly, as I shall have all the earth that I can carry.' just as Turtle went over the side of the boat, Father-of-the-Secret-Society began to shout loudly.

Turtle was gone a long time. He was gone six years; and when he came up, he was covered with green slime, he had been down so long. When he reached the top of the water, the only earth he had was a very little under his nails; the rest had all washed away. Earth-Initiate took with his right hand a stone knife from under his left armpit, and carefully scraped the earth out from under Turtle's nails. He put the earth in the palm of his hand, and rolled it about till it was round; it was as large as a small pebble. He laid it on the stern of the raft. By and by he went to look at it; it had not grown at all. The third time he went to look at it, it had grown so that it could be spanned by the arms. The fourth time he looked, it was as big as the world, the raft was aground, and all around were mountains as far as he could see. The raft came ashore at Tadoiko and the place can be seen today.

When the raft had come to land, Turtle said, 'I can't stay in the dark all the time. Can't you make a light, so that I can see?' Earth Initiate replied, 'Let us get out of the raft, and then we will see what we can do.' So all three got out. Then, Earth-Initiate said, 'Look that way, to the east! I am going to tell my sister to come up. Then it began to grow light, and day began to break; then Father-of-the-Secret-Society began to shout loudly, and the sun came up. Turtle said 'Which way is the sun going to travel?' Earth-Initiate answered, 'I'll tell her to go this way, and go down there.' After the sun went down, Father-of-the-Secret-Society began to cry and shout again, and it grew very dark. Earth-Initiate asked Turtle and Father-of-the-Secret-Society, 'How do you like it?' and they both answered, 'It is very good.' Then Turtle asked, 'Is that all you are going to do for us?' and Earth Initiate answered, 'No, I am going to do more yet.' Then he called the stars each by its name, and they came out. When this was done, turtle asked, 'Now what shall we do?' Earth-Initiate replied, 'Wait, and I'll show you.' Then he made a tree grow a Ta'doiko, the tree called Hu'kimsta and Earth Initiate and Turtle and Father-of-the-Secret-Society sat in its shade for two days. The tree was very large, and had twelve different kinds of acorns growing on it.

Roland B. Dixon, Maidu Myths, Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, XVII, no 2 (1902-7) pp. 33-118; quotation from pp. 38 ff

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD

A myth from the Yauelmani Yokuts of California.

At first there was water everywhere. A piece of wood (wicket, stick, wood, tree) grew up out of the water to the sky. On the tree there was a nest. Those who were inside did not see any earth. There was only water to be seen. The eagle was the chief of them. With him were the wolf, Coyote, the panther, the prairie falcon, the hawk called po'yon, and the condor. The eagle wanted to make the earth. He thought, 'We will have to have land.' Then he called k'uik'ui, a small duck. He said to it: 'Dive down and bring up earth.' The duck dived, but did not reach the bottom. It died. The eagle called another kind of duck. He told it to dive. This duck went far down. It finally reached the bottom. just as it touched the mud there it died. Then it came up again. Then the eagle and the other six saw a little dirt under its finger nail. When the eagle saw

this he took the dirt from its nail. He mixed it with telis and pele seeds and ground them up. He put water with the mixture and made dough. This was in the morning. Then he set it in the water and it swelled and spread everywhere, going out from the middle. (These seeds when ground and mixed with water swell) In the evening the eagle told his companions: 'Take some earth.' They went down and took a little earth up in the tree with them. Early in the morning, when the morning star came, the eagle said to the wolf: 'Shout.' The wolf shouted and the earth disappeared, and all was water again. The eagle said: 'We will make it again,' for it was for this purpose that they had taken some earth with them into the nest. Then they took telis and pele seeds again, and ground them with the earth, and put the mixture into the water, and it swelled out again. Then early next morning, when the morning star appeared, the eagle told the wolf again: 'Shout!' and he shouted three times. The earth was shaken by the earthquake, but it stood. Then Coyote said: 'I must shout too.' He shouted and the earth shook a very little. Now it was good. Then they came out of the tree on the ground. Close to where this tree stood there was a lake. The eagle said: 'We will live here.' They had a house there and lived there

A.L. Kroeber, Indian Myths of South Central California, University of California Publications, American Archeology and Ethnology, IV, no. 4 (1906-7), PP. 229-31

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": AN AFRICAN COSMOGONY

An account from the Boshongo, a Central Bantu Tribe of the Lunda Cluster

In the beginning, in the dark, there was nothing but water. And Bumba was alone.

One day Bumba was in terrible pain. He retched and strained and vomited up the sun. After that light spread over everything. The heat of the sun dried up the water until the black edges of the world began to show. Black sandbanks and reefs could be seen. But there were no living things.

Bumba vomited up the moon and then the stars, and after that the night had its light also.

Still Bumba was in pain. He strained again and nine living creatures came forth; the leopard named Koy Bumba, and Pongo Bumba the crested eagle, the crocodile, Ganda Bumba, and one little fish named Yo; next, old Kono Bumba, the tortoise, and Tsetse, the lightning, swift, deadly, beautiful like the leopard, then the white heron, Nyanyi Bumba, also one beetle, and the goat named Budi.

Last of all came forth men. There were many men, but only one was white like Bumba. His name was Loko Yima.

The creatures themselves then created all the creatures. The heron created all the birds of the air except the kite. He did not make the kite. The crocodile made serpents and the iguana. The goat produced every beast with horns. Yo, the small fish, brought forth all the fish of all the seas and waters. The beetle created insects.

Then the serpents in their turn made grasshoppers, and the iguana made the creatures without horns.

Then the three sons of Bumba said they would finish the world. The first, Nyonye Ngana, made the white ants; but he was not equal to the task, and died of it. The ants, however, thankful for life and being, went searching for black earth in the depths of the world and covered the barren sands to bury and honour their creator.

Chonganda, the second son, brought forth a marvelous living plant from which all the trees and grasses and flowers and plants in the world have sprung. The third son, Chedi Bumba, wanted something different, but for all his trying made only the bird called the kite.

Of all the creatures, Tsetse, lightning, was the only trouble-maker. She stirred up so much trouble that Bumba chased her into the sky. Then mankind was without fire until Bumba showed the people how to draw fire out of trees. 'There is fire in every tree,' he told them, and showed them how to make the fire-drill and liberate it. Sometimes today Tsetse still leaps down and strikes the earth and causes damage.

When at last the work of creation was finished, Bumba walked through the peaceful villages and said to the people, 'Behold these wonders. They belong to you.' Thus from Bumba, the Creator, the First Ancestor, came forth all the wonders that we see and hold and use, and all the brotherhood of beasts and man.

Maria Leach, *The Beginning* (New York, 1956), pp.145-6; translated and adapted from E. Torday and J. A. Joyce, *Les Boshongo*, pp.2

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE MAYA-QUICHÉ GENESIS

('Popol Vuh,' chapter 1)

The 'Popol Vuh' is the most important surviving work of Mayan literature. It was first written down after the introduction of Christianity.

Admirable is the account-so the narrative opens- admirable is the account of the time in which it came to pass that all was formed in heaven and upon earth, the quartering of their signs, their measure and alignment, and the establishment of parallels to the skies and upon the earth to the four quarters thereof, as was spoken by the Creator

and Maker, the Mother, the Father of life and of all existence, that one by whom all move and breathe, father and-sustainer of the peace of peoples, by whose wisdom was premediated the excellence of all that doth exist in the heavens, upon the earth, in lake and sea.

Lo, all was in suspense, all was calm and silent; all was motionless, all was quiet, and wide was the immensity of the skies.

Lo, the first word and the first discourse. There was not yet a man, not an animal; there were no birds nor fish nor crayfish; there was no wood, no stone, no bog, no ravine, neither vegetation nor marsh; only the sky existed.

The face of the earth was not yet to be seen; only the peaceful sea and the expanse of the heavens.

Nothing was yet formed into a body; nothing was joined to another thing; naught held itself poised; there was not a rustle, not a sound beneath the sky. There 'was naught that stood upright; there were only the quiet waters of the sea, solitary within its bounds; for as yet naught existed.

There were only immobility and silence in the darkness and in the night. Alone was the Creator, the Maker, Tepeu, the Lord, and Gucumatz, the Plumed Serpent, those who engender, those who give being, alone upon the waters like a growing light.

They are enveloped in green and azure, whence is the name Gucumatz, and their being is great wisdom.

Lo, how the sky existeth, how the Heart of the Sky existeth-for such is the name of God, as He doth name Himself!

It is then that the word came to Tepeu and to Gucumatz, in the shadows and in the night, and spake with Tepeu and with Gucumatz. And they spake and consulted and meditated, and they joined their words and their counsels.

Then light came while they consulted together; and at the moment of dawn man appeared while they planned concerning the production and increase of the groves and of the climbing vines, there in the shade and in the night, through that one who is the Heart of the Sky, whose name is Hurakan.

The Lightning is the first sign of Hurakan; the second is the Streak of Lightning; the third is the Thunderbolt which striketh; and these three are the Heart of the Sky.

Then they came to Tepeu, the Gucumatz, and held counsel touching Civilized life; how seed should be formed, how light should be produced, how the sustainer and nourisher of all.

'Let it be thus done. Let the waters retire and cease to obstruct, to the end that earth exist here, that it harden itself and show its sur. face, to the end that it be sown, and that the light of day shine in the heavens and upon the earth; for we shall receive neither glory nor honour from all that we have created and formed until human beings exist, endowed with sentience.' Thus they spoke while the earth was formed by them. It is thus, veritably, that creation took place, and the earth existed. 'Earth,' they said, and immediately it was formed.

Like a fog or a cloud was its formation into the material state, when, like great lobsters, the mountains appeared upon the waters, and in an instant there were great mountains. Only by marvelous power could have been achieved this their resolution when the mountains and the valleys instantly appeared, with groves of cypress and pine upon them.

Then was Gucumatz filled with joy. 'Thou art welcome, O Heart of the Sky, O Hurakan, O Streak of Lightning, O Thunderbolt!'

'This that we have created and shaped will have its end,' they replied.

Translation by H. B. Alexander in his *Latin-American Mythology* (Boston, 1920), PP. 160-2

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": JAPANESE COSMOGONY

('Nihongi' and 'Ko-ji-ki')

At the beginning of the eighth century A.D., the early Japanese myths were gathered together in two collections: 'Nihongi' ('Chronicles of Japan') and 'Ko-ji-ki' ('Records of Ancient Matters').

Of old, Heaven and Earth were not yet separated, and the In and Yo not yet divided. They formed a chaotic mass like an egg, which was of obscurely defined limits, and contained germs. The purer and clearer part was thinly diffused and formed Heaven, while the heavier and grosser element settled down and became Earth. The finer element easily became a united body, but the consolidation of the heavy and gross element was accomplished with difficulty. Heaven was therefore formed first, and Earth established subsequently. 'Thereafter divine beings were produced between them. (Nihongi, pp. 1-2.)

We have next what is called 'the seven generations of Gods,' ending with the creator-deities, Izanagi, the Male-Who-Invites, and his sister, Izanami, the Female-Who-Invites.

Hereupon all the Heavenly Deities commanded the two Deities His Augustness the Male-Who-Invites and Her Augustness the Female-who-Invites, ordering them to 'Make, consolidate and give birth to this drifting land.' Granting to them an heavenly jeweled spear, they (thus) deigned to charge them. So the two Deities, standing upon the Floating Bridge of Heaven, pushed down the jeweled spear and stirred with it, whereupon, when they had stirred the brine till it went curdle curdle, and drew (the spear) up, the brine that dripped down from the end of the spear was piled up and became an island. This is the Island of Onogoro. (Ko-ji-ki, p.19.)

The two Deities having descended on Onogoro-jima erected there an eight fathom house with an August central pillar. Then Izanagi addressed Izanami, saying: 'How is thy body formed?' Izanami replied, 'My body is completely formed except one part which is incomplete.' Then Izanagi said, 'My body is completely formed and there is one part which is superfluous. Suppose that we supplement that which is incomplete in thee with that which is superfluous in me, and thereby procreate lands.' Izanami replied, 'It is well.' Then Izanagi said, 'Let me and thee go round the heavenly August polar, and having met at the other side, let us become united in wedlock.' This being agreed to, he said, 'Do thou go round from the left, and I will go round from the right.' When they had gone round, Izanami spoke and exclaimed, 'How delightful! I have met a lovely youth.' Izanagi then said, 'How delightful! I have met a lovely maiden.' Afterwards he said, 'It was unlucky for the woman to speak first.' The child which was the first offspring of their union was the Hiruko (leech-child), which at the age of three was still unable to stand upright, and was therefore placed in a reed-boat and sent adrift. (Nihongi, p. 13; cf. Ko-ji-ki, pp. 20-1.)

The two deities next give birth to the islands of Japan and a number of deities. The last deity to be

produced is the God of Fire. But in giving birth to him Izanami is mortally burned. After death, she descends beneath the earth. Izanagi goes in search of her, like Orpheus descending into the Shades to recover Eurydice. Under the earth it is very dark; but Izanagi finally meets his wife and offers to bring her back with him. Izanami begs him to wait at the door of the subterranean palace, and not to show a light. But the husband

loses patience; he lights a tooth of his comb and enters the palace where, by the flame of this torch, he perceives Izanami in process of decomposition; seized with panic, he flees. His dead wife pursues him but Izanagi, managing to escape by the same way that he had gone down under the earth, casts a great rock over the aperture. Husband and wife talk together for the last time, separated from each other by this rock. Izanagi pronounces the sacramental formula for separation between them, and then goes up to heaven, while Izanami goes down forever into subterranean regions. She becomes the Goddess of the dead, as is generally the case with chthonian and agricultural goddesses, who are divinities of fecundity and, at the same time, of death, of birth, and of re-entry into the maternal bosom.

Nihongi translated by W. G. Aston (London, 1924). Ko-ji-ki translated by B. H. Chamberlain (Tokyo: Asiatic Society of Japan, 1906)

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": EGYPTIAN COSMOGONY AND THEOGONY

('The Book of Overthrowing Apophis')

The following text is from 'The Book of Overthrowing Apophis,' a late work, but one which conserves basic material from a relatively early period.

The Lord of All, after having come into being, says: I am he who came into being as Khepri (i.e., the Becoming One). When I came into being, the beings came into being, all the beings came into being after I became. Numerous are those who became, who came out of my mouth, before heaven ever existed, nor earth came into being, nor the worms, nor snakes were created in this place. 1, being in weariness, was bound to them in the Watery Abyss. I found no place to stand. I thought in my heart, I planned in myself, I made all forms being alone, before I ejected Shu, before I spat out Tefnut 1 before any other who was in me had become. Then I planned in my own heart, and many forms of beings came into being as forms of children, as forms of their children. I conceived by my hand, I united myself with my hand, I poured out of my own mouth. I ejected Shu, I spat out Tefnut. It was my father the Watery Abyss who brought them up, and my eye followed them (?) while they became far from me. After having become one god, there were (now) three gods in me. When I came into being in this land, Shu and Tefnut jubilated in the Watery Abyss in which they were. Then they brought with them my eye. After I had joined together my members, I wept over them, and men came into being out of the tears which came out of my eyes.² Then she (the eye) became enraged³ after she came back and had found that I had placed another in her place, that she had been replaced by the Brilliant One. Then I found a higher place for her on my brow⁴ and when she began to rule over the whole land her fury fell down on the flowering (?) and I replaced what she had ravished. I came out of the flowering (?), I created all snakes, and all that came into being with them. Shu and Tefnut produced Geb and Nut; Geb and Nut produced out of a single body Osiris, Horus the Eyeless one ⁵ Seth, Isis, and Nephthys, one after the other among them. Their children are numerous in this land.

Notes

1 Shu the air, Tefnut the moist.

2 Same myth in the Book of Gates, division 4 (The Tomb of Ramesses VI, P. 169).

3 An allusion to the myth of the Eye of the sun god which departs into a foreign land and is brought back by Shu and Tefnut. Another aspect of this myth is to be found in the Book of the Divine Cow.

4 The fire-spitting snake, the uraeus on the head of the god.

5 The Elder Horus of Letopolis.

Translation and notes by Alexandre Piankoff, in his *The Shrines of Tut-ankh-amon* (New York, 1955), P. 24. Cf. the translation by John A. Wilson, in *ANET*, pp. 6-7

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": MESOPOTAMIAN COSMOGONY

The long Babylonian creation epic 'Enuma elish' ('When on High'), so called from the first two words of the poem, narrates a chain of events beginning with the very first separation of order out of chaos and culminating in the creation of the specific cosmos known to the ancient Babylonians. As the gods are born within the commingled waters of their primeval parents, Apsu and Tiamat, their restlessness disturbs Apsu. Over Tiamat's protests, he plans to kill them; but the clever Ea learns of his plan and kills Apsu instead. Now Tiamat is furious, she produces an army of monsters to avenge her husband and to wrest lordship from the younger generation. The terrified gods turn to Ea's son Marduk for help. Marduk agrees to face Tiamat, but demands supremacy over them as compensation. They promptly assemble, declare him king, and send him forth, armed with his winds and storms. The battle is short; the winds inflate Tiamat's body like a balloon and Marduk sends an arrow through her gaping mouth into her heart. He then splits her body, forming heaven and earth with the two halves. After putting the heavens in order, he turns to Ea for help in creating, out of the blood of Tiamat's demon-commander Kingu, the black-haired men of Mesopotamia. The poem concludes as the gods build a temple for Marduk and gather in it to celebrate his mighty deeds. Enuma elish was probably composed in the early part of the second millennium B.C.

When on high the heaven had not been named,
Firm ground below had not been called by name,
Naught but primordial Apsu,¹ their begetter,
(And) Mummu² Tiamat, ³ she who bore them all,
Their waters ⁴ commingling as a single body;
No reed hut had been matted, no marsh land had appeared,
When no gods whatever had been brought into being,
Uncalled by name, their destinies undetermined-
Then it was that the gods were formed within them.⁵
Lahmu and Lahamu ⁶ were brought forth, by name they were called.
For aeons they grew in age and stature.
Anshar and Kishar ⁷ were formed, surpassing the others.
They prolonged the days, added on the years.
Anu ⁸ was their son, of his fathers the rival;
Yea, Anshar's first-born, Anu, was his equal.
Anu begot in his image Nudimmud. ⁹
This Nudimmud was of his fathers the master,

Of broad wisdom, understanding, mighty in strength,
Mightier by far than his grandfather, Anshar.
He had no rival among the gods, his brothers.
The divine brothers banded together,
They disturbed Tiamat as they surged back and forth,
Yea, they troubled the mood of Tiamat
By their hilarity in the Abode of Heaven.
Apsu could not lessen their clamour
And Tiamat was speechless at their ways.
Their doings were loathsome unto [. . .].
Unsavoury were their ways; they were overbearing.
Then Apsu, the begetter of the great gods,
Cried out, addressing Mummu, his vizier:
'O Mummu, my vizier, who rejoicest my spirit,
Come hither and let us go to Tiamat!
They went and sat down before Tiamat,
Exchanging counsel about the gods, their first-born.
Apsu, opening his mouth,
Said unto resplendent Tiamat:
'Their ways are verity loathsome unto me.
By day I find no relief, nor repose by night.
I will destroy, I will wreck their ways,
That quiet may be restored. Let us have rest!
As soon as Tiamat heard this,
She was wroth and called out to her husband.
She cried out aggrieved, as she raged all alone,
Injecting woe into her mood:
What? Should we destroy that which we have built?

Their ways are indeed troublesome, but let us attend kindly!

Then answered Mummu, giving counsel to Apsu;

Ill-wishing and ungracious was Mummu's advice:

'Do destroy, my father, the mutinous ways.

Then shalt thou have relief by day and rest by night!

When Apsu heard this, his face grew radiant

Because of the evil he planned against the gods, his sons.

As for Mummu, by the neck he embraced him

As (that one) sat down on his knees to kiss him.

(Now) whatever they had plotted between them

Was repeated unto the gods, their first born.

When the gods heard (this), they were astir,

(Then) lapsed into silence and remained speechless.

Surpassing in wisdom, accomplished, resourceful,

Ea, the all-wise, saw through their 11 scheme.

A master design against it he devised and set up,

Made artful his spell against it, surpassing and holy.

He recited it and made it subsist in the deep, 12

As he poured sleep upon him. Sound asleep he lay.

When Apsu he had made prone, drenched with sleep,

Mummu, the adviser, was impotent to move.

He loosened his band, tore off his tiara,

Removed his halo (and) put it on himself.

Having fettered Apsu, he slew him.

Mummu he bound and left behind lock.

Having thus upon Apsu established his dwelling,

He laid hold on Mummu, holding him by the nose-rope.

After he had vanquished and trodden down his foes,

Ea, his triumph over his enemies secured,
In his sacred chamber in profound peace he rested.
He named it 'Apsu' 13 for shrines he assigned (it).
In that same place his cult hut he founded.
Ea and Damkina, his wife, dwelled (there) in splendour.
In the chamber of fates, the abode of destinies,
A god was engendered, most potent and wisest of gods.
In the heart of Apsu 14 was Marduk created,
In the heart of holy Apsu was Marduk created.
He who begot him was Ea, his father,
She who conceived him was Damkina, his mother.
The breast of goddesses did she suck.
The nurse that nursed him filled him with awesomeness.
Alluring was his figure, sparkling the light in his eyes.
Lordly was his gait, commanding from of old.
When Ea saw him, the father who begot him,
He exulted and glowed, his heart filled with gladness.
He rendered him perfect and endowed him with a double godhead.
Greatly exalted was he above them, exceeding throughout.
Perfect were his members beyond comprehension,
Unsuited for understanding, difficult to perceive.
Four were his eyes, four were his ears,¹⁵
When he moved his lips, fire blazed forth.
Large were all hearing organs,
And the eyes, in like number, scanned all things.
He was the loftiest of the gods, surpassing was his stature;
His members were enormous, he was exceeding tall.
,My little son, any little son!'

My son, the Sun of Sun of the heavens!

Clothed with the halo of ten gods, he was strong to the utmost,

As their awesome flashes were heaped upon him.

.....

Disturbed was Tiamat, astir night and day.

The gods, in malice, contributed to the storm.

Their insides having plotted evil,

To Tiamat these brothers said:

'When they slew Apsu, thy consort,

Thou didst not aid him but remaindest still.

Although he fashioned the awesome Saw, 16

Thy insides are diluted and so we can have no rest.

Let Apsu, thy consort, be in thy mind

And Mummu, who has been vanquished! Thou art left alone

.....

(Several of the preceding lines are fragmentary. The gods incite Tiamat to avenge Apsu and Mummu. She is pleased and proposes to do battle against the offending gods. But first she bears a horrible brood of helpers-eleven monsters, 'Sharp of tooth, unsparing of fang. With venom for blood she has filled their bodies.')

From among the gods, 17 her first-born, who formed her Assembly,

She elevated Kingu, made him chief among them.

The leading of the ranks, command of the Assembly,

The raising weapons for the encounter, advancing to combat,

In battle the command-in-chief-

These to his hand she entrusted as she seated him in the Council:

'I have cast for thee the spell, exalting thee in the Assembly of the gods.

To counsel all the gods I have given thee full power.

Verily, thou art supreme, my only consort art thou!

Thy utterance shall prevail over all the Anunnaki! 18

She gave him the Tablets of Fate, fastened on his breast:

'As for thee, thy command shall be unchangeable, Thy word shall endure!'

As soon as Kingu was elevated, possessed of the rank of Anu,

For the gods, her sons, they 19 decreed the fate:

'Your word shall make the fire subside,

Shall humble the 'Power-Weapon,' so potent in (its) sweep!'

[Ea again learns of the plot, but this time he has no ready response

for it. He goes to his grandfather Anshar and repeats the entire story of Tiamat's fury and her preparations for battle. Anshar is profoundly disturbed. Finally he dispatches Anu, saying, 'Go and stand thou up to Tiamat, / that her mood be calmed, that her heart expand.' But when Anu sees the hosts of Tiamat, he loses his nerve and returns to Anshar.]

He came abjectly to his father, Anshar.

As though he were Tiamat thus he addressed him:

'My hand suffices not for me to subdue thee.'

Speechless was Anshar as he stared at the ground,

Frowning and shaking his head at Ea.

All the Anunnaki gathered at that place;

Their lips closed tight, they sat in silence.

'No god' (thought they) 'can go to battle and,

Facing Tiamat, escape with his life.'

Lord Anshar, father of the gods, rose up in grandeur,

And having pondered in his heart, he said to the Anunnaki:

'He whose strength is potent shall be our avenger,

He who is keen in battle, Marduk, the hero!'

[Ea warns Marduk of Anshar's plan and advises him to go before Anshar boldly. Marduk obeys and Anshar, seeing the hero, is instantly calmed.]

'Anshar, be not muted; open wide thy lips.

I will go and attain thy heart's desire. . . .

What male is it who has pressed his fight against thee?

It is but Tiamat, a woman, that opposes thee with weapons!

O my father-creator, be glad and rejoice;
The neck of Tiamat thou shalt soon tread upon!

.....

My son, (thou) who knowest all wisdom,
Calm Tiamat with thy holy spell.
On the storm-chariot proceed with all speed.
From her presence they shall not drive (thee)! Turn them back!
The lord rejoiced at the word of his father.

His heart exulting, he said to his father:
'Creator of the gods, destiny of the great gods, If I indeed, as your avenger,
Am to vanquish Tiamat and save your lives,
Set up the Assembly, proclaim supreme my destiny!
When jointly in Ubshukinna 20 you have sat down rejoicing,
Let my word, instead of you, determine the fates.
Unalterable shall be what I may bring into being;
Neither recalled nor changed shall be the command of my lips.'

[Anshar is prepared to accept Marduk's terms. He sends his vizier Gaga to a still older generation of gods, Lahtnu and Lahamu. Gaga is instructed to repeat the entire story to them, and to invite the gods to assemble at a banquet for fixing Marduk's decrees.]

When Lahtnu and Lahainu heard this, they cried out aloud,

All the Igigi 21 wailed in distress:

'How strange that they should have made this decision!

We cannot fathom the doings of Tiamat!'

They made ready to leave on their journey,

All the great gods who decree the fates.

They entered before Anshar, filling Ubshuhinna.

They kissed one another in the Assembly.

They held converse as they sat down to the banquet.

They ate festive bread, partook of the wine,

They wetted their drinking tubes with sweet intoxicant.

As they drank the strong drink their bodies swelled.

They became very languid as their spirits rose.

For Marduk, their avenger, they fixed the decrees.

They erected for him a princely throne.

Facing his fathers, he sat down, presiding.

'Thou art the most honoured of the great gods,

Thy decree is unrivaled, thy command is Anu 22

Thou, Marduk, art the most honoured of the great gods.

.....

We have granted thee Kingship over the universe entire.

When in the Assembly thou sittest, thy word shall be supreme.

Thy weapons shall not fail; they shall smash thy foes!

O lord, spare the life of him who trusts thee,

But pour out the life of the god who seized evil.'

Having placed in their midst a piece of cloth,

They addressed themselves to Marduk, their first-born:

'Lord, truly thy decree is first among gods.

Say but to wreck or create; it shall be.

open thy mouth: the cloth will vanish!

Speak again, and the cloth shall be whole!

At the word of his mouth the cloth vanished.

He spoke again, and the cloth was restored.

When the gods, his fathers, saw the fruit of his word,

Joyfully they did him homage: 'Marduk is king!'

They conferred on him sceptre, throne, and palu;

They gave him matchless weapons that ward off the foes:

Bel's 23 destiny thus fixed, the gods, his fathers,

Caused him to go the way of success and attainment.
He constructed a bow, marked it as his weapon,
Attached thereto the arrow, fixed its bow-cord.
He raised the mace, made his right hand grasp it;
Bow and quiver he hung at his side.
In front of him he set the lightning,
With a blazing flame he filled his body.
He then made a net to enfold Tiamat therein.
The four winds he stationed that nothing of her might escape,
The South Wind, the North Wind, the East Wind, the West Wind.
Close to his side he held the net, the gift of his father, Anu.
He brought forth Imhullu, 'the Evil Wind,' the Whirlwind, the
Hurricane,
The Fourfold Wind, the Sevenfold Wind, the Cyclone, the Matchless
Wind;
Then he sent forth the winds he had brought forth, the seven of them.
To stir up the inside of Tiamat they rose up behind him.
Then the lord raised up the flood-storm, his mighty weapon.
He mounted the storm-chariot irresistible and terrifying.
He harnessed (and) yoked to it a team-of-four,
The Killer, the Relentless, the Trampler, the Swift.
Sharp were their teeth, bearing poison.
They were versed in ravage, in destruction skilled.

.....

With his fearsome halo his head was turbaned,
The lord went forth and followed his course,
Towards the raging Tiamat he set his face.
In his lips he held [a . . .] of red paste; 24

A plant to put out poison was grasped in his hand.

Then they milled about him, the gods milled about him.

The lord approached to scan the inside of Tiamat,

(And) of Kingu, her consort, the scheme to perceive.

As he looks on, his 25 course becomes upset,

His will is distracted and his doings are confused.

And when the gods, his helpers, who marched at his side,

Saw the valiant hero, blurred became their vision.

Tiamat uttered a cry, without turning her neck,

Framing savage defiance in her lips:

'Too important art thou for the lord of the gods to rise up against thee!

Is it in their place that they have gathered, (or) in thy place?'

Thereupon the lord having raised the flood-storm, his mighty weapon,

To enraged Tiamat he sent word as follows:

'Mightily art thou risen, art haughtily exalted;

Thou hast charged thine own heart to stir up conflict,

So that sons reject their own fathers,

And thou who hast borne them, dost hate

Thou hast aggrandized Kingu to be (thy) consort;

A rule, -not rightfully his, thou hast substituted for the rule of Anu.

Against Anshar, king of the gods, thou seekest evil;

Against the gods, my fathers, thou hast confirmed thy wickedness.

Though drawn up be thy forces, girded on thy weapons,

Stand thou up, that I and thou meet in single combat!'

When Tiamat heard this,

She was like one possessed; she took leave of her senses.

In fury Tiamat cried out aloud.

To the roots her legs shook both together.

She recited a charm, keeps casting her spell,
While the gods of battle sharpen their weapons.
Then joined issue Tiamat and Marduk, wisest of gods,
They swayed in single combat, locked in battle.
The lord spread out his net to enfold her,
The Evil Wind, which followed behind, he let loose in her face.
When Tiamat opened her mouth to consume him,
He drove in the Evil Wind that she close not her lips.
As the fierce winds charged her belly,
Her body was distended and her mouth was wide open.
He released the arrow, it tore her belly,
It cut through her insides, splitting the heart.
Having thus subdued her, he extinguished her life.
He cast down her carcass to stand upon it.
After he had slain Tiamat, the leader,
Her band was shattered, her troupe broken up.
[Tiamat's helpers panic and run, but Marduk captures and fetters
all of them.]
And Kingu, who had been made chief among them,
He bound and accounted him to Uggae. 26
He took from him the Tablets of Fate, not rightfully his,
Sealed (them) with a seal 27 and fastened (them) on his breast.
When he had vanquished and subdued his adversaries,
.....
And turned back to Tiamat whom he had bound.
The lord trod on the legs of Tiamat
With his unsparing mace he crushed her skull.
When the arteries of her blood he had severed,

The North Wind bore (it) to places undisclosed.
On seeing this, his fathers were joyful and jubilant,
They brought gifts of homage, they to him.
Then the lord paused to view her dead body,
That he might divide the monster and do artful works.
He split her like a shellfish into two parts:
Half of her he set up and ceiled as sky,
Pulled down the bar and posted guards.
He bade them to allow not her waters to escape.
He crossed the heavens and surveyed (its) regions.
He squared Apsu's quarter, the abode of Nudimmud,
As the lord measured the dimensions of Apsu.
The Great Abode, its likeness, he fixed as Esharra,
The Great Abode, Esharra, which he made as the firmament.
Anu, Enlil, 28 and Ea he made occupy their places.
[Much of Tablet V is broken. Marduk puts the heavens in order,
establishing the zodiac and telling the moon how to shine.]
When Marduk hears the words of the gods,
His heart prompts (him) to fashion artful works.
Opening his mouth, he addresses Ea
To impart the plan he addresses Ea
To impart the plan he had conceived in his heart:
'Blood I will mass and cause bones to be.
I will establish a savage, "man" shall be his name.
Verily, savage-man I will create.
He shall be charged with the service of the gods
That they might be at ease!
The ways of the gods I will artfully alter.

Though alike revered, into two (groups) they shall be divided.'

Ea answered him, speaking a word to him,

To relate to him a scheme for the relief of the gods:

'Let but one of their brothers be handed over,

He alone shall perish that mankind may be fashioned. 29

Let the great gods be here in Assembly,

Let the guilty be handed over that they may endure.'

Marduk summoned the great gods to Assembly;

Presiding graciously, he issued instructions.

To his utterance the gods pay heed.

The king addresses a word to the Anunnaki:

'if your former statement was true,

Do (now) the truth on oath by me declare!

Who was it that contrived the uprising,

And made Tiamat rebel, and joined battle?

Let him be handed over who contrived the uprising.

His guilt I will make him bear that you may dwell in peace!'

The Igigi, the great gods, replied to him,

To Lugaidimmerankia, 30 counselor of the gods, their lord:

'It was Kingu who contrived the uprising,

And made Tiamat rebel, and joined battle.'

They bound him, holding him before Ea.

They imposed on him his guilt and severed his blood (vessels).

Out of his blood they fashioned mankind.

He 31 imposed the service and let free the gods.

[After the creation of mankind, Marduk divides the Anunnaki and assigns them to their proper stations, three hundred in heaven, three hundred on the earth.]

After he had ordered all the instructions,

To the Anunnaki of heaven and earth had allotted their portions,

The Anunnaki opened their mouths

And said to Marduk, their lord:

'Now, O lord, thou who hast caused our deliverance,

What shall be our homage to thee?

Let us build a shrine to thee whose name shall be called

'Lo, a chamber for our nightly rest'; let us repose in it!

Let us build a shrine, a recess for his abode!

On the day that we arrive 32 we shall repose in it.'

When Marduk heard this,

Brightly glowed his features, like the day:

'Like that of lofty Babylon, whose building you have requested,

Let its brickwork be fashioned. You shall name it "The Sanctuary."

The Anunnaki applied the implement;

For one whole year they moulded bricks.

When the second year arrived,

They raised high the head of Esagila 33 equaling Apsu. 34

Having built a stage-tower as high as Apsu,

They set up in it an abode for Marduk, Enlil, (and) Ea. In their presence he adorned (it) in grandeur.

To the base of Esharra its horns took down.

After they had achieved the building of Esagila, The Anunnaki themselves erected their shrines.

all of them gathered,

they had built as his dwelling.

The gods, his fathers, at his banquet he seated:

'This is Babylon, the place that is your home!

Make merry in its precincts, occupy its broad places.'

The great gods took their seats,

They set up festive drink, sat down to a banquet.

After they had made merry within it,
In Esagila, the splendid, had performed their rites,
The norms had been fixed (and) all their portents,
All the gods apportioned the stations of heaven and earth.
The fifty great gods took their seats.
The seven gods of destiny set up the three hundred in heaven.
Enlil raised the bow, his weapon, and laid (it) before them.
The gods, his fathers, saw the net he had made.
When they beheld the bow, how skillful its shape,
His fathers praised the work he had wrought.
Raising (it), Anu spoke up in the Assembly of the gods,
As he kissed the bow:

[The remainder of the epic is a long hymn of praise to Marduk It culminates in a recitation of his fifty names, attributes reflecting his power and mighty deeds.]

Notes

- 1 God of subterranean waters; the primeval sweet-water ocean.
- 2 An epithet of Tiamat; perhaps meaning 'mother.'
- 3 A water-deity; the primeval salt-water ocean.
- 4 i.e., the fresh waters of Apsu and the marine waters of Tiamat.
- 5 The waters of Apsu and Tiamat.
- 6 The first generation of gods.
- 7 Gods.
- 8 The sky-god.
- 9 One of the names of Ea, the earth and water-god.
- 10 Ea, the earth- and water-god.
- 11 That of Apsu and his vizier Mummu.
- 12 i.e., caused it to be in the waters of Apsu.
- 13 'The Deep.'
- 14 See note 13.

15 cf.. Ezekiel 1:6.

16 The weapon of the sun-god.

17 The gods who joined Tiamat in her war.

18 Here a collective name of the nether world gods.

19 Tiamat and Kingu.

20 The assembly hall of the gods.

21 A collective name of the heaven gods.

22 i.e., it has the authority of the sky-god Anu.

23 i.e., Marduk's destiny.

24 Red being the magic colour for warding off evil influence.

25 i.e., Kingu's course.

26 God of death.

27 By this action Marduk legalized his ownership of the Tablets of Fate.

28 The god of the wind, i.e., of the earth.

29 Out of his blood.

30 Meaning 'The king of the gods of heaven and earth.'

31 Ea.

32 For the New Year's Festival.

33 Name of the temple of Marduk in Babylon.

34 Meaning apparently that the height of Esagila corresponded to the depth of Apsu's waters.

Translation by E. A. Speiser, in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Princeton, 1950), pp. 60-72, as reprinted in Isaac Mendelsohn (ed.), *Religions of the Ancient Near East*, Library of Religion, paperback series (New York, 1955), PP. 19-46; notes by Mendelsohn

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": 'WHO CAN SAY WHENCE IT ALL CAME AND HOW CREATION HAPPENED?'

('Rig Veda', X, 129)

This creation hymn is at once a supreme expression of the poetry and philosophy of the Rig Veda and an eloquent murmur of doubt, which carries over into the Upanishads its sense of the depth, the mystery, and above all the unity of creation. In 'darkness concealed in darkness' (tamas in tamas), in those 'unilluminated waters' which harbour no 'being' (sat) or 'non-being' (asat), there is generated, by cosmic heat (tapas) the primordial unitary force, That One (tad ekam). 'Desire' (kama) now arose as the primal seed of 'mind' (manas), the firstborn of tad ekam, and the rishis, who 'see' that original moment when the gods were not, claim now to know the bond of sat in asat. 'But whoknows truly,' concludes the poet, still in reverence before the mystery: perhaps That One 'whose eye controls this world'; but then perhaps he truly does not know. Not only Upanishadic speculation, but also the evolutionary philosophy of the Samkhya system was deeply impressed by this hymn. It is important to consider this speculation of cosmic origins alongside other Rig Vedic creation accounts, such as X,90 (see P.226) and X, 112 (see P- 34) Or I, 32 .

1. Then 1 even nothingness was not, nor existence.2

There was no air then, nor the heavens beyond it.

What covered it? Where was it? In whose keeping?

Was there then cosmic water, in depths unfathomed?

2. Then there were neither death nor immortality,

nor was there then the torch of night and day.

The One 3 breathed mindlessly and self-sustaining.4

There was that One then, and there was no other.

3. At first there was only darkness wrapped in darkness.

All this was only unilluminated water.5

That One which came to bc, enclosed in nothing,

arose at last, born of the power of heat.6

4. In the beginning desire descended on it-

that was the primal seed, born of the mind.

The sages who have searched their hearts with wisdom

know that which is, is kin 7 to that which is not.

5. And they have stretched their cord across the void,

and know what was above, and what below.

Seminal powers made fertile mighty forces.

Below was strength, and over it was impulse.8

6. But, after all, who knows, and who can say

whence it all came, and how creation happened?

The gods themselves are later than creation,

so who knows truly whence it has arisen?

7. Whence all creation had its origin,

he, whether he fashioned it or whether he did not,

he, who surveys it all from highest heaven,

he knows or maybe even he does not know.

Notes

1 In the beginning.

2 Asat nor sat.

3 Tad ekam, 'That One,' who 'breathes without air.'

4 Svadha, energy, intrinsic power which makes self-generation possible.

5 Fluid (salila) and indistinguishable (apraketa)

6 Tapas, an archaic word which also defines those human austerities or techniques which, like this cosmic heat, generate power.

7 From 'bond' (bandhu).

8 This stanza is obscure. A. A. Macdonell suggests that the 'cord' (rashmi) implies the bond of the preceding stanza; thought measures out the distance between the non-existent and the existent and separates the male and female cosmogonic principles: impulse (prayati) above and energy (svadha) below. (A Vedic Reader for Students, London: Oxford University. 1917, P. 210.)

Translation by A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India* (London, 1954), pp. 247-8

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": INDIAN COSMOGONY

('The Laws of Manu,' 1, 5-16)

The Manavadharmashastra or Manusmriti, known in the West as The Laws of Manu is the most important work regarding dharma, i.e., the principles, laws, and rules governing both the cosmos and human society. The dates assigned by scholars for the composition of the text vary from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D. The cosmogonic fragment reprinted below is known to be a late interpolation.

5. This (universe) existed in the shape of Darkness, 1 unperceived, destitute of distinctive marks, unattainable by reasoning, unknowable, wholly immersed, as it were, in deep sleep.

6. Then the divine Self-existent 2 indiscernible, (but) making (all) this, the great elements and the rest, discernible, appeared with irresistible (creative) power, dispelling the darkness.

7. He who can be perceived by the internal organ 3 (alone), who is subtle, indiscernible, and eternal, who contains all created beings and is inconceivable, shone forth of his own (will).⁴

8. He, desiring to produce beings of many kinds from his own body
, first with a thought created 5 the waters, and placed [his] seed in them.

9. That (seed) became a golden egg,⁶ in brilliancy equal to the sun;
in that (egg) he himself was born as Brahmin, the progenitor of the whole world.

10. The waters were called naras, (for) the waters are, indeed, the offspring of Nara; as they were his 7 first residence (ayana), he thence is named Narayana .⁸

11 From that (first) cause, which is indiscernible, eternal, and both real and unreal, 9 was produced that male (Purusha),¹⁰ who is famed in this world (under the appellation of) Brahmin.

12. The divine one resided in that egg during a whole year, 11 then he himself by his thought 12 (alone) divided it into two halves;

13. And out of those two halves he formed heaven and earth, between them the middle sphere, the eight points of the horizon, and the eternal abode of the waters.

14. From himself (atmanas) he also drew forth the mind,¹³ which is both real and unreal, likewise from the mind egoism,¹⁴ which possesses the function of self-consciousness (and is) lordly:

15. Moreover, the great one, 15 the soul, 16 and all products affected by the three qualities, 17 and, in their order, the five organs which perceive the objects of sensation.¹⁸

16. But, joining minute particles even of those six,¹⁹ which possess measureless power, with particles of himself he created all beings.

Notes

1 Tamas, a darkness both physical and mental. The Samkhya system finds considerable significance in this stanza: tamas, one of the three twisted strands (gunas) of cosmic substance, represents inertia.

2 Svayambhu, an epithet of Brahmin (masculine), who is the impersonal Absolute (Brahman neuter) personified as manifest god.

3 Atindriya, literally that spirit or mind 'beyond the senses.'

4 i.e., became self-manifest.

5 Or, released.

6 As 'the shape of Darkness' (vs. I) and the environmental 'waters' recall the Rig Vedic creation hymn X, 120, so does this golden 'egg' (anda) and its seed (bija) recall the hiranyagarbha of Rig Veda, X, 121.

7 Brahmin's.

8 An example of popular etymology, nara being primal man or eternal spirit.

9 Literally, having existence (sat) and non-existence (asat) as its nature.

10 See the Purushasukta, Rig Veda, X .90

11 Early commentators disagreed, some saying that the 'year' was a 'year of Brahmin,' others maintaining that a human year is meant, as in the similar version of this selection, Shatapatha- bramana, XI, I, 6, 1 ff.

12 Meditation (dhyana).

13 Manas, mind or intelligence, as distinct from spirit (atman).

14 Ahamkara, literally 'the making of "I" (aham)'; the principle of individuation.

15 Mahat, the 'great'; in Samkhya also called buddhi, consciousness.

16 Atman.

17 Gunas.

18 Tanmatras, subtle elements.

19 Again, the Indian commentators are at variance in their interpretations of these last three lines. Probably 'those six' are classes of tattvas (elements) mentioned in the preceding two verses, in the order: manas, ahamkara, mahat, atman, tattvas affected by the gunas, tanmatras. 'It is interesting to compare the Samkya evolutes of prakriti. Here twenty-five tattvas, a rearrangement of 'those six' above, evolve with greater systematization: (1) purusha; and from prakriti, (2) mahat, (3) ahamkara, (4) manas, (5) five sense organs and five motor organs, (6) five subtle elements (tanmatras) and five gross elements (mahabhutas).

Translation by G. buhler, in Sacred Books of the East, XXV (Oxford,1886), PP. 2-8

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE CREATION OF THE WORLD

ACCORDING TO THE UPANISHADS

1. There was nothing whatsoever here in the beginning. By death indeed was this covered, or by hunger, for hunger is death. He created the mind, thinking 'let me have a self' (mind). Then he moved about, worshipping. From him, thus worshipping, water was produced. . . .
2. . . . That which was the froth of the water became solidified; that became the earth. On it he [i.e., death] rested. From him thus rested and heated (from the practice of austerity) his essence of brightness came forth (as) fire.
3. He divided himself threefold (fire is one-third), the sun one-third and the air one-third. He also is life [lit., breath] divided threefold, . . . (Brihad-aranyaka Upanishad, 1, 2, 1-3.)

1. The Sun is Brahman-this is the teaching. An explanation .thereof (is this). In the beginning this (world) was non-existent. It became existent. It grew. It turned into an egg. It lay for the period of a year. It burst open. Then came out of the eggshell, two parts, one of silver, the other of gold. That which was of silver is this earth; that which was of gold is the sky. What was the outer membrane is the mountains; that which was the inner membrane is the mist with the clouds. What were the veins were the rivers. What was the fluid within is the ocean. (Chandogya Upanishad, III, 19, 1-2.)

[But further on, the sage Uddalaka presents another view: in the beginning was Being alone.]

1 In the beginning, my dear, this was Being alone' one only without a second. Some people say 'in the beginning this Was non-being alone, one only; without a second. From that non-being, being was produced.'

2. But how, indeed, my dear, could it be thus? said he [i.e., the sage Uddalaka], how could being be produced from non-being? On the contrary, my dear, in the beginning this was being alone, one only, without a second.

3. It thought, May I be many, may I grow forth. It sent forth fire.

That fire thought, May I be many, may I grow forth. It sent forth water. . . .

4. That water thought, May I be many, may I grow forth. It sent forth food. . . .
(Chandogya Upanishad, VI, 2, 1-4.)

S. Radhakrishnan (editor and translator), *The Principal Upanishads* (New York: Harper & Row, 1953), PP. 151-2, 399, 447-9

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": HESIOD'S THEOGONY AND COSMOGONY

('Theogony,' 116-210)

The main themes of Hesiod's 'Theogony' are (1) the coming into being of Chaos (the Void), Earth, Eros, Sky and the first generation of gods (lines 116-53); (2) the castration of Sky by his son Cronus, instigated by his mother Earth (lines 154-210); (3) Zeus' escape from being swallowed by his father Cronus (lines 453-500); (4) the victorious battle of Zeus and the Olympian gods against the Titans (lines 617-735). Only the first two episodes are printed below. It is impossible to determine Hesiod's date, but he is later than Homer, probably eighth century B.C. The similarities to and differences from the Ancient Near East cosmogonies are discussed by Norman O. Brown in the introduction to his translation, 'Hesiod's Theogony,' PP. 36 ff.

'First of all, the Void (Chaos) came into being, next broad-bosomed Earth, the solid and eternal home of all, and Eros [Desire], the most beautiful of the immortal gods, who in every man and every god softens the sinews and overpowers the prudent purpose of the mind. Out of Void came Darkness and black Night, and out of Night came Light and Day, her children conceived after union in love with Darkness. Earth first produced starry Sky, equal in size with herself, to cover her on all sides. Next she produced the tall mountains, the pleasant haunts of the gods, and also gave birth to the barren waters, sea with its raging surges-all this without the passion of love. Thereafter she lay with Sky and gave birth to Ocean with its deep current. Coeus and Crius and Hyperion and Iapetus; Thea and Rhea and Themis [Law] and Mnemosyne [Memory]; also golden-crowned Phoebe and lovely Tethys. After these came cunning Cronus, the youngest and boldest of her children; and he grew to hate the father who had begotten him. Earth also gave birth to the violent Cyclopes-Thunderer, Lightning, and bold Prometheus-who made and gave to Zeus the thunder and the lightning bolt. They were like the gods in all respects except that a single eye stood in the middle of their foreheads, and their strength and power and skill were in their hands. There were also born to Earth and Sky three more children, big, strong, and horrible, Cottus and Briareus and Gyges. This unruly brood had a hundred monstrous hands sprouting from their shoulders, and fifty heads on top of their shoulders growing from their sturdy bodies. They had monstrous strength to match their huge size.

Of all the children born of Earth and Sky these were the boldest, and their father hated them from the beginning. As each of them was about to be born, Sky would not let them reach the light of day; instead he hid them all away in the bowels of Mother Earth. Sky took pleasure in doing this evil thing. In spite of her enormous size, Earth felt the strain within her and groaned. Finally she thought of an evil and cunning stratagem. She instantly produced a new metal, grey steel, and made a huge sickle. Then she laid the

matter before her children; the anguish in her heart made her speak boldly, 'My children, you have a savage father; if you will listen to me, we may be able to take vengeance for this evil outrage: he was the one who started using violence.'

This was what she said: but all the children were gripped by fear, and not one of them spoke a word. Then great Cronus, the cunning trickster, took courage and answered his good mother with these words: 'Mother, I am willing to undertake and carry through your plan. I have no respect for our infamous father, since he was the one who started using violence.'

This was what he said, and enormous Earth was very pleased. She hid him in ambush and put in his hands the sickle with jagged teeth, and ' instructed him fully in her plot. Huge Sky came drawing night behind him and desiring to make love; he lay on top of Earth stretched all over her. Then from his ambush his son reached out with his left hand and with his right took the huge sickle with its long jagged teeth and quickly sheared the organs from his own father and threw them away. The drops of blood that spurted from them were all taken in by Mother Earth, and in the course of the revolving years she gave birth to the powerful Erinyes [Spirits of Vengeance] and the huge Giants with shining armour and long spears. As for the organs themselves, for a long time they drifted round the sea just as they were when Cronus cut them off with the steel edge and threw them from the land into the waves of the ocean; then white foam issued from the divine flesh, and in the foam a girl began to grow. First she came near to holy Cythera, then reached Cyprus, the land surrounded by sea. There she stepped out, a goddess, tender and beautiful, and round her slender feet the green grass shot up. She is called Aphrodite by gods and men because she grew in the froth, and also Cytherea, because she came near to Cythera, and the Cyprian, because she was born in watery Cyprus. Eros [Desire] and beautiful Passion were her attendants both at her birth and at her first going to join the family of the gods. The rights and privileges assigned to her from the beginning and recognized by men and gods are these; to preside over the whispers and smiles and tricks which girls employ, and the sweet delight and tenderness of love.

Great Father Sky called his children the Titans, because of his feud with them: he said that they blindly had tightened the noose and had done a savage thing for which they would have to pay in time to come.

Translation by Norman O. Brown, in his Hesiod's Theogony (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1953), pp.56-9

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": ZOROASTRIAN DUALIST COSMOGONY:

OHRMAZD AND AHRIMAN

('Greater Bundahishn,' 1, 18-26)

The story of the two primal Spirits and the creation of the world is recounted in greatest detail in the first chapter of a ninth-century Pahlavi book known as the 'Bundahishn' or '(Book of) the Primal Creation.' The limitation of Time is Ohrmazd's first creative act, for he saw that if Ahriman were to be destroyed, he would have to be lured out of eternity, actualized in finite time, and forced into the open.

18. Ohrmazd, before the act of creation, was not Lord; after the act of creation he became Lord, eager for increase, wise, free from adversity, manifest, ever ordering aright, bounteous, all-perceiving.

19. [First he created the essence of the gods, fair (orderly) movement, that genius by which he made his own body better] for he had conceived of the act of creation; from this act of creation was his lordship.

20. And by his dear vision Ohrmazd saw that the Destructive Spirit would never cease from aggression and that his aggression could only be made fruitless by the act of creation, and that creation could not move on except through Time and that when Time was fashioned, the creation of Ahriman too would begin to Move.

21. And that he might reduce the Aggressor to a state of powerlessness, having no alternative he fashioned forth Time. And the reason was this, that the Destructive Spirit could not be made powerless unless he were brought to battle. . . .

22. Then from Infinite Time he fashioned and made Time of the long Dominion: some call it finite Time. From Time of the long Dominion he brought forth permanence that the works of Ohrmazd might not pass away. From permanence discomfort was made manifest that comfort might not touch the demons. From discomfort the course of fate, the idea of changelessness, was made manifest, that those things which Ohrmazd created at the original creation might not change. From the idea of changelessness a perfect will (to create) material creation was made manifest, the concord of the righteous Creation.

23. In his unrighteous creation Ahriman was without knowledge, without method. And the reason and interpretation thereof is this, that when Ahriman joined battle with Ohrmazd the majestic wisdom, renown, perfection, and permanence of Ohrmazd and the powerlessness, self-will, imperfection and slowness in knowledge of the Destructive Spirit were made manifest when creation was created.

24. For Time of the long Dominion was the first creature that he fashioned forth; for it was infinite before the contamination of the totality of Ohrmazd. From the infinite it was fashioned finite; for from the original creation when creation was created until the consummation when the Destructive Spirit is made powerless there is a term of twelve thousand years which is finite. Then it mingles with and returns to the Infinite so that the creation of Ohrmazd shall for ever be with Ohrmazd in purity.

25. As it is said in the Religion, 'Time is mightier than both creations-the creation of Ohrmazd and that of the Destructive Spirit. Time understands all action and order (the law). Time understands more than those who understand. Time is better informed than the well-informed; for through Time must the decision be made. By Time are houses overturned-doom is through Time-and things graven shattered. From it no single mortal man escapes, not though he fly above, not though he dig a pit below and settle therein, not though he hide beneath a well of cold waters.'

26. From his own essence which is material light Ohrmazd fashioned forth the form of his creatures-a form of fire-bright, white, round and manifest afar. From the material (form) of that Spirit which dispels aggression in the two worlds-be it Power or he it Time-he fashioned forth the form of Vay, the Good, for Vay was needed: some call it Vay of the long Dominion. With the aid of Vay of the long Dominion he fashioned forth creation; for when he created creation, Vay was the instrument he needed for the deed.

Translation and introductory comment by R. C Zaehner, in his *Zurvan: A Zoroastrian Dilemma* (Oxford, 1955), PP- 314-16

THE CREATION OF MAN

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE CREATION OF WOMAN FROM THE EARTH- MOTHER

To produce man it was therefore necessary for the god Tane, the Fertilizer, to fashion in human form a figure of earth upon the Earth Mother's body, and to vivify it. This event transpired in the following way. (The account, according to Best, is 'rendered as given by an old native'):

Tane proceeded to the puke (Mons Veneris) of Papa [the Earth] and there fashioned in human form a figure in the earth. His next task was to endow that figure with life, with human life, life as known to human beings, and it is worthy of note that, in the account of this act, he is spoken of as Tane te waiora. It was the sun light fertilizing the Earth Mother. Implanted in the lifeless image were the wairua (spirit) and manawa ora (breath of life), obtained from Io, the Supreme Being. The breath of Tane was directed upon the image, and the warmth affected it. The figure absorbed life, a faint life sigh was heard, the life spirit manifested itself, and Hine-ahu-one, the Earth Formed Maid, sneezed, opened her eyes, and rose-a woman.

Such was the Origin of Woman, formed from the substance of the Earth Mother, but animated by the divine Spirit that emanated from the Supreme Being, Io the great, Io of the Hidden Face, Io the Parent,

and Io the Parentless.

E. S. Craighill Handy, Polynesian Religion, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 34 (Honolulu, 1927), P. 39; quoting Elsdon Best, 'Maori Personifications,' journal of the Polynesian society, XXXII (1973), PP. 110-11

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": ZUNI GENESIS

THE CREATION AND EMERGENCE OF MAN

A myth from the Zuni Indians of New Mexico

Before the beginning of the new-making, Awonawilona (the Maker and container of All, the All-father Father), solely had being. There was nothing else whatsoever throughout the great space of the ages save everywhere black darkness in it, and everywhere void desolation

In the beginning of the new-made, Awonawilona conceived within himself and thought outward in space, whereby mists of increase, steams potent of growth, were evolved and uplifted. Thus, by means of his innate knowledge, the All-container made himself in person and form of the Sun whom we hold to be our father and who thus came to exist and appear. With his appearance came the brightening of the spaces with light, and with the brightening of the spaces the great mist-clouds were thickened together and fell, whereby was evolved water in water; yea, and the world-holding sea.

With his substance of flesh outdrawn from the surface of his person, the Sun-father formed the seed-stuff of twain worlds, impregnating therewith the great waters, and lo! in the heat of his light these waters of the sea grew green and scums rose upon them, waxing wide and weighty until, behold! they became Awitelin Tsita, the 'Four-fold Containing Mother-earth,' and Apoyan Ta'chu, the 'All-covering Father-sky.'

The Genesis of Men and the Creatures:

From the lying together of these twain upon the great world-waters, so vitalizing, terrestrial life was conceived; whence began all beings of earth, men and the creatures, in the Four-fold womb of the World.

Thereupon the Earth-mother repulsed the Sky-father, growing big and sinking deep into the embrace of the waters below, thus separating from the Sky-father in the embrace of the waters above. As a woman forebodes evil for her first-born ere born, even so did the Earth-mother forebode, long withholding from birth her myriad progeny and meantime seeking counsel with the Sky-father. 'How,' said they to one another, 'shall our children, when brought forth, know one place from another, even by the white light of the Sun-father?'

Now like all the surpassing beings the Earth-mother and the Skyfather were 'hlimna (changeable), even as smoke in the wind; transmutable at thought, manifesting themselves in any form at will, like as dancers may by mask-making.

Thus, as a man and woman, spake they, one to the other. 'Behold !' said the Earth-mother as a great terraced bowl appeared at hand and within it water, 'this is as upon me the homes of my tiny children shall be. On the rim of each world-country they wander in, terraced mountains shall stand, making in one region many, whereby country shall be known from country, and within each, place from place. Behold, again I' said she as she spat on the water and rapidly smote and stirred it with her fingers. Foam formed, gathering about the terraced rim, mounting higher and higher. 'Yea,' said she, 'and from my bosom they shall draw nourishment, for in such as this shall they find the substance of life whence we were ourselves sustained, for see !' Then with her warm breath she blew across the terraces; white flecks of the foam broke away, and, floating over above the water, were shattered by the cold breath of the Sky-father attending, and forthwith shed downward abundantly fine mist and spray! 'Even so, shall white clouds float up from the great waters at the borders of the world, and clustering about the mountain terraces of the horizons be borne aloft and abroad by the breaths of the surpassing of soul-beings, and of the children, and shall hardened and broken be by the cold, shedding downward, in rain spray, the water of life, even into the hollow places of my lap ! For therein chiefly shall nestle our children mankind and creature-kind,

for warmth in thy coldness.'

Lo! even the trees on high mountains near the clouds and the Skyfather crouch low towards the Earth-mother for warmth and protection ! Warm is the Earth-mother, cold the Sky-father, even as woman is the warm, man the cold being !

'Even so!' said the Sky-father; 'Yet not alone shalt thou helpful be unto our children, for behold !" and he spread his hand abroad with the palm downward and into all the wrinkles and crevices thereof he set the semblance of shining yellow corn grains; in the dark of the early world-dawn they gleamed like sparks of fire, and moved as his hand was moved over the bowl, shining up from and also moving in the depths of the water therein. 'See I' said he, pointing to the seven grains clasped by his thumb and four fingers, 'by such shall our children be guided; for behold, when the Sun-father is not nigh, and thy terraces are as the dark itself (being all hidden therein), then- shall our children be guided by lights-like to these lights of all the six regions turning round the midmost one-as in and around the midmost place, where these our children shall abide, lie all the other regions of space! Yea ! and even as these grains gleam up from the water, so shall seed-grains like to them, yet numberless, spring up from thy bosom when touched by my waters, to nourish our children'. Thus and in other ways many devised they for their offspring.

Anon in the nethermost of the four cave-wombs of the world, the seed of men and the creatures took form and increased; even as within ,eggs in warm places worms speedily appear, which growing, presently burst their shells and become as may happen, birds, tadpoles or serpents, so did men and all creatures grow manifoldly and multiply "in many kinds. [But these are still imperfect beings: heaped and crowded together in the darkness, they crawl over one another like reptiles, grumbling, lamenting, spitting, and using indecent and insulting language. A few among them try to escape, however. One above all, distinguished from all the others as the most intelligent is the all-sacred master, Poshaiyankya, who somehow participates in the divine condition. He emerges all alone into the light after having 'traversed all the four telluric cave-wombs one after another. He arrives on the surface of the Earth, which has the appearance of a vast island, wet and unstable; and he makes his way towards the Sun-father to implore him to deliver mankind and the creatures there below. The 'Sun then repeats the process of the creation, but this time it is creation of another order. The Sun wishes to produce intelligent, free and powerful beings. He again impregnates the foam of the Earth-mother, and from this foam twins are born. The Sun endows them with every kind of magical power and orders them to be the ancestors and lords of men.] Well instructed of the Sun-father, they lifted the Sky-father with their great cloud-bow into the vault of the high zenith, that the earth might become warm and thus fitter for their children, men and the creatures. Then along the trail of the sun-seeking Poshaiyankya they sped backward swiftly on their floating fog-shield, westward to the Mountain of Generation. With the magic knives of the thunderbolt they spread open the uncleft depths of the mountain, and still on 'their cloud-shield-even as a spider in her web descendeth-so descend they, unerringly, into the dark of the under-world. There they abode with men and the creatures, attending them, coming to know them, and becoming known of them as masters and fathers, thus seeking the ways for leading them forth.

The Birth and Delivery of Men and the Creatures:

Now there were growing things in the depths, like grasses and crawling vines. So now the Beloved Twain breathed on the stems of these grasses (growing tall, as grass is wont to do toward the light, under the opening they had cleft and whereby they had descended), causing them to increase vastly and rapidly by grasping and walking round and round them, twisting them upward until lo! they reach forth even into the light. And where successively they grasped the stems ridges were formed and thumb-marks whence sprang branching leaf-stems. Therewith the two formed a great ladder whereon men and the creatures might ascend to the second cave-floor, and thus not he violently ejected in after-time by the throes of the Earth-mother, and thereby be made demoniac and deformed. Up this ladder, into the second cave-world, men and the beings crowded, following closely the Two Little but Mighty Ones. Yet many fell back and, lost in the darkness, peopled the under-world, whence they were delivered in after-time amid terrible earth shakings, becoming the monsters and fearfully strange beings of olden time. Lo! in this second womb it was dark as is the night of a stormy season, but larger of space and higher than had been the first, because it was nearer the navel of the Earth-mother, hence named K'olin tebuli (the Umbilical-womb, or

the Place of Gestation). Here again men and the beings increased, and the clamour of their complainings grew loud and beseeching. Again the Two, augmenting the growth of the great ladder, guided them upward, this time not all at once, but in successive bands to become in time the fathers of the six kinds of men (the yellow, the tawny grey, the red, the white, the mingled, and the black races), and with them the gods and creatures of them all. Yet this time also, as before, multitudes were lost or left behind. The third great cave-world, where unto men and the creatures had now ascended, being larger than the second and higher, was lighter, like a valley in starlight, and named Awisho tehuli-the Vaginal-womb, or the Place of Sex-generation or Gestation. For here the various peoples and beings began to multiply apart in kind one from another, and as the nations and tribes of men and the creatures thus waxed numerous as before, here, too, it became overfilled. As before, generations of nations now were led out successively (yet many lost, also as hitherto) into the next and last world-cave, Tepahaian tehuli, the Ultimate-uncoverable, or the Womb of Parturition.

Here it was light like the dawning, and men began to perceive and to learn variously according to their natures, wherefore the Twain taught them to seek first of all our Sun-father, who would, they said, reveal to them wisdom and knowledge of the ways of life-wherein also they were instructing them as we do little children. Yet like the other cave worlds, this too became, after long time, filled with progeny, and finally, at periods, the Two led forth the nations of men and the kinds of being, into this great upper world, which is called Tek'ohaian ulahnane, or the World of Disseminated Light and Knowledge or Seeing.

F, H. Cushing Outlines Of Zuni Creation Myths, in Thirteenth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology (Washington D.C. 1896 pp. 325-447; Quotation from pp. 379-83)

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": GOD AND THE FIVE WOMEN:

A MYTH OF THE ORIGIN OF EARTH, FIRE, WATER AND WOMAN, FROM THE THOMPSON INDIANS OF NORTH PACIFIC COAST

Old One or Chief came down from the upper world on a cloud to the surface of the great lake or watery waste which was all that existed. The cloud rested on the lake. Old One pulled five hairs from his head and threw them down: they became five Perfectly formed young women. He asked each in turn what she wished to be.

The first replied, 'A woman to bear children. I shall be bad and foolish, and seek after my own pleasure. My descendants will fight, steal, kill, and commit adultery.' The Chief answered that he was sorry, for because of her choice death and trouble would come into the world.

The second replied, 'A woman to bear children. I shall be good and virtuous. My descendants will be wise, peaceful, honest, truthful, and chaste.' The Chief commended her, and said that her way would triumph in the end.

The third chose to become Earth. From her, Old One said, everything would grow, and to her would return at death.

The fourth chose to be Fire, in grass, trees, and all wood, for the good of man. The fifth became Water, to 'cleanse and make wise' the people. 'I will assist all things on earth to maintain life.'

Then the Chief transformed them: first Earth, then Water, then Fire. He placed the two women (good and bad) upon the earth, and impregnated them. He told them they would be the parents of all the people. The evil would be more numerous at first, but the good would prevail eventually, he promised. Then the end will come: all the dead and living will be gathered together, Earth, Fire, and Water will resume their original forms, and all will be transformed and made new.

Condensed and paraphrased from James A. Teit, *Mythology of the Thompson Indians* (Publications of the Jessup North Pacific Expedition, vol. 8, Pt. 2 322-4 d New York: Brill and Stechert.)

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": A THOMPSON INDIAN MYTH OF THE CREATION OF MAN

Before the world was formed, Stars, Moon, Sun, and Earth lived together (as people). Earth was a woman, and Sun was her husband. She was always finding fault with him, saying he was nasty, ugly, and too hot. At last the Sun grew weary of this scolding and left her. The Moon and the Stars went away with him. Earth-Woman was very sad.

The Old One appeared and transformed these people into their present forms. The Sun, Moon, and Stars he assigned to the sky, commanding them never to desert the earth again. Earth-Woman became the solid land: her hair became trees and grass, her flesh day, her bones rocks, her blood springs of water. 'You will be as the mother of people, for from you their bodies will spring, and to you they will go back. People will live as in your bosom, and sleep on your lap. They will derive nourishment from you, and they will utilize all parts of your body.'

After this the Earth gave birth to people who were very similar in form to ourselves; but they knew nothing and required neither food nor drink. They had no appetites, desires, or thoughts. Then Old One traveled over the world and among the people, giving them appetites and desires. He caused all kinds of birds and fish to appear, to which he gave names and assigned functions. He taught women to make birch baskets, mats, and lodges, and how to dig roots, gather berries, and cure them. He taught men how to make fire, catch fish, trap and shoot game, etc. He instructed couples how to have intercourse and how to give birth to children.

When he had finished teaching the people, he bade them goodbye, saying, 'I now leave you; but if you . . . require my aid, I will come again to you. The Sun is your father, the Earth is your mother's body. You will be covered with her flesh as a blanket, under which your bones will rest in peace.'

Condensed and paraphrased from James A. Teit, *Mythology of the Thompson Indians* (Publications of the Jessup North Pacific Expedition, vol. 8, Pt. 2 [Leiden and New York: Brill and Stechert, 1912]), PP. 321-2

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":
A PAWNEE EMERGENCE MYTH:

MOTHER CORN LEADS THE FIRST PEOPLE TO THE SURFACE OF THE EARTH

From the ritual account given by the Pawnee Indian, Four Rings, to Dr. Melvin Gilmore.

Before the World was we were all within the Earth.

Mother Corn caused movement. She gave life.

Life being given we moved towards the surface:

We shall stand erect as men!

The being is become human! He is a person!

To personal form is added strength:

Form and intelligence united, we are ready to corn forth

But Mother Corn warns us that the Earth is still in flood.

Now Mother Corn proclaims that the flood is gone, and the Earth -now
green.

Mother Corn commands that the people ascend to the surface.

Mother Corn has gathered them together, they move half way to the surface;

Mother Corn leads them near to the surface of the Earth;

Mother Corn brings them to the surface. The first light appears!

Mother Corn leads them forth. They have emerged to the waist.

They step forth to the surface of the Earth.

Now all have come forth; and Mother Corn leads them from the East towards the West.

Mother Corn leads them to the place of their habitation. . . .

All is completed All is perfect!

H.B. Alexander, *The World's Rim* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1953), p. 89; quoting Dr. Gilmore

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": AN AFRICAN STORY OF THE CREATION OF MAN

FROM THE SHILLUK, A NILOTIC PEOPLE

Turning now to Africa, we find the legend of the creation of mankind out of clay among the Shilluks of the White Nile, who ingeniously explain the different complexions of the various races by the different coloured clay out of which they were fashioned. They say that the creator Juok moulded all men of earth, and that while he was engaged in the work of creation he wandered about the world. In the land of the whites he found a pure white earth or sand, and out of it he shaped white men. Then he came to the land of Egypt and out of the mud of the Nile he made red or brown men. Lastly, he came to the land of the Shilluks, and finding there black earth he created black men out of it. The way in which he modeled men was this. He took a lump of earth and said to himself, 'I will make man, but he must be able to walk and run and go out into the fields, so I will give him two long legs, like the flamingo.' Having done so, he thought again, 'The man must be able to cultivate his millet, so I will give him two arms, one to hold the hoe, and the other to tear up the weeds.' So he gave him two arms. Then he thought again, 'The man must be able to see his millet, so I will give him two eyes.' He did so accordingly. Next he thought to himself, 'The man must be able to eat his millet, so I will give him a mouth.' And a mouth he gave him accordingly. After that he thought within himself, 'The man must be able to dance and speak and sing and shout, and for these purposes he must have a tongue.' And a tongue he gave him accordingly. Lastly- the deity said to himself, 'The man must be able to hear the noise of the dance and the speech of the great men, and for that he needs two ears.' So two ears he gave him, and sent him out into the world a perfect man.'

J.G. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament* (London, 1919), pp. 22-3, translating and abridging W. Hofmayr, 'Die Religion der Schilluk,' *Anthropos*, VI (1906), pp. 128 ff.

MYTHS OF THE ORIGIN OF DEATH

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE CAST SKIN:

A MELANESIAN MYTH

At first men never died, but when they advanced in life they cast their skins like snakes and crabs, and came out with youth renewed. After a time a woman growing old went to a stream to change her skin. She threw off her old skin in the water, and observed that as it floated down it caught against a stick. Then she went home, where she had left her child. The child, however, refused to recognize her, crying that its mother was an old woman not like this young stranger; and to pacify the child she went after her cast integument and put it on. From that time mankind ceased to cast their skins and died.

R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), p.265

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE STONE AND THE BANANA:

AN INDONESIAN MYTH

Thus the natives of Poso, a district of Central Celebes, say that in the beginning the sky was very near the earth, and that the Creator, who lived in it, used to let down his gifts to men at the end of a rope. One day he thus lowered a stone; but our first father and mother would have none of it and they called out to their Maker, 'What have we to do with this stone? Give us something else.' The Creator complied and hauled away at the rope; the stone mounted up and up till it vanished from sight. Presently the rope was seen coming down from heaven again, and this time there was a banana at the end of it instead of a stone. Our first parents ran at the banana and took it. Then there came a voice from heaven saying: 'Because ye have chosen the banana, your life shall be like its life. When the banana-tree has offspring, the parent stem dies; so shall ye die and your children shall step into your place. Had ye chosen the stone, your life would have been like the life of the stone changeless and immortal.' The man and his wife mourned over their fatal choice, but it was too late; that is how through the eating of a banana death came into the world.

J. G. Frazer, *The Belief in Immortality*, 1 (London, 1913), PP. 74-5, quoting A. C. Kruijt

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE MOON AND RESURRECTION:

AN AUSTRALIAN MYTH

In one of the Wotjobaluk legends it is said that at the time when all animals were men and women, some died, and the moon used to say, 'You up-again,' and they came to life again. There was at that time an old man who said, 'Let them remain dead.' Then none ever came to life again, except the moon, which still continued to do so.

A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), P. 429

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE CRUEL BIRD

AN AUSTRALIAN (ARANDA TRIBE) MYTH

From a floor of rock they issued forth, south of Ilkanara, from a little rock-hole. The rock was first opened by a curfew woman, who thrust her nose through the hard stone. A second curfew woman followed, then a third, a fourth, a fifth, and so on. And then a curfew man appeared, followed by a second, a third, a fourth, a fifth, and so on to the last. Finally they had all emerged.

The men who had issued forth last all grew angry against the man who had appeared first perhaps because he had followed too closely upon the women. The first-born man lit a great blazing fire; and the others pointed a magic bone at him. The doomed man stretched himself out; he lay motionless for two nights. Then he died, and the rest buried him east of the floor of rock. Some of the women went to Tjolankuta, deep in grief; others went to Lkebalinja; others again sat down at the entrance of the gap where the Ilkanara creek breaks through the range. They moved about in a women's dance, to the accompaniment of shouts by the men: 'bau! bau! bau! bau!'

But the dead man hollowed out the soil from underneath. Then his forehead emerged through the crust; next his temples reappeared; next his head became visible, up to his throat. His two shoulders, however, had become caught below.

Then the Urbura, the magpie, came from Urburakana. He rushed along in haste; he saw from a great distance away what was happening: 'See, he has begun to sprout up again only a moment ago; but his two shoulders have become caught tightly and are still pinning him down.' The dead man rose a little higher. The curfew women were approaching with dancing steps; they encircled him. The magpie rushed up, filled with deadly anger, to a mountain near-by, called Urburinka. Then he grasped a heavy mulga spear, thrust it deep into the neck of the dead man, stamped him back into the ground with his heel, trampling fiercely upon him: 'Remain rooted down firmly for all time; do not attempt to rise again; stay for ever in the grave!'

Then the curfews all turned into birds and flew to Running Waters; they all left, both men and women. Their wailing shrieks rang out without ceasing; their tears fell without ceasing; they were deeply stricken with grief.

The Urbura, too, soared up like a bird and returned to his own home, where he remained forever.

My informant added briefly that, but for the cruelty of the Urbura, the dead man would have grown up into life a second time; and if he had risen of his own accord, all men who died since that day, would have risen again after death in the same manner. But the Urbura had finally crushed the unfortunate curfew man, and stamped his head down a second time into the grave: 'And now all of us die and are annihilated for ever; and there is no resurrection for us.'

T. G. H. Strelbow, *Aranda Traditions* (Melbourne, 1947), PP. 44-5

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": MAUI AND HINE-NUI-TE-PO:

A POLYNESIAN MYTH

Maui now felt it necessary to leave the village where Irawaru had lived, so he returned to his parents. When he had been with them for some time, his father said to him one day, 'Oh, my son, I have heard from your mother and others that you are very valiant, and that you have succeeded in all feats that you have undertaken in your own country, whether they were small or great. But now that you have arrived in your father's country, you will, perhaps, at last be overcome.'

Then Maui asked him, 'What do you mean? What things are there that I can be vanquished by?' His father answered him, 'By your great ancestress, by Hine-nui-te-po, who, if you look, you may see flashing, and, as it were, opening and shutting there, where the horizon meets the sky.' Maui replied, 'Lay aside such idle thoughts, and let us both fearlessly seek whether men are to die or live for ever.' His father said, 'My child, there has been an ill omen for us. When I was baptizing you, I omitted a portion of the fitting prayer, and that I know will be the cause of your perishing.'

Then Maui asked his father, 'What is my ancestress Hine-nui-te-po like?' He answered, 'What you see yonder shining so brightly red are her eyes. And her teeth are as sharp and hard as pieces of volcanic glass. Her body is like that of a man. And as for the pupils of her eyes, they are jasper. And her hair is like the tangles of long seaweed. And her mouth is like that of a barracuda.' Then his son answered him: 'Do you think her strength is as great as that of Tama-nui-te-Ra, who consumes man, and the earth, and the very waters, by the fierceness of his heat? Was not the world formerly saved alive by the speed with which he travelled? If he had then, in the days of his full strength and power, gone as slowly as he does now, not a remnant of mankind would have been left living upon the earth, nor, indeed, would anything else have survived. But I laid hold of Tama-nui-te-Ra, and now he goes slowly, for I smote him again and again, so that he is now

feeble, and long in travelling his course, and he now gives but very little heat, having been weakened by

the blows of my enchanted weapon. I then, too, split him open in many places, and from the wounds so made, many rays now issue forth and spread in all directions. So, also, I found the sea much larger than the earth, but by the power of the last born of your children, part of the earth was drawn up again, and dry land came forth.' And his father answered him, 'That is all very true, O, my last born, and the strength of my old age. Well, then, be bold, go and visit your great ancestress, who flashes so fiercely there, where the edge of the horizon meets the sky.'

Hardly was this conversation concluded with his father, when the young hero went forth to look for companions to accompany him upon this enterprise. There came to him for companions, the small robin, and the large robin, and the thrush, and the yellow-hammer, and every kind of little bird, and the water-wagtail. These all assembled together, and they all started with Maui in the evening, and arrived at the dwelling of Hine-nui-te-po, and found her fast asleep.

Then Maui addressed them all, 'My little friends, now if you see me creep into this old chieftainess, do not laugh at what you see. Nay, nay, do not, I pray you, but when I have got altogether inside her, and just as I am coming out of her mouth, then you may shout with laughter if you please.' His little friends, who were frightened at what they saw, replied, 'Oh, sir, you will certainly be killed.' He answered them, 'If you burst out laughing at me as soon as I get inside her, you will wake her up, and she will certainly kill me at once, but if you do not laugh until I am quite inside her, and am on the point of coming out of her mouth, I shall live, and Hine-nui-te-po will die.' His little friends answered, 'Go on then, brave sir, but pray take good care of yourself.'

Then the young hero started off. He twisted the strings of his weapon tight round his wrist, and went into the house. He stripped off his clothes, and the skin on his hips looked mottled and beautiful as that of a mackerel, from the tattoo marks, cut on it with the chisel of Uetonga [grandson of Ru, god of earthquakes; Uetonga taught tattooing to Mataora who taught it to man], and he entered the old chieftainess.

The little birds now screwed up their tiny cheeks, trying to suppress their laughter. At last the little Tiwakawaka could no longer keep it in, and laughed out loud, with its merry, cheerful note. This woke the old woman up. She opened her eyes, started up, and killed Maui.

Thus died this Maui we have spoken of. But before he died he had children, and sons were born to him. Some of his descendants yet live in Hawaiki (Hawaii), some in Aotearoa (or in these islands). The greater part of his descendants remained in Hawaiki, but a few of them came here to Aotearoa. According to the traditions of the Maori, this was the cause of the introduction of death into the world (Hine-nui-te-po was the goddess of death. If Maui had passed safely through her, then no more human beings would have died, but death itself would have been destroyed.) We express it by saying, 'The water-wagtail laughing at Maui-tiki-tiki-o Taranga made Hine-nui-te-po squeeze him to death.' And we have this proverb, 'Men make heirs, but death carries them off.'

Sir George Grey, Polynesian Mythology (London, 1855), PP. 56-8

MYTHS OF THE FLOOD

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": MYTHS OF THE FLOOD

THE FLOOD NARRATIVE FROM THE GILGAMESH EPIC

Gilgamesh has made a long and difficult journey to learn how Utnapishtim acquired eternal life. In answer to his questions, Utnapishtim tells the following story. Once upon a time, the gods destroyed the ancient city of Shuruppah in a great flood. But Utnapishtim, forewarned by Ea, managed to survive by building a great ship. His immortality was a gift bestowed by the repentant gods in recognition of his ingenuity and his faithfulness in reinstating the sacrifice.

Shurippak -a city which thou knowest,

(And) which on Euphrates' banks is set-
That city was ancient, (as were) the gods within it,
When their heart led the great gods to produce the flood.
There were Anu, their father,
Valiant Enlil, their counselor,
Ninurta, their herald,
Ennuge, their irrigator.
Ninigiku-Ea was also present with them;
Their words he repeats to the reed-hut:1
'Reed-hut, reed-hut! Wall! Wall!
Reed-hut, hearken! Wall, reflect!
Man of Shuruppak, 2 son of Ubar-Tutu,
Tear down (this) house, build a ship!
Give up possessions, seek thou life.
Despise property and keep the soul alive.
Aboard the ship take thou the seed of all living things.
The ship that thou shalt build,
Her dimensions shall be to measure.
Equal shall be her width and her length.
Like the Apsu 3 thou shalt ceil her.'
I understood, and I said to Ea, my lord:
'Behold, my lord, what thou hast thus ordered,
I shall be honoured to carry out.
But what shall I answer the city, the people and elders?'
Ea opened his mouth to speak,
Saying to me, his servant:
'Thou shalt then thus speak unto them:
"I have learned that Enlil is hostile to me,

So that I cannot reside in your city,
Nor set my foot in Enlil's territory.
To the Deep I will therefore go down,
To dwell with my lord Ea.
But upon you he will shower down abundance,
The choicest birds, the rarest fishes.
The land shall have its fill of harvest riches.
He who at dusk orders the hush-greens,
Will shower down upon you a rain of wheat.⁴
With the first glow of dawn,
The land was gathered about me.
(too fragmentary for translation)
The little ones carried bitumen,
While the grown ones brought all else that was needful.
On the fifth day I laid her framework.
One (whole) acre was her floor space,
Ten dozen cubits the height of each of her walls,
Ten dozen cubits each edge of the square deck.
I laid out the shape of her sides and joined her together.
I provided her with six decks,
Dividing her (thus) into seven parts.
Her floor plan I divided into nine parts.
I hammered water-plugs into her.
I saw to the punting-poles and laid in supplies.
Six 'sar' (measures), 5 of bitumen I poured into the furnace,
Three sar of asphalt I also poured inside.
Three sar of the basket-bearers transferred,
Aside from the one sar of oil which the calking consumed,

And the two sar of oil which the boatman stowed away.
Bullocks I slaughtered for the people,
And I killed sheep every day.
Must, red wine, oil, and white wine
I gave the workmen to drink, as though river water,
That they might feast as on New Year's Day. . . .
On the seventh day the ship was completed.
The launching was very difficult,
So that they had to shift the floor planks above and below,
Until two-thirds of the structure had gone into the water.
Whatever I had I laded upon her.
Whatever I had of silver I laded upon her,
Whatever I had of gold I laded upon her,
Whatever I had of all the living beings I laded upon her.
All my family and kin I made go aboard the ship.
The beasts of the field, the wild creatures of the field,
All the craftsmen I made go aboard.
Shamash had set for me a stated time:
'When he who orders unease at night
Will shower down a rain of blight,
Board thou the ship and batten up the gate!'
That stated time had arrived:
'He who orders unease at night showers down a rain of blight.'
I watched the appearance of the weather.
The weather was awesome to behold.
I boarded the ship and battened up the gate.
To batten up the (whole) ship, to Puzar-Amurri, the boatman,
I handed over the structure together with its contents.

With the first glow of dawn,
A black cloud rose up from the horizon.
Inside it Adad 6 thunders,
While Shallat and Hanish 7 go in front,
Moving as heralds over hill and plain.
Erragal 8 tears out the posts; 9
Forth comes Ninurta and causes the dikes to follow.
The Anunnaki lift up the torches,
Setting the land ablaze with their glare.
Consternation over Adad reaches to the heavens,
Turning to blackness all that had been light.
The wide land was shattered like a pot!
For one day the south-storm blew,
Gathering speed as it blew, submerging the mountains,
Overtaking the people like a battle.
No one can see his fellow,
Nor can the people be recognized from heaven.
The gods were frightened by the deluge,
And, shrinking back, they ascended to the heaven of Anu.
The gods cowered like dogs
Crouched against the outer wall.
Ishtar cried out like a woman in travail,
The sweet-voiced mistress of the gods moans aloud:
'The olden days are alas turned to clay,
Because I bespoke evil in the Assembly of the gods,
How could I bespeak evil in the Assembly of the gods,
Ordering battle for the destruction of my people,
When it is I myself who give birth to my people!

Like the spawn of the fishes they fill the sea!
The Anunnaki gods weep with her,
The gods, all humbled, sit and weep,
Their lips drawn tight. . . . one and all.
Six days and six nights
Blows the flood wind, as the south-storm sweeps the land.
When the seventh day arrived,
The flood (-carrying) south-storm subsided in the battle,
Which it had fought like an army.
The sea-grew quiet, the tempest was still, the flood ceased.
I looked at the weather. stillness had set in,
And all of mankind had returned to clay.
The landscape was as level as a flat roof.
I opened a hatch, and light fell on my face.
Bowing low, I sat and wept,
Tears running down my face.
I looked about for coast lines in the expanse of the sea:
In each of fourteen (regions)
There emerged a region (-mountain).
On Mount Nisir the ship came to a halt.
Mount Nisir held the ship fast,
Allowing -no motion.

.....

[For six days the ship is held fast by Mount Nisir.]

When the seventh day arrived,
I sent forth and set free a dove.
The dove went forth, but came back;
There was no resting-place for it and she turned round.

Then I sent forth and set free a swallow.
The swallow went forth, but came back,
There was no resting-place for it and she turned round.
Then I sent forth and set free a raven.
The raven went forth and, seeing that the waters had diminished,
He eats, circles, caws, and turns not round.
Then I let out (all) to the four winds
And offered a sacrifice.
I poured out a libation on the top of the mountain.
Seven and seven cult-vessels I set up,
Upon their plate-stands I heaped cane, cedarwood, and myrtle.
The gods smelled the savour,
The gods smelled the sweet savour,
The gods crowded like flies about the sacrificer.
As soon as the great goddess 10 arrived,
She lifted up the great jewels which Anu had fashioned to her liking:
'Ye gods here, as surely as this lapis
Upon my neck I shall -not forget,
I shall be mindful of these days, forgetting (them) never.
Let the gods come to the offering:
(But) let not Enlil come to the offering,
For he, unreasoning, brought on the deluge
And my people consigned to destruction.'
As soon as Enlil arrived,
And saw the ship, Enlil was wroth,
He was filled with wrath against the Igigi gods: 11
'Has some living soul escaped?
No man was to survive the destruction!'

Ninurta opened his mouth to speak,

Saying to valiant Enlil:

'Who other than Ea can devise plans?

It is Ea alone who knows every matter.'

Ea opened his mouth to speak,

Saying to valiant Enlil:

'Thou wisest of the gods, thou hero,

How couldst thou, unreasoning, bring on the deluge?

On the sinner impose his sin,

On the transgressor impose his transgression!

(Yet) be lenient, lest he be cut off, Be patient,

lest he be dislodged

Instead of thy bringing on the deluge,

Would that a lion had risen up to diminish mankind!

Instead of thy bringin on the deluge,

Would that a wolf had risen up to diminish mankind!

Instead of thy bringing on the deluge,

Would that a famine had risen up to lay low mankind!

Instead of thy bringing on the deluge,

Would that pestilence had risen up to smite down mankind!

It was not I who disclosed the secret of the great gods.

I let Atrahasis 12 see a dream,

And he perceived the secret of the gods.

Now then take counsel in regard to him!

Thereupon Enlil went aboard the ship.

Holding me by the hand, he took me aboard.

He took my wife aboard and made (her) kneel by my side.

Standing between us, he touched our foreheads to bless us:

'Hitherto Utnapishtim has been but human.

Henceforth Utnapishtim and his wife shall be like unto us gods.

Utnapishtim shall reside far away, at the mouth of the rivers!

Thus they took me and made me reside far away,

At the mouth of the rivers.

Notes

1 Probably the dwelling of Utnapishtim. The god Ea addresses him (through the barrier of the wall), telling him about the decision of the gods to bring on a flood and advising him to build a ship.

2 Utnapishtim.

3 The subterranean waters.

4 The purpose is to deceive the inhabitants of Shuruppak as to the real intent of the rain.

5 . A 'sar' is about 8,000 gallons.

6 God of storm and rain.

7 Heralds of Adad.

8 I.e., Nergal, the god of the nether world.

9 Of the world dam.

10 Ishtar.

11 The heavenly gods.

12 'Exceeding wise,' an epithet of Utnapishtim.

Translation by E. A. Speiser, in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Princeton, 1950), pp. 60-72, as reprinted in Isaac Mendelsohn (ed.), *Religions of the Ancient Near East*, Library of Religion paperback series (New York, 1955). PP. 100-6; notes by Mendelsohn

SACRED WORLD, SACRED LIFE, SACRED TIME

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE SACRED WORLD

THE DAYAK OF BORNEO

The area inhabited by the sacred people is the sacred land. It was given to them by the godhead, which had shaped it out of the remains of the sun and the moon. It lies among the primeval waters, between Upperworld and Underworld, and rests on the back of the Watersnake. It is bounded by the raised tail and head of the deity of the Underworld. We also find in myths the idea that the world is enclosed in a circle formed by the Watersnake biting its own tail. The world is thus supported and enclosed by the godhead, a man lives under its protection, in divine peace and well-being. Man lives in the sacred, divine land of

Mahatala and Jata. The mountains of the sacred land reach up to the Upperworld. The godhead descends on to them and on them he meets men and gives them his sacred gifts. Man lives in the sacred land in communion with the supreme deities. He climbs the sacred mountain and there practices asceticism (batapa), and Matahala draws close to him there and regards him. In the still of the night he lets himself drift on a small raft in the river, and the Watersnake emerges and sees him. The godhead is everywhere, and man can appear before it everywhere, for he is in the godhead's land and under its protection, and the godhead has created for him an approach to the Upperworld and the Underworld.

The world described here is the primeval village Batu Nindan Tarong, the origin of which is told in the creation myth, and which is pictured in the sacred designs. The head and tail of the Watersnake are usually represented in these drawings as the Tree of Life and this representation is meaningful in that the Watersnake and the Tree of Life are identical. The first human beings lived in this primeval Village, and their three sons were born to them there, and when this time is spoken of or sung about the sacred legends and songs say: 'At that time, in the beginning, when our ancestors were still living in the mouth of the coiled Watersnake [which lay circled about the village], such and-such happened,' and in this village the sacred ceremonies were first established.

With the exception of Maharaja Sangen, the three brothers did not stay in Batu Nindan Tarong. They left there and settled in the Upperworld and in our world. But the sacred people did not stay together in this world. The tribal organization collapsed, its members moved to other rivers and settled among strangers, and the idea of the sacred land diminished. Instead of a tribal area there is now the village, with its neighbouring villages upstream and downstream. The world and mankind (kalunen), or man as part of this mankind, are synonymous and the same term kalunen is employed for both. The world is nothing but the sacred land, and the sacred land is inhabited only by the sacred people. The Ngaju calls his world (today, his village) by various names, e.g. batu lewu, home village, lewu danumku, my village and my native river. The name always used in myths and chants is lewu injam tingang, the village lent by the Watersnake, or it is also described as the village where the hornbill enjoyed the Watersnake. The real native village of mankind is not in this world: it is Batu Nindan Tarong, in the Upperworld. Man dwells only for a time in this world, which is 'lent' to him, and when the time has come and he is old, then he returns for ever to his original home. To die is not to become dead; it is called buli, to return home. This idea has nothing to do with any Christian influence; it is an ancient Dayak concept which is understandable in relation to the primeval sacred events and the mode of thought connected with them.

The Dayak loves the world into which he is born and where he grows up. His village is the largest and most beautiful place in the whole world, and he would change it for no other. If he leaves his village he takes with him sacred medicines which will guarantee his safe return, and if he himself never comes back his bones or his ashes are still brought back into the village and thereby he finds his last resting place in the sacred land. The description of the village and the world in myths and priestly chants has poetic force and beauty. There are old people, mostly women, who have never left their own village, not because they have never had a chance to, but because they simply never felt the need to do so. Why should one leave the village? Why roam far among strangers? Peace, safety, happiness, and the good life are to be found only in one's own village, only in one's own world where one is protected by the godhead, surrounded by the primevally maternal Watersnake, where one rests on its body and is enclosed by its head and tail.

The love for one's own world is expressed in the parting song of a dead person who leaves his village for ever to enter the village of the dead. He is fetched away by Tempon Telon and journeys to the Upperworld. His boat stops before the entrance. The dead person looks down once more on the world, and sings to his village and his river and to all those he loved -

I can still not express my innermost thought property,

Nor is it possible for me to speak what fills my heart.

I have thrown away the village lent by Hornbill, as one discards a useless plate,

I have pushed away the place where the hornbills live widely scattered as one rejects an unusable dish,

And I have myself become like a cast stone, -never to return,

I am like a clod of earth thrown away, never again to come home.

This is not hopelessness, it is simply the farewell of the deceased, and with these words the boat travels on towards the true and eternal home to which the dead may return and where he will be joyfully received by the ancestors and by all who have travelled this road before him.

The world which is borne on the back of the Watersnake and enclosed by its body is the good, sacred land. The surroundings of the village, i.e. the area which is not bounded and fenced in by the Watersnake's body, is a strange, horrible, and fearsome land where one no longer feels at home, where one will not readily build a house, which

one will not enter without taking grave precautions and providing oneself with protective medicines. Persons who have died bad deaths lie outside the village, and this is where criminals are buried, that is, those who are excluded from the sacred people by the community and even by the godhead itself. They do not rest in the midst of the sacred people and in the sacred land, nor are they enclosed in death by the Watersnake, and they are buried in unhallowed ground. God and man have no more to do with them, and they are separated for ever from them, they are thrust out into solitude and homelessness, banished to ominous surroundings. There they live in the company of those who have died bad deaths, i.e. who have lost their lives in an unnatural way, by accident or by a particularly dreaded illness (leprosy, smallpox), as punishment for some known or unknown offence. The godhead has caused them to die an unripe death' (matei manta), has put a mark upon them and thrust them out for ever from the community of the living and from that of the ancestors. This community of unfortunate and homeless souls continues to live the existence of evil spirits in the bush and forests surrounding the village. As such, they attack people, make them ill, or take their lives. . . .

One's own world is the central point of all worlds, the focus of the whole divine cosmic order and harmony. This applies also to the village, which after the collapse of the tribal organization has taken over everything that we said above about the sacred land. The village also represents the social and cosmic totality; the village also possesses the dual division. The upper part of the village (i.e. the upstream, ngaju, part) is lived in by the superior group, and the lower part (ngawa) belongs to the lower group and to the slaves (if any). . . .

The sacred land is the land of the godhead. It was not only created and maintained by the godhead, it is the godhead itself and represents the totality of Upperworld and Underworld, of Mahatala and Jata. Man lives not only in the divine land, not only in the peace of the godhead, but actually in the godhead, for the sacred land is a part of the Tree of Life, it was created from the sun and the moon, which flank the tree, and which issued from the Gold Mountain and the jewel Mountain, and thus from the total godhead.

Hans Schirer, Ngaju Religion: The Conception of God among a South Borneo People, translation by Rodney Needham (The Hague, 1963), pp. 59-62, 65, 66

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":
THE SACRED LIFE OF THE LENAPE

The Delaware (or, as they call themselves, the Lenape) Indians inhabited a vast region of eastern North America-particularly in Ontario, Canada-and also Oklahoma. Their most important public ritual, called the 'New Year Big House Ceremony,' took place in the autumn after the harvest. A huge rectangular hut-symbolizing the universe-was set up in a forest glade. The creation of the 'Big House' represented a ritual recreation of the world and marked the beginning of a new year. On the first evening of the ceremony the fire was lighted and the assistants, wearing their best clothes, took their places along the walls. The chief opened the ceremony with a prayer to the Creator, such as the one printed here.

'We are thankful that so many of us are alive to meet together here once more, and that we are ready to

hold our ceremonies in good faith. Now we shall meet here twelve nights in succession to pray to Gicelumu'kaong who has directed us to worship in this way. And these twelve Missing faces [carved on the posts of the house] are here to watch and carry our prayers to Gicelumu'kaong in the highest heaven. The reason why we dance at this time is to raise our prayers to him.

'When we come into this house of ours we are glad, and thankful that we are well, and for everything that makes us feel good which the Creator has placed here for our use. We come here to pray Him to have mercy on us for the year to come and to give us everything to make us happy, may we have good crops, and no dangerous storms, floods nor earthquakes. We all realize what He has put before us all through life, and that He has given us a way to pray to Him and thank Him. We are thankful to the East because everyone feels good in the morning when they awake, and see the bright light coming from the East and when the Sun goes down in the West we feel good and glad we are well; then we are thankful to the West. And we are thankful to the North, because when the cold winds come we are glad to have lived to see the leaves fall again; and to the South, for when the South wind blows and everything is coming up in the spring, we are glad to live to see the grass growing and everything green again. We thank the Thunders for they are the mani'towuk that bring the rain which the Creator has given them power to rule over. And we thank our mother, the Earth, whom we claim as mother because the Earth carries us and everything we need. When we eat and drink and look around, we know it is Gicelemu' kaong that makes us feel good that way. He gives us the purest thoughts that can be had. We should pray to Him every morning.

'Man has a spirit, and the body seems to be a coat for that spirit. That is why people should take care of their spirits, so as to reach Heaven and be admitted to the Creator's dwelling. We are given some length of time to live on earth, and then our spirits must go. When anyone's time comes to leave this earth, he should go to Gicelemu'kaong, feeling good on the way. We all ought to pray to Him to prepare ourselves for days to come so that we can be with Him after leaving the earth.

'We all must put our thoughts to this meeting, so that Gicelemu'kaong will look upon us and grant what we ask. You all come here to pray, you have to reach Him all through life. Do not think of evil; strive always to think of the good which He has given us.

'When we reach that place, we shall not have to do anything or worry about anything, only live a happy life. We know there are many of our fathers who have left this earth and are now in this happy place in the Land of the Spirits. When we arrive we shall see our fathers, mothers, children, and sisters there. And when we have prepared ourselves so that we can go to where our parents and children are, we feel happy.

'Everything looks more beautiful there than here, everything looks new, and the waters and fruits and everything are lovely.

'No sun shines there, but a light much brighter than the sun, the Creator makes it brighter by his power. All people who die here, young or old, will be of the same age there; and those who are injured, crippled, or made blind will look as good as the rest of them. It is nothing but the flesh that is injured: the spirit is as good as ever. That is the reason that people are told to help always the cripples or the blind. Whatever you do for them will surely bring its rewards. Whatever you do for anybody will bring you credit hereafter. Whenever we think the thoughts that Gicelemu'kaong has given us, it will do us good.'

M. R. Harrington, Religion and Ceremonies of the Lenape (New York, 1921), pp. 87-92

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":

THE COSMIC SYMBOLISM OF THE DELAWARE (LENAPE) CULTIC HOUSE

The Big House stands for the Universe; its floor, the earth; its four walls, the four quarters; its vault, the sky dome, atop which resides the Creator in his indefinable supremacy. To use Delaware expressions, the Big House being the universe, the centre post is the staff of the Great Spirit with its foot upon the earth, its pinnacle reaching to the hand of the Supreme Deity. The floor of the Big House is the flatness of the earth upon which sit the three grouped divisions of mankind, the human social groupings in their appropriate

places; the eastern door is the point of sunrise where the day begins and at the same time the symbol of termination; the north and south walls assume the meaning of respective horizons; the roof of the temple is the visible sky vault. The ground beneath the Big House is the realm of the underworld while above the roof lie the extended planes or levels, twelve in number, stretched upward to the abode of the 'Great Spirit, even the Creator,' as Delaware form puts it. Here we might speak of the carved face images. . . . the representations on the centre pole being the visible symbols of the Supreme Power, those on the upright posts, three on the north wall and three on the south wall, the manitu of these respective zones; those on the eastern and western door posts, those of the east and west. . . . But the most engrossing allegory of all stands forth in the concept of the White Path, the symbol of the transit of life, which is met in the oval, hard-trodden dancing path outlined on the floor of the Big House, from the east door passing to the right down the north side past the second fire to the west door and doubling back on the south side of the edifice around the eastern fire to its beginning. This is the path of life down which man winds his way to the western door where all ends. Its correspondent exists, I assume, in the Milky Way, where the passage of the soul after death continues in the spirit realm. As the dancers in the Big House ceremony wend their stately passage following the course of the White Path they 'push something along,' meaning existence, with their rhythmic tread. Not only the passage of life, but the journey of the soul after death is symbolically figured in the ceremony.

Frank G. Speck, *A Study of the Delaware Indians Big House Ceremony*, Publications of the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, vol. 2 (Harrisburg, 1931), pp.

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":
THE AUSTRALIAN CYCLE OF LIFE

ABORIGINE

To the Aborigine, life is a cycle, though whether it is continuous or not, he does not always dare to say. Found by his parent in a spiritual experience, he is incarnated through his mother and so enters profane life. But a few years later, through the gate of initiation, he partially re-enters the sacred dream-time or sky-world which he has left for a season. After passing farther and farther into it, so far as the necessities of profane life allow, he dies, and through another gate, the transition rite of burial, he returns completely to his sacred spirit state in the sky, the spirit-home or totemic centre, perhaps to repeat the cycle later, perhaps to cease to be. In the case of a woman, the central part of the cycle does not exist-except in so far as she is the means of incarnation for sacred pre-existing spirits.

There are some interesting symbols of this return to spiritual existence. In north-western Australia, the individual's spirit came by way of a waterhole associated with the spirit of fertility or life; initiation gives him conscious knowledge of the source of his life, and after the final mourning ceremony his bones are put in a cave near by. In some of the desert areas, a hair-belt made from the deceased's hair, which contains something of his spirit, is finally returned to the cave or waterhole of the mythical serpent, from which the spirit issued for incarnation. In north-western Arnhem Land, the bones are finally placed in a totemic coffin and so identified with the totem and, therefore, with the source of life in man and nature. Finally, in parts of eastern Australia, the young fellow passes at his initiation to the skyworld which is symbolized on the initiation-ground by the marked trees, and when he dies, his burial-ground is likewise marked to symbolize the sky-world from which all life is believed to come and to which he now returns.

A.P. Elkin, *The Australian Aborigines* 3rd ed. (Carden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1964), PP, 336-7

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":
THE MEANING OF EXISTENCE

AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINE

We often fail to realize how little meaning our way of life possesses for the Aborigines, even for those who are to all intents and purposes civilized. I can think of regions where they have been in touch with us for sixty years and where for six months of the year, the dry season of the north, they play a very valuable

part in our country life, principally on the stations; during that time they dress in our way, shave and wash, appreciate our food and seem quite presentable. At the end of the time, they receive the small share of their pay which they are allowed to handle, buy a few objects (often at an exorbitant price) mostly of a kind which we regard as ridiculous for grown men, and then with their families go bush, casting off all their clothes and all else that belongs to our culture. They paint themselves, camp, hunt, perform corroborees and take part in secret ceremonies, and in this in spite sometimes of the fact that their social life has been most degraded and demoralized by association with whites during the past fifty years or so. We, of course, may think that their conduct in returning to this bush life every year is somewhat unintelligible and shows a lack of appreciation of the higher stage of living to which they adapt themselves for six months a year. But we must remember two things: in the first place, the only part of our life with which these seasonable native employees become familiar is its economic and material aspects, and they do not thereby gain the impression that our way of life is of more value to them than is their own; it has some interest for them, mainly because it enables them apparently to satisfy us and also to obtain a few material objects which they find either useful or fascinating. In the second place, our economic life is not their life-it is only an external means or a tool enabling them to do something which is obviously expedient, but it is not connected with their life of ritual and belief; on the other hand the time in the bush with its paint and hunting and ceremonies is their life, and has meaning for them. What they do there is for themselves, and in the ritual they keep in touch with the heroes and ancestors of old, realize their common life, and derive hope for the future.

Such a fact as this helps us to understand why the young fellows are drawn towards initiation and the secret life in spite of the counter attractions and influences of missionary and other civilizing agents. It means, however, that they are drawn in two ways which seem to be incompatible. What then is the result? There are two alternatives: the missionary or civilizing agent may be successful in putting an end to initiation and other secret rites, or in getting such a grip over the rising generation that the old men make the initiation a mere form and not an entry into the full secret life of that tribe. But this implies a breakdown of tribal authority and a loss of the knowledge of, let alone the respect for these ideals, sentiments and sanctions which are essential to tribal cohesion; and in Australia, such a condition is the accompaniment, and a cause, of tribal extinction. The other alternative is, for a period at least, the failure of the missionary or other civilizing agent. The old men and the glamour of the secret life win. The missionary may be quite unaware of this, for he is apt to rely on outward conformity to his demands and teaching, and if he is not conversant with the language and secrets of the tribe he cannot do otherwise. But slowly and surely, step by step, the young fellow advances along the secret path, and in heart is getting farther and farther away from the white man's doctrines and view of life. See him this morning outwardly playing his part on the station or in mission compound or church. But see him again this afternoon completely wrapped up in the performance of a secret rite and the exposition of a sacred myth by the elders-perhaps only a mile or so away from the mission or station, but an age away in mind. Yes, see him there and you will know where he finds meaning for life, sanction for conduct and hope for the future. And unless the tribal life breaks down, he will sooner or later spend a great deal of his time traversing the paths and localities sanctified by the wanderings and exploits of the great heroes of old, and performing the rites on which the life of the tribe and of nature depends.

What then is this secret life of the Aborigines? It is the life apart, a life of ritual and mythology, of sacred rites and objects. It is the life in which man really finds his place in society and in nature, and in which he is brought in touch with the invisible things of the world of the past, present and future. Every now and then we find the tribe, or groups from more than one tribe, going apart from the workaday world. A special camp is arranged where the women remain unless some of them are called upon to play a subsidiary part in the ceremony. Then the men go for a mile or so to a secret site or to sites where they spend hours, or maybe days and weeks and even months, singing and performing rites, and in some cases even eating or sleeping there. When they return later to the world of secular affairs they are refreshed in mind and spirit. They now face the vicissitudes of everyday life with a new courage and a strength gained from the common participation in the rites, with a fresh appreciation of their social and moral ideals and patterns of life, and an assurance that having performed the rites well and truly, all will be well with themselves and with that part of nature with which their lives are so intimately linked.

A. P. Elkin, *The Australian Aborigines* (3rd ed.; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1964), PP. 168-71

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE PHASES OF SACRED LIFE

THE NGAJU DAYAK OF SOUTH BORNEO

Life is not a smoothly continuous process, but is broken into stages. There is life and death, becoming and passing away, and in this alternation man is continually returned to the primeval period, and he is thereby the object of divine creative activity whereby he can enter a new stage of life as a new man, until he has reached the highest stage of the true and perfect man, until indeed he has ascended by stages not only to the point of being godlike but of becoming divine. All ceremonies of transition, such as at birth, initiation, marriage and death, correspond very closely with each other in that on every occasion they repeat the drama of primeval creation. Man passes into death and returns to the total godhead and the Tree of Life, and then the godhead re-enacts the creation and man issues again from the Tree of Life as a new creature. . . .

Marriage. The marriage ceremony, which with all its rites lasts a fairly long time, is conducted by the elders, and they tell the couple from time to time what they have to do. The bride has to clasp the Tree of Life with her right hand and raised index finger. Then the bridegroom likewise encloses the finger of his bride and the Tree of Life with his right hand and raised index finger. . . .

What does the wedding really signify? From what we have already said it is clear that it has a deeper meaning, and is somehow connected with the conception of God and creation. It is not a simply social occasion; it is not primarily a matter of pairing together, but one of the most important religious affairs. To be married means to enter a new stage of sacred life. It means that something old is irrevocably past and something new comes about, it is death and life, passing away and coming into being. It is the same kind of event as birth, initiation, and death. The young couple die. The death is undergone through a representative, viz. the head, taken either in a raid or from a sacrificial slave, in which the spear, the stem of the Tree of Life, is stuck. According to old information from Schwaner, it used to be the case that the young pair were taken to the river, where the blood of a sacrificed slave has been mixed, and plunged into it. Immersion in the river means to die, but the dying was undergone by proxy in the person of the slave. Today the coconut is used as surrogate. . . . The couple are thus returned to mythical primeval time. They return to the Tree of Life. This return is indicated by the clasping of the Tree by the bridal pair. To clasp it means to be in the Tree of Life, to form a unity with it. In the ritual acts the godhead re-enacts the new creation, and through it the young couple leave the Tree and re-enter life, beginning their new existence in a new world, a new status, a new life. The wedding is the re-enactment of the creation, and the re-enactment of the creation of the first human couple from the Tree of Life. The bridal pair are the first human couple, and in their marital union, with its functions, duties, and rights, they are also the total godhead. . . . The ritually contracted marriage is fundamentally monogamous, as was that of the first ancestral pair. But what is a marriage according to the divine commandments? With marriage come bodily union, sexual intercourse, and the procreation of children. When these requirements are not met, the marriage does not resemble the Tree of Life from which children come, it is a withered tree and no marriage. And a marriage which is no marriage can be broken (in conformity with the relevant laws), or a second wife can be taken in addition to the first without this being thought an offence against hadat,¹ which it would be if the wife were rejected simply because she was old and the husband had fallen in love with a young girl, or if the man had more than two wives. In this respect, too, the conception of marriage is a very elevated one. The division of labour between man and woman, as well as reciprocal rights and duties, is regulated through the creation and the divine commandments, and these regulations are of a remarkably superior level. The Dayak woman is better protected by the law in many respects than is her European sister.

Birth. We shall refrain from describing here all religious observances and ceremonies which go before a birth, which surround it and succeed it. We shall ask ourselves only what birth means in relation to the conception of God. The period of pregnancy is a sacred time. The pali 2are multiplied. They apply not only to the mother-to-be, but also to the future father, and these regulations show us the unbreakable and organic religious unity of man and wife. They are the total godhead and the Tree of Life, in their combination and in the coming of the new life as a ripe fruit from the Tree of Life. Every breach of this

unity, every transgression of the pali which enclose this unity like a stout fence, causes the destruction of the Tree of Life and the ruin of its fruit. The child comes from the Tree of Life. . . . This unity and totality does not exist only during pregnancy, but during the birth also, and it lasts until the fortieth day after the delivery.

Initiation. The two rites just described belong to the rites of initiation, which bring about the transition from one stage in the sacred life to another, but they by no means exhaust the list of such ceremonies. There is also the ritual bath of the infant, which takes place either in a river or in the house, a few days or weeks after its birth. The child is taken to the middle of the river -in a sacred boat shaped like the Watersnake, splendidly decorated with cloths and flags, and there, at the entrance to the Underworld, it is immersed. The meaning of the rite is clear. The total community returns in the godhead (the boat) to the Underworld and commits the child to the godhead, who bestows new life on the child so that it may go back to the world as a new human being. Although this is primarily the affair of Jata, 3 the deity of the Upperworld still has a part in this ritual bath. Before the rite is begun, the priest invokes both of the supreme deities and begs them to open the sources of the water of life and to let it flow in the river, so that the child may be immersed in the water of life springing from the Upperworld and the Underworld. The river-water is no use in itself and the whole rite would be vain if it were not consecrated by the consent, the presence, the water of life, and the deed, of the total godhead. The sacred bath means here (and wherever and whenever it is performed) a return to the godhead and a renewal of life in and through the godhead.

Other initiation rites are the first step of the child on the ground, the first touching of the fruit tree, and so on.

The real initiation ceremonies, which take place during and after the end of puberty, are important. Formerly the youths spent the nights during this period in the balai (meeting-house and guest house), not in their own houses. There they were under the supervision of one of the elders, who was responsible for instructing them in the rights and duties of the adult men which they were to become. In this period they were instructed in law, the secrets of headhunting and war, masculine tasks, war-dances and games. At this time, too, their teeth were filed (as were those of young girls also) and they circumcised themselves in secret. We do not know enough about what these two activities mean. The animistic and dynamic interpretation can hardly be maintained, but we ought probably to see them as partial self-sacrifice in connection with the entire renovation of man, for the two activities do not stand alone but form a whole together with all the others. A young man becomes a full member of the society by passing through the initiation rites, by taking part for the first time in human sacrifice and headhunting, and by the acquisition of costly possessions belonging to the pusaka (sacred jars, gongs, weapons). . . .

Young girls approaching puberty were formerly shut up (bakowo), sometimes for two or three years, in a separately built room above or next to the room where the parents slept. This room (howo) is identical with the rahan mentioned in myths and represented on the priests' maps, and stands for the primeval waters. All the rites connected with this period show us that the young girl is led to the Underworld. She stays there for a certain time, and when this is up she assumes the form of a watersnake. The ceremonies for the ending of the howo-period are an occasion at which the whole community is represented; people gather from the surrounding villages and together ritually demolish the room, and then take the girl down to the river for a ritual bath. After this bath she comes back to earth from the Underworld, and as a new person begins her new life as a full member, socially and religiously, of the community. During the howo period the young girl used to be waited on by an old and respected female slave who instructed her in the rights, duties, and tasks of a woman. There are numerous bahowo myths in Dayak literature which tell us how after the destruction of the entire cosmos (usually through the fault of human beings), only a maiden remained alive, enclosed in a tall tree or in a rock. It was possible to communicate with her through a small hole, but she could not be seen. She was given the raw materials for skilled tasks such as weaving cloth or cane, and after a time beautifully executed objects were returned. During the bakowo-period the young girl may not be touched. This would cause not only her own death, viz. remaining for ever in the Underworld, but also the ruin of the entire cosmos, from which it could be saved only through the medium of human sacrifice. This event also is clearly told in the myths. Usually there is a young man burning with love for the imprisoned girl. He tries to free her from the tree or rock, and when this is unsuccessful he in despair cuts off the arm of his sweetheart. At this, the opening closes up and the girl disappears for ever. The kowo-period is sacred. The maiden lives with the godhead. She lives neither in this world nor in this

present time, but in the primeval waters and in primeval time, and in her are accomplished the creative, beneficent activities of this time, which nothing may disturb or ruin, for any disturbance means an interference in the other world and will be punished by the angry, vengeful, divine judge with the destruction of the cosmos. As soon as the howo-period is concluded the girl is again governed by worldly laws. . . .

Death. The most important and the concluding stage in the life of man is death. It does not mean passing away and the extinction of life, but returning home to the divine world and being taken up again into the social and divine unity of mythical primeval time. Death is a passage to a new existence, the transition to a new and true life. It is thus an event of the same kind as birth, initiation, and marriage, and it is not only the most important of all these stages of life but receives the fullest and the most detailed ceremonial expression: all the other stages reach their culmination and final conclusion in this.

The deceased person is removed from secular time and the laws of this world, and is placed back in mythical antiquity. This is shown by the rites performed at death, and by the preparation of the -coffin. The coffin is made in the shape of a boat. But it is not only a boat, and it is not primarily intended for the journey of the dead person to the village of the dead, for his voyage on lake and river. This is not the explanation of the shape. The coffin is not only a boat but also the Hornbill or the Watersnake. The Hornbill coffin is for dead women, the Watersnake coffin for dead men. The sides of the coffin are decorated with a painted or carved liana which represents the Tree of Life and is named after it. The whole coffin is ornamented with coloured dots. They represent gold and jewels and are called after the Gold Mountain and jewel Mountain of mythical antiquity. The coffin is provided with totemic emblems: cloth for a woman, blowpipe and sword for a man.

What is the meaning of this coffin? It is boat, Tree of Life, godhead, and primeval mountain. We might say that it is a material representation of the Creation Myth. The two coffins are identical with the two boats in which the first human couple drifted on the waters of life. They bear, too, the names of those boats (viz. banama hintan and banama bulau). Furthermore, they are identical with the Tree of Life (the liana), for they originated from it and are thus the Tree itself. They are also the godhead, for the total godhead is really the Tree of Life. Finally, they are also identical with the two primeval mountains, for out of their contact originated the head-dress of Mahatala from which came the Tree of Life. The coffin is thus the cosmic/divine totality of primeval times, and this totality is closely related, logically and theologically, to the creation myth. The dead return to the total godhead and the salvation of primeval time, and they are taken up into both of these.

The coffins, and many important rituals as well, show us clearly that the dead fall into two categories, one associated with the Upperworld and the other with the Underworld. This dichotomy, however, cannot be simply a sexual matter, as we have seen, but is connected with the divine and social dichotomy. We cannot therefore speak

simply of a man's coffin and a woman's coffin, for both coffins must earlier have appertained to the two groups of which one was connected with the Upperworld and used the Hornbill coffin, while the other was connected with the Underworld and used the Watersnake coffin. . . .

In spite of this dichotomy, which also plays an important part in the action of conducting the dead during the mortuary ceremonies, it is the idea of unity that is far more stressed today. The deceased returns to the mythical primeval antiquity, to the divine totality, and to the primeval village Batu Nindan Tarong. In primeval time he finds himself again in the Tree of Life and in the godhead, and the godhead re-enacts a new creation in him. The deceased becomes again the first man floating in the boat, which itself is the godhead, on the primeval waters, until he is brought into the village of the dead, where he is united with his ancestors for ever. Man originated from the godhead. The godhead has guided him through the various stages of life until his death, until he returns to the godhead and is given new life and a new existence in the Upperworld from which he once departed and from which there will be no more separation.

Notes

1 Law, custom, right behaviour.

2 Taboo.

3 The deity of the Underworld or the primeval waters.

Hans Schirer, *Ngaju Religion: The Conception of God among a South Borneo People*, translation by Rodney Needham (The Hague, 1963), pp. 81-94

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": HUNTING IS A HOLY OCCUPATION

NASKAPI INDIANS OF THE LABRADOR PENINSULA

To the Montagnais-Naskapi hunters on the barest subsistence level- the animals of the forest, the tundra, and the waters of the interior and the coast, exist in a specific relation. They have become the objects of engrossing magico-religious activity, for to them hunting is a holy occupation. The animals pursue an existence corresponding to that of man as regards emotions and purpose in life. The difference between man and animals, they believe, lies chiefly in outward form. In the beginning of the world, before humans were formed, all animals existed grouped under 'tribes' of their kinds who could talk like men, and were even covered with the same protection. When addressing animals in a spiritual way in his songs, or using the drum, the conjuror uses an expression which means freely, you and I wear the same covering and have the same mind and spiritual strength.' This statement was explained as meaning not that man had fur, not that animals wore garments, but their equality was spiritual and embraced or eclipsed the physical.

There has been no change in these native doctrines since they were first recorded in the seventeenth century in the words of the French priests. 'They believe that many kinds of animals have reasonable souls. They have superstitions against profaning certain bones of elk, beaver and other beasts or letting dogs gnaw them. They preserve them carefully or throw them into rivers. They pretend that the souls of these animals come to see how bodies are treated and go and tell the living beasts and those that are dead, so that if ill treated the beasts of the same kind will no longer allow themselves to be taken in this world or the next' (Father Le Clerq, 1961).

The belief of this same character among the central Algonkian is expressed succinctly by William Jones: 'It was thought that every living creature possessed a soul and that to get control of the soul made it possible to get control of the possessor of the soul. It was on such a theory that the Ojibwas hunted for game.'

The killing of animals, then, entails much responsibility in the spiritual sense. Since the animals' spirits at death are forgathered in their proper realms to be reincarnated later, the slaying of them places the hunter in the position, theoretically, of being their enemy. But he is not that in the ordinary sense of the term, because it is the ordained manner of procedure and one to which they are adjusted and inured. Requirements of conduct towards animals exist, however, which have to be known and carried out by the hunter. His success depends upon his knowledge, and, they -argue, since no one can know everything and act to perfection, the subject of magico-religious science becomes, even from the native point of view, an inexhaustible one. Therefore, failure in the chase, the disappearance of the game from the hunter's districts, with ensuing famine, starvation, weakness, sickness, and death, are all attributed to the hunter's ignorance of some hidden principle of behaviour towards the animals or to his wilful disregard of them. The former is ignorance. The latter is sin. The two together constitute the educational sphere of the Montagnais-Naskapi, and the schooling is hard enough in reality although it may seem to the civilized imagination a mere travesty of mental training.

F. G. Speck, *Naskapi, The Savage Hunters of the Labrador Peninsula* (Norman, Okla: University of Oklahoma Press, 1935)

ircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE SACREDNESS OF AGRICULTURE:

AHURA-MAZDA INSTRUCTS ZARATHUSTRA

('Vidivdat,' Fargard III)

'Unhappy is the land that has long lain unsown with the seed of the sower and wants a good husbandman, like a well-shapen maiden who has long gone childless and wants a good husband.

'He who would till the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him will she bring forth plenty of fruit: even as it were a lover sleeping with his bride on her bed; the bride will bring forth children, the earth will bring forth plenty of fruit.

'He who would till the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him thus says the Earth - "O thou man! who dost till me with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, here shall I ever go or, bearing, bringing forth all manner of food, bring corn first to thee."

'He who does not till the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra! with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, unto him thus says the Earth: 'O thou man ! who dost not till me with the left arm and the right, with the right arm and the left, ever shalt thou stand at the door of the stranger, among those who beg for bread; the refuse and the crumbs of the bread are brought unto thee, brought by those who have profusion of wealth."

[Zarathustra asked:] O maker of the material world, thou Holy One! What is the food that fills the Religion of Mazda?

Ahura Mazda answered: 'It is sowing corn again and again, O Spitama Zarathustra!

'He who sows corn, sows righteousness; he makes the Religion of Mazda walk, he suckles the Religion of Mazda; as well as he could do with a hundred men's feet, with a thousand women's breasts, with ten thousand sacrificial formulas.

'When barley was created; the Daevas started up, when it grew, then fainted the Daevas' hearts; when the knots came, the Daevas groaned; when the ear came, the Daevas flew away. In that house the Daevas stay, wherein wheat perishes. It is though red hot iron- were turned about in their throats, when there is plenty of corn.'

Translation by James Darmesteter, The Zend-Avesta, part 1, in Sacred Books of the East, iv (2nd ed.; Oxford, 1895), pp. 29-31

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": JAIN RESPECT FOR LIFE

('Acaranga-sutra,' I, 1)

Earth is afflicted and wretched, it is hard to teach, it has no discrimination. Unenlightened men, who suffer from the effects of past deeds, cause great pain in a world full of pain already, for in earth souls are individually embodied. If, thinking to gain praise, honour, or respect ... or to achieve a good rebirth ... or to win salvation, or to escape pain, a man sins against earth or causes or permits others to do so. . . . he will not gain joy or wisdom. . . . Injury to the earth is like striking, cutting, maiming, or killing a blind man . . . Knowing this man should not sin against earth or cause or permit others to do so. He who understands the nature of sin against earth is called a true sage who understands karma. . . .

And there are many souls embodied in water. Truly water . . . is alive. . . . He who injures the lives in water does not understand the nature of sin or renounce it. . . . Knowing this, a man should not sin against water, or cause or permit others to do so. He who understands the nature of sin against water is called the true sage who understands karma. . . .

By wicked or careless acts one may destroy fire-beings, and moreover, harm other beings by means of fire. . . . For there are creatures living in earth, grass, leaves, wood, cowdung, or dustheaps, and jumping creatures which . . . fall into a fire if they come near it. If touched by fire, they shrivel up . . . lose their senses, and die. . . . He who understands the nature of sin in respect of fire is called a true sage who understands karma.

And just as it is the nature of a man to be born and grow old, so is it the nature of a plant to be born and grow old. . . . One is endowed with reason, and so is the other; one is sick, if injured, and so is the other; one grows larger and so does the other; one changes with time, and so does the other. . . . He who understands the nature of sin against plants is called a true sage who understands karma. . . .

All beings with two, three, four, or five senses. . . . in fact all creation, know individually pleasure and displeasure, pain, terror, and sorrow. All are full of fears which come from all directions. And yet there exist people who would cause greater pain to them. . . . Some kill animals for sacrifice, some for their skin, flesh, blood, . . . feathers, teeth, or tusks; . . . some kill them intentionally and some unintentionally; some kill because they have been previously injured by them, . . . and some because they expect to be injured. He who harms animals has not understood or renounced deeds of sin. . . . He who understands the nature of sin against animals is called a true sage who understands karma. . . .

A man who is averse from harming even the wind knows the sorrow of all things living. . . . He who knows what is bad for himself knows what is bad for others, and he who knows what is bad for others knows what is bad for himself. This reciprocity should always be borne in mind. Those whose minds are at peace and who are free from passions do not desire to live [at the expense of others]. . . . He who understands the nature of sin against wind is called a true sage who understands karma.

In short he who understands the nature of sin in respect of all the six types of living beings is called a true sage who understands karma.

Translation by A. L. Basham; from abridged version in Theodore de Bary, *Sources of Indian Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 62-3

ORIGIN AND DESTINY OF THE SOUL

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":
SOULS, DREAMS, DEATH, ECSTASY

(E. B. Tylor's Theory of Animism)

To understand the popular conceptions of the human soul or spirit, it is instructive to notice the words which have been found suitable to express it. The ghost or phantasm seen by the dreamer or the visionary is in unsubstantial form, like a shadow or reflection, and thus the familiar term of the shade comes in to express the soul. Thus the Tasmanian word for the shadow is also that for the spirit, the Algonquins describe a man's soul as otahchuk, 'his shadow'; the Quiche language uses natub for 'shadow, soul'; the Arawak ueja means 'shadow, soul, image'; and Abipones made the one word loakal serve for shadow, soul, echo, image.' The Zulus not only use the word tunzi for 'shadow, spirit, ghost,' but they consider that at death the shadow of a man will in some way depart from the corpse, to become an ancestral spirit. The Basutos not only call the spirit remaining after death the seriti or 'shadow,' but they think that if a man walks on the river bank, a crocodile may seize his shadow in the water and draw him in; while in Old Calabar there is found the same identification of the spirit with the ukpon or 'shadow,' for a man to lose which is fatal. There are thus found among the lower races not only the types of those familiar classic terms, the skia and umbra, but also what seems the fundamental thought of the stories of shadowless men still current in the folklore of Europe, and familiar to modern readers in Chamisso's tale of Peter Schlemihl. Thus the dead in Purgatory knew that Dante was alive when they saw that, unlike theirs, his figure cast a shadow on the ground. Other attributes are taken into the notion of soul or spirit, with especial regard to its being the cause of life. Thus the Caribs, connecting the pulses with spiritual beings, and especially considering that in the heart dwells man's chief soul, destined to a future heavenly life,

could reasonably use the one word iouanni for 'soul, life, heart.'

The Tongans supposed the soul to exist throughout the whole extension of the body, but particularly in the heart. . . .

The act of breathing, so characteristic of the higher animals during life, and coinciding so closely with life in its departure, has been repeatedly and naturally identified with the life or soul itself. . . . It is thus that West Australians used one word waug for 'breath, spirit, soul'; that in the Netela language of California, piuts means 'life, breath, soul'; that certain Greenlanders reckoned two souls to man, namely his shadow and his breath; that the Malays say the soul of the dying man escapes through his nostrils, and in Java use the same word nawa for 'breath, life, soul.' How the notions of life, heart, breath and phantom unite in the one conception of a soul or spirit, and at the same time how loose and vague such ideas are among barbaric races, is well brought into view in the answers to a religious inquest held in 1528 among the natives of Nicaragua. 'When they die, there comes out of their mouth something that resembles a person and is called julio [Aztec yuli = to live]. This being goes to the place where the man and woman are. It is like a person, but does not die, and the body remains here.'

. . . The conception of the soul as breath may be followed up through Semitic and Aryan etymology, and thus into the main streams of the philosophy of the world. Hebrew shows nephesh, 'breath,' passing into all the meanings of 'life, soul, mind, animal,' while ruach and neshamah make the like transition from 'breath' to 'spirit'; and to these the Arabic neufs and ruh correspond. The same is the history of Sanskrit atman and prana, of Greek psyche and pneuma, of Latin animus, anima, spiritus. So Slavonic duch has developed the meaning of 'breath' into that of soul or spirit; and the dialects of the Gypsies have this word duk with the meaning of 'breath, spirit, ghost,' whether these pariahs brought the word from India as part of their inheritance, of Aryan speech, or whether they adopted it in their migration across Slavonic lands. German geist and English ghost, too, may possibly have the same original sense of breath. And if any should think such expressions due to mere metaphor, they may judge the strength of the implied connection between breath and spirit by cases of most unequivocal significance. Among the Seminoles of Florida, when a woman died in childbirth, the infant was held over her face to receive her parting spirit, and thus acquire strength and knowledge for its future use. These Indians could have well understood why at the death-bed of an ancient Roman, the nearest kinsman leant over to inhale the last breath of the departing (et excipies hanc animam ore pio).

Their state of mind is kept up to this day among Tyrolese peasants, who can still fancy a good man's soul to issue from his mouth at death like a little white cloud.

It will be shown that men, in their composite and confused notions of the soul, have brought into connection a list of manifestations of life and thought even more multifarious than this. But also, seeking to avoid such perplexity of combination, they have sometimes endeavoured to define and classify more closely, especially by the theory that man has a combination of several kinds of spirit, soul, or image, to which different functions belong. Already in the barbaric world such classification has been invented or adopted. Thus the Fijians distinguished between a man's 'dark spirit' or shadow, which goes to Hades, and his 'light spirit' or reflection in water or a mirror, which stays near where he dies. The Malagasy say that the saina or mind vanishes at death, the aina or life becomes mere air, but the matoatoa or ghost hovers round the tomb. In North America, the duality of the soul is a strongly marked Algonquin belief, one soul goes out and sees dreams while the other remains behind; at death one of the two abides with the body, and for this the survivors leave offerings of food, while the other departs to the land of the dead. A division into three souls is also known, and the Dakotas say that man has four souls, one remaining with the corpse, one staying in the village, one going in the air, and one to the land of spirits. The Karens distinguish between the 'la' or 'kelah,' the personal life-phantom, and the 'thah,' the responsible moral soul.

. . .

The early animistic theory of vitality, regarding the function of life as caused by the soul, offers to the savage mind an explanation of several bodily and mental conditions, as being effects of a departure of the soul or some of its constituent spirits. This theory holds a wide and strong position in savage biology. The South Australians express it when they say of one insensible or unconscious, that he is wilyamarraba,'

i.e., 'without soul.' Among the Algonquin Indians of North America, we hear of sickness being accounted for by the patient's 'shadow' being unsettled or detached from his body, and of the convalescent being reproached for exposing himself before his shadow was safely settled down in him; where we should say that a man was ill and recovered, they would consider that he died, but came again. Another account from among the same race explains the condition of men lying in lethargy or trance; their souls have travelled to the banks of the River of Death, but have been driven back and return to reanimate their bodies. Among the Fijians, 'when any one faints or dies, their spirit, it is said, may sometimes be brought back by calling after it; and occasionally the ludicrous scene is witnessed of a stout man lying at full length, and bawling out lustily for the return of his own soul.' . . . Thus, in various countries, the bringing back of lost souls becomes a regular part of the sorcerer's or priest's profession. The Salish Indians of Oregon regard the spirit as distinct from the vital principle, and capable of quitting the body for a short time without the patient being conscious of its absence; but to avoid fatal consequences it must be restored as soon as possible, and accordingly the medicine man in solemn form replaces it down through the patient's head. . . . The Karens of Burma will run about pretending to catch a sick man's wandering soul, or as they say with the Greeks and Slavs, his 'butterfly' leip-pya), and at last drop it down upon his head. The Karen doctrine of the 'la' is indeed a perfect and well-marked vitalistic system. This la, soul, ghost, or genius, may be separated from the body it belongs to and it is a matter of the deepest interest to the Karen to keep his la with him, by calling it, making offerings of food to it, and so forth. It is especially when the body is asleep, that the soul goes out and wanders; if it is detained beyond a certain time, disease ensues, and if permanently, then its owner dies. 'When the 'wee' or spirit-doctor is employed to call back the departed shade or life of a Karen, if he cannot recover it from the region of the dead, he will sometimes take the shade of a living man and transfer it to the dead, while its proper owner, whose soul has ventured out in a dream, sickens and dies. Or when a Karen becomes sick, languid and pining from his la having left him, his friends will perform a ceremony with a garment of the invalid's and a fowl which is cooked and offered with rice, invoking the spirit with formal prayers to come back to the patient. . . .

This same doctrine forms one side of the theory of dreams prevalent among the lower races-. Certain of the Greenlanders, Cranz remarks, consider that the soul quits the body in the night and goes out hunting, dancing, and visiting; their dreams, which are frequent and lively, having brought them to this opinion. Among the Indians of North America, we hear of the dreamer's soul leaving his body and wandering in quest of things attractive to it. These things the waking- man must endeavour to obtain, lest his soul be troubled, and quit the body altogether. The New Zealanders considered the dreaming soul to leave the body and return, even travelling to the region of the dead to hold converse with its friends. The Tagals of Luzon object to waking a sleeper, on account of the absence of his soul. The Karens, whose theory of the wandering soul has just been noticed, explain dreams to be what this la sees and experiences in its journeys when it has left the body asleep. They even account with much acuteness for the fact that we are apt to dream of people and places which we knew before,, the leip-pya, they say, can only visit the regions where the body it belongs to has been already. . . .

The North American Indians allowed themselves the alternative of supposing a dream to be either a visit from the soul of the person or object dreamt of, or a sight seen by the rational soul, gone out for an excursion while the sensitive soul remains in the body. So the Zulu may be visited in a dream by the shade of an ancestor, the itongo, who comes to warn him of danger, or he may himself be taken by the itongo in a dream to visit his distant people, and see that they are in trouble; as for the man who is passing into the morbid conditions of the professional seer, phantoms are continually coming to talk to him in his sleep, till he becomes, as the expressive native phrase is, 'a house of dreams.' In the lower range of culture, it is perhaps most frequently taken for granted that a man's apparition in a dream is a visit from his disembodied spirit, where the dreamer, to use an expressive Ojibwa idiom, 'sees when asleep.' Such a thought comes out clearly in the Fijian opinion that a living man's spirit may leave the body, to trouble other people in their sleep or in a recent account of an old Indian woman of British Columbia sending for the medicine man to drive away the dead people who came to her every night. A modern observer's description of the state of mind of the Negroes of West Africa in this respect is extremely characteristic and instructive. 'All their dreams are construed into visits from the spirits of their deceased friends. The cautions, hints, and warnings which come to them through this source are received with the most serious and deferential attention, and are always acted upon in their waking hours. The habit of relating their dreams, which is universal, greatly promotes the habit of dreaming itself, and hence their sleeping hours are characterized by almost as much intercourse with the dead as their waking are with the living. This is,

no doubt, one of the reasons of their excessive superstitiousness. Their imaginations become so lively that they can scarcely distinguish between their dreams and their waking thoughts, between the real and the ideal, and they consequently utter falsehood with intending, and profess to see things which never existed.'

To the Greek of old, the dream-soul was what to the modern savage it still is. Sleep, loosing cares of mind, fell on Achilles as he lay by the sounding sea, and there stood over him the soul of Patroklos, like to him altogether in stature, and the beauteous eyes, and the voice, and the garments that wrapped his skin; he spake, and Achilles stretched out to grasp him with loving hands, but caught him not, and like a smoke the soul sped twittering below the earth. Along the ages that separate us from Homeric times, the apparition in dreams of men living or dead has been a subject of philosophic speculation and of superstitious fear. Both the phantom of the living and the ghost of the dead figure in Cicero's typical tale. Two Arcadians came to Megara together, one lodged at a friend's house, the other at an inn. In the night this latter appeared to his fellow-traveller, imploring his help, for the innkeeper was plotting his death; the sleeper sprang up in alarm, but thinking the vision of no consequence went to sleep again. Then a second time his companion appeared to him, to entreat that though he had failed to help, he would at least avenge, for the innkeeper had killed him and hidden his body in a dung-cart, wherefore he charged his fellow-traveller to be early next morning at the city gate before the cart passed out. Struck with this second dream, the traveller went as bidden, and there found the cart; the body of the murdered man was in it, and the innkeeper was brought to justice. . . .

The evidence of visions corresponds with the evidence of dreams in their bearing on primitive theories of the soul, and the two classes of phenomena substantiate and supplement one another. . . . Human ghosts are among the principal of these phantasmal figures. There is no doubt that honest visionaries describe ghosts as they really appear to their perception, while even the impostors who pretend to see them conform to the description thus established; thus, in West Africa, a man's *kla* or soul, becoming at his death a *sisá* or ghost, can remain in the house with the corpse, but is only visible to the wrong-man, the spirit-doctor. Sometimes the phantom has the characteristic quality of not being visible to all of an assembled company. Thus the natives of the Antilles believed that the dead appeared on the roads when one went alone, but not when many went together; thus among the Finns the ghosts of the dead were to be seen by the shamans, but not by men generally unless in dreams. Such is perhaps the meaning of the description of Samuel's ghost, visible to the witch of Endor, but not to Saul, for he has to ask her what it is she sees. . . .

That the apparitional human soul bears the likeness of its fleshly body, is the principle implicitly accepted by all who believe it really and objectively present in dreams and visions. My own view is that nothing but dreams and visions could have ever put into men's minds such an idea as that of souls being ethereal images of bodies. It is thus habitually taken for granted in animistic philosophy, savage or civilized, that souls set free from the earthly body are recognized by a likeness to it which they still retain, whether as ghostly wanderers on earth or inhabitants of the world beyond the grave. . . . This world-wide thought, coming into view here in a multitude of cases from all grades of culture, needs no collection of ordinary instances to illustrate it. But a quaint and special group of beliefs will serve to display the thoroughness with which the soul is thus conceived as an image of the body. As a consistent corollary to such an opinion, it is argued that the mutilation of the body will have a corresponding effect upon the soul, and very low savage races have philosophy enough to work out this idea. Thus it was recorded of the Indians of Brazil by one of the early European visitors, that they 'believe that the dead arrive in the other world wounded or hacked to pieces, in fact just as they left this.' Thus, too, the Australian who has slain his enemy will cut off the right thumb of the corpse, so that although the spirit will become a hostile ghost, it cannot throw with its mutilated hand the shadowy spear, and may be safely left to wander, malignant but harmless. . . .

In studying the nature of the soul as conceived among the lower races, and in tracing such conceptions onward among the higher, circumstantial details are available. It is as widely recognized among mankind that souls or ghosts have voices, as they have visible forms, and indeed the evidence for both of is of the same nature. Men who perceive evidently that souls do talk when they present themselves in dream or vision, naturally take for granted at once the objective reality of the ghostly voice, and of the ghostly form

from which it proceeds. This is involved in the series of narratives of spiritual communications with living men, from savagery onward to civilization, while the more modern doctrine ' of the subjectivity of such phenomena recognizes the phenomena themselves, but offers a different explanation of them. One special conception, however, requires particular notice. This defines the spirit-voice as being a low murmur, chirp, or whistle, as it were the ghost of a voice. The Algonquin Indians of North America could hear the shadow-souls of the dead chirp like crickets. The divine spirits of the New Zealand dead, coming to converse with the living, utter their words in whistling tones, and such utterances by a squeaking noise are mentioned elsewhere in Polynesia. The Zulu diviner's familiar spirits are ancestral manes, who talk in a low whistling tone short of a full whistle, whence they have their name if 'imilozì' or whistlers. These ideas correspond with classic

descriptions of the ghostly voice, as a 'twitter' or 'thin murmur.' The conception of dreams and visions as caused by present objective figures, and the identification of such phantom souls with the shadow and the breath has led to the treatment of souls as substantial material beings. Thus it is a usual proceeding to make openings through solid materials to allow souls to pass. The Iroquois in old times used to leave an opening in the grave for the lingering soul to visit its body, and some of them still bore holes in the coffin for the same purpose. . . . The Chinese make a hole in the roof to let out the soul at death. And lastly, the custom of opening a window or door for the departing soul when it quits the body is to this day a very familiar superstition in France, Germany and England. Again, the souls of the dead are thought susceptible of being beaten, hurt and driven like any other living creatures. Thus. the Queensland aborigines would beat the air in an annual mock fight, held to scare away the souls that death had let loose among the living since last year. Thus North American Indians, when they had tortured an enemy to death, ran about crying and beating with sticks to scare the ghost away. . . .

Explicit statements as to the substance of soul are to be found both among low and high races, in an instructive series of definitions. The Tongans imagined the human soul to be the finer or more aeriform part of the body, which leaves it suddenly at the moment of death; something comparable to the perfume and essence of a flower as related to the more solid vegetable fibre. The Greenland seers described the soul as they habitually perceived it in their visions; it is pale and soft, they said, and he who tries to seize it feels nothing, for it has no flesh nor bone sinew. The Caribs did not think the soul so immaterial as to be invisible, but said it was subtle and thin like a purified body. Turning to higher races, we may take the Siamese as an example of a people who conceive of souls as consisting of subtle matter escaping sight and touch, or as united to a swiftly moving aerial body. In the classic world, it is recorded as an opinion of Epicurus that 'they who say the soul is incorporeal talk folly, for it could neither do nor suffer anything were it such.' Among the Fathers, Irenaeus describes souls as incorporeal in comparison with mortal bodies, and Tertullian relates a vision or revelation of a certain Montanist prophetess, of the soul seen by her corporeally, thin and lucid, aerial in colour and human in form. . . .

Among rude races, the original conception of the human soul seems to have been that of ethereality, or vaporous materiality, which has held so large a place in human thought ever since. In fact, the later metaphysical notion of immateriality could scarcely have conveyed any meaning to a savage. It is moreover to be noticed that, as to the whole nature and action of apparitional souls, the lower philosophy escapes various difficulties which down to modern times have perplexed metaphysicians and theologians of the civilized world. Considering the thin ethereal body of the soul to be itself sufficient and suitable for visibility, movement, and speech, the primitive animist required no additional hypotheses to account for these manifestations. . . .

Departing from the body at the time of death, the soul or spirit is considered set free to linger near the tomb, to wander on earth or flit in the air, or to travel to the proper region of spirits-the world beyond the grave. . . . Men do not stop short at the persuasion that death releases the soul to a free and active existence, but they quite logically proceed to assist nature, by slaying men in order to liberate their souls for ghostly uses. Thus there arises one of the most widespread, distinct, and intelligible rites of animistic religion-that of funeral human sacrifice for the service of the dead. When a man of rank dies and his soul departs to its own place, wherever and whatever that place may be, it is a rational inference of early philosophy that the souls of attendants, slaves, and wives, put to death at his funeral, will make the same journey and continue their service in the next life, and the argument is frequently stretched further, to

include the souls of new victims sacrificed in order that they may enter upon the same ghostly servitude. It will appear from the ethnography of this rite that it is not strongly marked in the very lowest levels of culture, but that, arising in the lower barbaric stage, it develops itself in the higher, and thenceforth continues or dwindles in survival.

Sir Edward Burnett Tylor, *Religion in Primitive Culture* (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1958), pp. 14-42 (originally published as *Primitive Culture*)

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": AN AUSTRALIAN CONCEPTION OF THE SOUL

IN LIFE AND DEATH

(Murngin)

Each Murngin man and woman has two souls. One is looked upon as fundamental and real, and is felt to be the true soul, the soul from the heart, while the other is considered a trickster, of little value, and only in a vague way associated with the 'true man.' . . .

The first is the birimbir or warro, and the second is the mokoi or shadow soul. The warro is the totemic well spirit. It can be seen reflected in the water when one looks in it. It comes to one during good dreams. The waffo, when a man dies, becomes 'all the same as a fish.' It lives with and in the totemic emblems. . . .

The trickster soul is called shadow soul before death and mokoi when it leaves the body and goes into the jungle and bush country. 'Our old people reckon that the shadow soul is all the same as a bad spirit. It's that thing that makes me bad. My shadow always comes with me. The shadows of other things and creatures [besides man] are not souls but only shadows.' The mokoi soul is supposed to live more or less all over the body. It is a kind of vague duplicate of it. Sometimes one is told that only the head of a man is made into a mokoi at his death and that mokoi has no body. In the pictures drawn of it and the representations made in the dances, the mokoi is always possessed of a body, but it is distorted and made to appear ugly and unpleasant.

The warro is constantly undergoing change of status. It originates in the totem well, comes to its human father in a dream under miraculous circumstances where it is directed to its mother's womb, lodges there, is born in a normal number of months, and then lives in the heart of the new human organism during the period of the organism's life of the flesh unless it is stolen by a black sorcerer. After death there is a period of some indecision between the land of the living and the land of the dead, but it finally returns to the totemic well whence it came. It is in the symbol of the soul and its relations to the sacred and profane elements in Murngin civilization that we find mirrored the structure and values of the society. The soul supplies the eternal element to the cultural life of an individual Murngin. It lifts man from the simple profane animal level and allows him to participate fully in the sacred eternal values of the civilization that was, is, and will be. It finally and eternally ties the man whose heart it occupies to his totem, the symbol of all clan unity in Murngin culture, since the soul at death is one of the prominent elements in the configuration of associated items found in the clan's totemic water, the water which is the essence of life. Here live the great totemic ancestors who existed in the time of the Wawilak creator sisters when the Wongar totems walked the earth, and whose sacred names are used by the profane living only when these living have been purified by the great rituals, when they are part of the sacred and eternal elements in the culture when man and his totems participate as one in the totemic rituals. Here, too, in the well, lie the totemic ancestors who died at the beginning of time, and the more recently dead whose emotional bonds with the living are still strong. The more recent ancestors who have gone through the long purifying mortuary ritual which removed all the profane elements of the personality (whose mokoi spirit has gone into the bush with his other evil comrades) are, in their nature, of such sacredness that they can be absorbed into the body of the totem itself. And when the totemic essence of the totem animals is induced into the emblem, they also enter and participate in the spiritual life of the Murngin during the great rituals and then return to the sacred water hole. After the ritual, the emblem is buried beneath the mud of the totem well and allowed to rot, and the ancestor spirits and the totemic spirit return to the subterranean depths. Man goes through exactly the same cycle of existence as the totemic spirit. The totemic spirit

enters into the sacred water hole, goes through the ordinary water at the top of the well into the subterranean depths, and finally into the totem water beneath, where the Wongar ancestors live, becoming a part of the sacred configuration. The soul exactly the same thing.

The soul, the totemic spirit, the Wongar or totemic ancestors, are all expressions of the fundamental sacred essence, the ultimate symbol of which is the totemic well, which is the repository of all the individual items which have been or will be incarnate in man or his religious objects.

W. Lloyd Warner, *A Black Civilization* (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1964), PP. 435-7

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": PRE-EXISTENCE AND INCARNATION AMONG NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

It is in several places common for the breath of life to be conceived as proceeding from the Creator and returning to Him after death. Even without the connection with the breath being specified, the origin of the soul is ascribed to the Creator or the culture hero. The Bella Coola and Wind River Shoshoni thus consider that the Supreme Being is the giver of life and the life-soul. The Sauk Indian refers to his Creator as 'he that gave us life.' Also the kinsmen of the Sauk, the Fox, believe that the life-soul is a gift of the Great Spirit.

In the majority of our sources speak of the creation of the life soul -or rather of life-but we also have data concerning the origin of the free-soul. The Supreme Being of the Bella Coola 'made a soul for each of those about to be born; one of the minor gods fashioned its face; and a goddess rocked it, and sent it below to be born.' The dreamsoul of the Sinkaietk is conceived to have come from God-in contradistinction to the supernatural power, which is acquired from the animals. The Fox believe that just as the Supreme Being has given the life-soul, so the culture hero has given the free-soul. . . . The sky god Skan of the Oglala has given man the whole of his psychic equipment, including the life-soul and free-soul. The Wind River Shoshoni describes the free-soul as the gift of the supreme god. . . .

Where the direct statements fail us we with advantage have recourse to the remarks in the mythological tradition concerning the creation of the first human beings: the events of the primeval cosmic era are in many points repeated in the occurrences of later epochs, and the souls of the first man and modern man are of course conceived as having the same origin. Thus we are told in the Navajo myth concerning the first human beings: 'It was the wind that gave them life. It is the wind that comes out of our mouths now that gives us life.' . . .

if, however, a high divinity is conceived as the creator of the world, it is natural to expect that he will also be believed to have given man his soul(s) even if this is not directly stated. But we must remember the danger of reconstructing from logical premises a belief concerning whose existence nothing has been said. The origin of the soul is, it is true, often referred to the god who is also the creator of the earth. But even subordinate divinities may collaborate in the creative act to which the soul is due (the Navajo).

In a couple of cases, however, it seems justified-in certain circumstances-to deduce from the characteristics of the Supreme Being his significance for the origin of the soul. He is often referred to as the Breathmaker or Master of Life. The first of these terms, which has been used by some Muskogean peoples (the Creek, Chickasaw, Seminole), of course speaks for itself. The second term, the Master of Life, which has for the most part been given to the Creator of the Algonquin Indians (and which in the literature is most frequently found as the designation for the supreme god of the Lenape Indians), presumably refers to the god's capacity as the giver and guardian of the soul. In some cases the supreme deity is called 'the Master of Life and Death.' This indicates, inter alia, that he is also the lord of the realm of the dead-a function which he fills even when he is only referred to as 'the Master of Life.' . . .

Thus, as a rule, the Indians of North America believe that man's spirit has its ultimate origin in the deity himself, either through creation or partial emanation. In a couple of cases, it is true, the father of the child has been stated to beget the soul as well as the physical embryo. But these exceptions are few, and are probably the products of a speculation that has tried to fill a gap in the existing knowledge of the soul or

souls.

A soul that is commonly considered to derive from the gods is ipso facto not an ordinary profane creation. Whether it is conceived to be a gift of the deity or an emanation of his being, it belongs through its origin to the supernatural world. In its effect, on the other hand, it need not be supernatural in the same way as the mystical power.

The supernatural origin of the human soul finds particularly clear expression in the idea of pre-existence. Here we are not referring to the pre-existence that a reincarnated individual has had in a previous earthly life as man or animal: we are referring to the pre-incarnative existence, man's life before he is incarnated on earth. 'Man' stands here for the individual reality, which from the psychological viewpoint is the extra-physical soul, the free-soul, and which consequently represents man's ego in the pre-incarnative state. . . .

Where the belief in pre-existence in the form referred to here occurs (and it is reported from practically all parts of North America), the most widely varying places are conceived for the pre-incarnate existence. Among the Pueblo peoples of the Southwest the realm of the dead in the underworld is the place where the unborn dwell. One may naturally suspect that the new-born are consequently reincarnated deceased persons. But this is not always the case, for according to the agrarian Pueblo ideology the underworld is also the place for the renewal of life and is the original home of humanity. Also outside the Pueblo area we find the underworld regarded as man's constant place of generation. This is the case among, for instance, the Hidatsa, who possibly distinguished between this place and the realm of the dead. . . .

Where the prenatal original home does not coincide with the realm of the dead it is nevertheless localized to places that remind one of the abode of the dead. The Ingalik believe that 'there is a place filled with the spirits of little children, all impatient to be "called," i.e., born into this life.' In the depths of the forest there is according to Kwakiutl belief a mysterious house. 'Since one of the performances held in this house was that of giving birth, it was probably believed that from this house all generation of men, animals, and plants, took place.' The Indians in the north-westernmost U.S.A. have a 'babyland' where the unborn children live and play before they come to the earth. The Chinook children lived 'a quite definite existence' before birth, in the sun, the daylight. The Montagnais tradition to the effect that children come from the clouds, on the other hand, is evidently only a pedagogical fiction. According to the Eastern Shawnee, unborn children live on the little stars of the Milky Way. But we also find the belief that they live together with the creator, 'Our Grandmother.' . . .

Narratives of medicine-men who before their human incarnation had been spirit-beings are known from many parts of North America. Le Mercier tells of a Huron medicine-man who declared that he had lived as an *oki* (spirit) under the earth together with a female spirit. Both, possessed by the desire to become human beings, had finally concealed themselves near a path and taken up their abode in a passing woman. She gave birth to them too early; the medicine-man lived, but his female partner, with whom he had fought in the womb, came to the world still-born.

The Central Algonquin and the adjacent Sioux believe that their medicine-men were thunder-beings in a previous life. Thus the Menomini think that-'some babies are actually manitous in human shape, as in the case of thunder boys, who are nothing less than these powerful god beings come to earth for a while; or girls who personify one of the sacred sisters of the eastern sky.' In such circumstances also the name of the person in question is pre-existent, and no other name must be substituted for it during his earthly existence. The reserved character and meditative behaviour of a child is a decisive criterion of its supernatural birth. . . .

. Nowhere is the speculation concerning human pre-existence so subtle and sublime as in the notions of the pre-existence of medicine-men entertained by the Dakota tribes. Pond's splendid account of their ideas on this subject deserves to be quoted. He writes: 'The original essence of these men and women, for they appear under both sexes, first wakes into existence floating in ether. As the winged seed of the thistle or of the cottonwood floats on the air, so they are gently wafted by the 'four-winds'-'Taku-skan-skan'-through the regions of space, until, in due time, they find themselves in the

abode of some one of the families of the superior gods by whom they are received into intimate fellow-ship. There the embryonic medicine-man remains till he becomes familiar with the characters, abilities, desires, caprices, and employment of the gods. He becomes essentially assimilated to them, imbibing their spirit and becoming acquainted with all the chants, feasts, fasts, dances and sacrificial rites which it is deemed necessary to impose on men.'

We find an echo of similar trains of thought in the belief of the Mohave shamans that 'they were present in spirit form at the beginning of the world, at the time when all power, shamanistic and other, was established and allotted.,. . .

The future human being is often given the opportunity in his pre-existent life to choose the people he wishes to live among on earth and the woman of whom he wants to be born. An Iowa shaman 'inspected many tribes before he decided to be born an Iowa. He declined the Winnebago because they smelled fishy, and so he circled around until he discovered the Iowa. They suited him because they were clean, kept their camps swept up, and sent their women a long way off to menstruate. He came down and entered a dark lodge with a bearskin door, and after quite a stay he came out' (i.e. was born). The ethnocentric viewpoint also decides the future Dakota shaman's choice of parents: he does not want to be born of a white mother, partly because he wishes to have 'Dakota customs and dress,' and partly because his kinsmen the thunderers would kill him if he became white and thereby ignored their instructions. . . .

Concerning the soul's entry into the embryo and its role during the development of the embryo opinion is divided among North American Indians. . . .

The following collection of data shows how various are the conceptions of the soul's (or souls') incarnation.

Some Eskimo imagine that children, like eggs, live in the snow and creep into the womb. The Mackenzie Eskimo have many mutually incompatible notions concerning incarnation. One believes that the soul (nappan) comes with the water when the mother drinks, or from the ground when she urinates. Another believes that the child gets a soul at the same time as it is born. And a third believes that the soul comes at some time during the pregnancy, 'how or when she does not know.' The breath of a child to be enters a Tanaina woman like a cold puff of wind. The (free-) soul of a Tlingit Indian is not reincarnated until the body with which it is to be united has been born. The soul of the Hila Indian is often the spirit of an uncle, which takes possession of his body even before the birth of the individual. The unitary soul among the Sanpoil appears already in the embryo. Among the Plains Cree the free-soul takes up its abode in the body at birth. The Naskapi Indian receives his 'Great Man' during the embryonic stage. According to the Shawnee, 'a soul goes to earth and jumps through the mother's vagina and into the body of the child through the fontanelle just before birth.' Jones writes that according to the belief of the Ojibway 'the manitou on the other side of the world' delivers their souls to people before their birth. The Fox imagine that the life-soul is with the human embryo during the embryonic development, while the free-soul remains outside the mother during this period, and does not enter the child's body until its birth. . . .

Evidence that the child is believed to have soul-activity during the embryonic stage is afforded in the Indian notion of the foetal consciousness: the child feels and thinks during the time it spends in the mother's body. Sometimes this consciousness is intensified to the point of precognition, prophetic clairvoyance.

A Bella Coola child that cries in the womb is believed to have an excellent intellect. A shaman from the Great Bear Lake district declared that before his birth he had seen a star, which revealed to him all the medicines that have power over man. The Chipewyan embryo warns its mother if she is approached by an evil spirit. The unborn Lummi Indian hears what his future relatives are saying and knows what they are thinking; if they have evil thought in their mind he leaves them before his birth. A sagacious Lenape declared that he had acquired supernatural knowledge even before his birth. . . . The Saulteaux relate that in former times the Indians had consciousness during the embryonic stage, and in this connection also certainty concerning the content of earthly life, a prophetic capacity that was one of the signs of magic power. Such things are now rare. A Saulteaux did, however, tell Hallowell the following: 'Four nights

before I was born I knew that I would be born. My mind was as dear when I was born as it is now. I saw my father and my mother, and I knew who they were. I knew the things an Indian uses, their names and what they were good for. . . .' Such certainty is said to be, founded on the fact that the person in question had earlier lived a life among human beings. The unborn Fox child understands what its mother is saying, and abandons her if she proves to be quarrelsome. The Winnebago medicine-man, who is sent down to a woman's womb from his pre-existence, retains his consciousness both at the conception and during the entire embryonic period. The Wahpeton shamans know everything about their future existence before their birth. . . .

The events after the incarnation, and especially at the actual moment of birth, have been dramatically described by a reincarnated Winnebago shaman: 'Then I was brought down to earth. I did not enter a woman's womb, but I was taken into a room. There I remained conscious at all times. One day I heard the noise of little children outside and some other sounds, so I thought I would go outside. Then it seemed to me that I went through a door, but I was really being born again from a woman's womb. As I walked out I was struck with the sudden rush of cold air and I began to cry.'

Ake Hultkrantz, *Conceptions of the Soul among North American Indians* (Stockholm, 1954), PP. 412-26

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": MANS SOUL IDENTIFIED WITH BOTH OSIRIS AND WITH NATURE

('Coffin Texts,' 330)

'Coffin Texts,' 330, contains the clearest identification of the soul with nature that the ancients have left us.

Whether I live or die I am Osiris,

I enter in and reappear through you,

I decay in you, I grow in you,

I fall down in you, I fall upon my side.

The gods are living in me for I live and grow in the corn

that sustains the Honoured Ones.

I cover the earth,

whether I live or die I am Barley.

I am not destroyed.

I have entered the Order,

I rely upon the Order,

I become Master of the Order,

I emerge in the Order,

I make my form distinct,

I am the Lord -of the Chennet (Granary of Memphis?)

I have entered into the Order,

I have reached its limits. . . .

Translation by R. T. Rundle Clark in his *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (London 1957), p. 142

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE POLYNESIAN MANA

Mana has a meaning which has not a little in common with tupu,¹ but on a significant point they are radically different. Both denote unfolding activity and life; but whereas tupu is an expression of the nature of things and human beings as unfolded from within, mana expresses something participated, an active fellowship which according to its nature is never inextricably bound up with any single thing or any single human being. . . .

Mana thus is something which is found both in chief, tribe, and land, in other words, something common to a group, but there is a difference in their relation to this mana in that the chief owns the mana of the others. It is this very thing that makes his mana so much greater than that of the others, as it 'extends' into the land and the people.

This fellowship, mana, has something impersonal about it, in the way that it may be taken from the chief and taken over by another man. The impersonal, however, is only one aspect of mana, the one due to the fact that it contains the mana of the tribe as well as the land, and we may perhaps add, that of the chief as well. On the other hand there is something personal about mana in relation to tribe, chief or land, by the fact that they each have their share in it. This becomes evident if we consider the relation to tupu in more detail.

A man's tupu and his mana are intimately connected. We may say that his tupu attached his mana to it, or better that it extends into his mana so that they are in part identical. They both join in compromising a man's repute. The presents which the kinship group give a man at his wedding, are at once distributed by him among his wife's relatives, 'the mana is sufficient for the two, i.e., the married couple,; or in other words, the repute of the gifts is theirs. . . . just as the conjunction of tupu and mana shows that these two belong together, but are not identical, so we may from a number of other conjunctions with mana learn what accompanies mana without being identical with it:

'It was Tane's mana, strength and insight which fixed Heaven above.'

'The mana and the strength of the divinity of the sacred place.' 'These heads (viz. those of the enemy) which were prepared as trophies, they were prepared in order to be a sign that the tribe had mana and the gift of victory.'

'His name (i.e. renown) and his mana were (both) very great.'

'It is hard to flee before the enemy . . . it is a sign that the mana and name (i.e. renown) of the tribe are destroyed by the blows of the weapons of the victorious tribe.'

'Therefore the fear of his name, the greatness of his mana and his nobility were greater than those of any other ancestor.'

'You possess the mana, you ought to say the words, i.e. you have the authority.'

Insight, the courage which bears victory in it (mana), strength, name (i.e. renown), and the awe which the great name bears with it, authority, all this is connected with mana as something intimately bound up with it. These things are not mana, but they accompany mana, and we see how mana extends the inner vitality of tupu into strength, its courage into victorious courage, its honour into name (renown) and authority. . . .

Mana only refers to the urge towards realization; but this urge actually appears by the realization. 'If Maui had not been killed by this god (viz. Hinenuitepo), Maui's wish would have got mana and man would live

for ever'; the realization of Maui's wish thus would have followed as a consequence of its mana. Similarly in the following passage: 'Only now did they repeat a karakia (incantation) to Rangi in order that the bung of the springs of the water should be taken out and the water come forth. Then their wish really got mana and the water rose.'

The dynamic element in mana, the unfolding, is brought out strongly when the word is used as a verb. The verbal character makes the aspect of mana as a communion or fellowship recede into the background, which is only justified if we do not forget that the dynamic element cannot be active except against this background. . . .

The mana common to the chief, the kinship group, and the land is owned by the chief; this causes his special position. It also means that his tupu extends over a wider field than that of other mortals. It may perhaps be translated into European languages by saying that his personality has a greater field of activity. We may say that he gets his field of activity with his mana, but the degree to which he can utilize it, will depend upon his personality. The chief who has a strong mind, strength, and courage, in short, a great tupu, can also be said to permeate the mana of the kinship group and the country with his being, his mana. It was said about Kupe, who was a chief from Hawaiki, that 'his mana penetrated into the population of the islands.' This mana, which permeates the kinship group, is the basis of the chief's authority. It shows in practice by the fact that he can make others do what he wants. In a farewell letter to Governor Grey some Maoris wrote: 'It was your mana which put an end to the disturbances in this country.' The Maoris of course considered Grey as a kind of great chief and felt his mana in the authority by means of which he succeeded in making peace. . . .

This mana which extends into country and people thus in the great chief is permeated by his being. It is not a mysterious substance, but a fellowship on which he may leave his mark and which he may dominate by his personality. Therefore there is no paradox, either, in the statement that the greater the chief's mana is, the farther it extends itself, the more it is concentrated in his person. It can become so essential a part of him that the Maori briefly says, 'The chief is mana.' 'Farewell, thou, the mana of the country,' he will sing in the dirge on the deceased chief. . . .

Hence it is evident that the kinship group must honour (manaaki) its chief in order that his mana may endure. 'In him the chief-mana goes with being honored,' it simply says. It is, however, inherent in the nature of fellowship that the chief must also yield something from his own life, and we see in a new light why he must understand how to honour his people. By this means he creates mana and by permeating the fellowship with his personality he attaches people to him. The greatest means to do so is by giving gifts. 'This is Rehua's mana,' says the Maori admiringly when seeing a chief being liberal, and as Rehua was of a divine nature it is understood that the chief provides a great mana for himself with his gifts.

From the intimate connection between manaaki and mana we also understand why it was impossible to decide whether a person honored others most for his own sake or for the sake of the others. It is impossible because one honours for the sake of mana, the fellowship. . . .

Mana gives a plastic picture of the Maori's community because it denotes life in it. All free men have mana, i.e. they participate in the fellowship. Therefore everybody has a say in the matter according to his mana, i.e. his share in the fellowship. Therefore the chief is very far from being an absolute ruler, but the mana he contributes himself will always give him a corresponding influence. Add to this that he has a position as chief, which is expressed by the words that the mana of the kinship group is with him. This means that his personality is given the best possibility of asserting itself. The kinship group as a whole will not act without his being consulted. . . .

The important point that mana is the communal life does not otherwise seem to have been realized; but Best must at any rate have seen that it expresses life since he writes: 'When someone writes a treatise on the word mana, it will be seen that mana and ora (life) are almost synonymous terms, as applied to the old-time Maori.'

The secret of mana is that communal life, the 'fellowship,' permeates all the people to their innermost hearts; we may say that they live mana. A single strong personality may colour the whole fellowship. This

does not take place by outward compulsion, but by the fact that the fellowship itself is stamped in such a way that they all obtain their 'being' or 'nature' according to the dominant element of mana. . . .

The chief's mana is not only the mana of the kinship group but that of the country as well. 'The great mana of this tract is in him alone,' it says somewhere about Te Rauparaha. So the mana of the country is as a matter of course part of that of the kinship groups as well, and as the latter stands in a similar determinative relationship to the country as the chief to the kinship group, the Maori may, of course, with equal right say that the mana of the country is with the kinship group without being guilty of any inconsistency.

The mana of the country was taken when they immigrated, and since then it has been the endeavour of every tribe and chief to cling to it. According to the sense of mana this simply takes place by living with the soil: 'This was a custom which originated from our ancestors, namely that we lived in some part of our country; later the tribe went to another part, lived there and cultivated the soil there, in order that our country's mana- could be maintained by us, in order that our fires could always be burning on the extensive surface of our country so that the country was not taken by other tribes.'

The Maori must of course be able to maintain his right to the country with arms, but a passage like the one quoted shows that if possession of land is in practice identical with possessing its mana, then this is due to the fact that possession makes it possible to live with the country as one lives with the soil, inhabits it, cultivates it, and generally utilizes it. The factor mentioned last is not least in importance. The possession of the mana of the land must manifest itself in a true fellowship with the country, i.e. that one understands how to make the country yield. . . .

on the whole mana is so necessary to the Maori because he cannot very well affect his surroundings without involving it in a fellowship, i.e. without possessing its mana, or-in other words-without permeating its mana with his own being. He must possess the mana of the kumara² in order that it may thrive by his hand, and if its mana has been carried away, incorporated in a mauri,³ he must fetch it back.

Mana, fellowship, is so necessary that the Maori must have mana even with an enemy whom he meets in open fight. In this connection it should also be mentioned that an enemy is called *hoa-riri*, or somewhat more rarely, *hoa-whawhai* and *hoa-ngangare*, the three words all with the literal sense of 'fighting-comrade,' as *hoa* means 'comrade, fellow, whether referring to one's wife or to a travelling companion. Thus it is not nonsense to talk about fellowship, although this indeed is of quite a different character from that within the kinship group. The fellowship consists in the fact that the Maoris cannot meet and fight in a merely outward sense; they must necessarily stand in an inner relationship to their enemy. The outward manifestations of the fight are really only a question of who has the greatest mana, i.e. who can conquer the other from within and thus bring the antagonist's will and power to fight to its knees so that the weapons may reap the victory.

What is characteristic of the 'fellowship' of the fight in contrast to that of peace, is the fact that in the fight each party will try to dominate the 'fellowship' completely, which may be expressed as taking the enemy's mana or as dominating it with one's own mana. These are but two aspects of the same matter. As viewed from this angle there is but a difference of degree, but a very important difference, between the fellowship of peace and war. . . .

Against the background of these examples, which show how mana conquers and is conquered, we understand how it could be said about a *tangata haere*, a vagrant man, that he possesses mana. He could not like the chief possess his people's and his country's mana, but obviously this means that he was what we should term a powerful personality, who, wherever he went, forced people and things under his will, doing this-be it noted-from within by taking possession of their life, by creating a sphere which was his mana, but still a fellowship, as the point is that he included the others in it. The man in question actually became one of the great ancestors of one of the Waikato tribes, so that one of the tribes, the *Ngatimahuta*, was named after his son. . . .

Furthermore, we have now obtained a basis for completely understanding how mana is sometimes

personal, sometimes impersonal. The personal aspect is in the fact that he who has the greatest mana, i.e. he who lives most intensely in the fellowship, by this also stamps the fellowship throughout by his personality. The impersonal aspect is at the other pole: that mana is a fellowship and therefore can be taken by somebody else if he is capable of doing so. Therefore the fellowship gets the character of an impersonal power which can be utilized by the person who understands how to do so.

Notes

1 Lit., 'to unfold one's nature'; honour.

2 Sweet potato.

3 Sacral objects.

J.Prytz Johansen, *The Maori and His Religion* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954), pp. 85- 99

TYPES OF SACRIFICE

NUER SACRIFICE

The Nuer are a cattle-herding people dwelling in the Nilotic Sudan. Their religious practices and beliefs have been studied with great care and understanding by E. E. Evans-Pritchard. The results of his twenty five years of research have been published under the title 'Nuer Religion,' from which the following selection is taken.

Nuer sacrifice on a great many occasions: when a man is sick, when sin has been committed, when a wife is barren, sometimes on the birth of a first child, at the birth of twins, at initiation of sons, at marriages, at funerals and mortuary ceremonies, after homicides and at settlements of feuds, at periodic ceremonies in honour of one or other of their many spirits of a dead father' before war, when persons or property are struck by lightning, when threatened or overcome by plague or famine, sometimes before large-scale fishing enterprises, when a ghost is troublesome, etc.

When we examine this variety of occasions we see that Nuer sacrifices fall into two broad classes. Most sacrifices are made to prevent some danger hanging over people, for example on account of some sin, to appease an angry spirit, or at the birth of twins; or to curtail or to get rid of a misfortune which has already fallen, as in times of plague or in acute sickness. On all such occasions Spirit intervenes, or may intervene, for better or more often for worse, in the affairs of men, and its intervention is always dangerous. Any misfortune or grave danger is a sign of spiritual activity. Such sacrifices are made for a person or persons and not for social groups, and they involve ideas of propitiation, expiation, and related intentions. As they are the most common and the most specifically religious sacrifices I shall devote chief attention to them. There are other sacrifices which accompany various social activities, mostly of the rites de passage kind, such as initiation, marriage, and death. We cannot make an absolute distinction between the two sorts of sacrifice. A sacrifice of the rites de passage kind may contain elements of meaning characteristic of the other type. Sacrifices in marriage ceremonies-at betrothal, at the wedding, and at the consummation-are the best examples of the second type. A sacrifice to ward off the consequences of serious incest is a good example of the first type. A sacrifice to end mournings is an example of the blending of the two. It is a routine sacrifice in a rites de passage context, but it is also intended to get rid of the contamination. of death and any evil there may be in men's hearts. For the purpose of discussing the meaning or meanings of sacrifice it is necessary to make the distinction, even if there is some overlapping. I shall speak of the one type as personal sacrifice and of the other as collective sacrifice. These terms draw attention to the formal distinction between sacrifices offered for persons and those offered on behalf of social groups, but we shall see that they differ also in intention, the first having primarily a particular intention, and the second a confirmatory one; or, to use Hubert and Mauss's terms, the first are sacrifices of 'desacralization' (they make the sacred profane, they get rid of Spirit from man) and the second as

sacrifices of 'sacralization' (they make the profane sacred, they bring Spirit to man).

The primary purpose of collective sacrifices, and also their main function, is to confirm, to establish, or to add strength to, a change in social status-boy to man, maiden to wife, living man to ghost-or a new relationship between social groups-the coming into being of a new age-set, the uniting of kin groups by ties of affinity, the ending of a blood-feud-by making God and the ghosts, who are directly concerned with the change taking place, witnesses of it. The ceremonies are incomplete and ineffective without sacrifice, but sacrifice may be only one incident in a complex of ceremonies, dances, and rites of various kinds, which have no religious significance in themselves. Its importance lies in the fact that it sacralizes the social event and the new relationship brought about by it. It solemnizes the change of status or relationship, giving it religious validation. On such occasions sacrifice has generally a conspicuously festal and eucharistic character. . . .

It is indicative of Nuer religious thought that these sacrifices -performed as part of social activities are concerned with relations within the social order and not with relations between men and their natural environment. We are often told in accounts of African peoples that their sacrifices are concerned with weather, rain, fertility of the soil, seed-time, fructification, harvest, and fishing and hunting. Generally no rite of any kind is performed by Nuer in connection with these processes, certainly no regular and obligatory rite; and if in certain circumstances one is performed, as before large-scale fishing, it is rarely a sacrifice, and if it is a sacrifice it is not regarded as either necessary or important. All this may be due to some extent to lack of interest in agriculture and hunting, but it is also because Nuer take nature for granted and are passive and resigned towards it. They do not think that they can influence it to their own advantage, being merely ignorant folk. What happens there is the will of God, and that has to be accepted. Hence Nuer are little interested in ritual for bringing rain and even consider it presumptuous to think of asking God for rain before sowing. This mentality is illustrated in one of their stories which relates how death came to a girl who asked that the setting of the sun might be delayed till she had finished her work. Nuer rather turn their eyes inwards, to the little closed social world in which they live, they and their cattle. Their sacrifices are concerned with moral and spiritual, not natural, crises.

We have now first to ask to whom sacrifices are made. This brings us again up against the problem of the one and the many. When a sin is expiated or pollution is wiped out by sacrifice it is made to God alone. Likewise in major calamities, such as plagues and murrains. Also when a person is struck by lightning, in connection with death, and in cases of sickness not attributed to a specific cause. We are here dealing with circumstances common to all men and with universals with the moral law which is the same for all men, with effects of common interest and concern, and with dangers and misfortunes which fall on each and all alike. Sacrifices may, however, be made on some occasions to one or other spirit, for example, to a spirit of the air before battle or when it is thought to have brought about sickness in a man or if it is feared that it may do so; or to a totemic or other spirit of the below in circumstances already mentioned in earlier chapters. We are here dealing with something more particular and specific, the relation of certain persons to Spirit figured to them, and not to others, in one or other special form as a spirit. Nevertheless, as I have earlier explained, these spirits may be regarded as hypostases, representations, or refractions of God, and in the already defined sense in which this is so we can say that a sacrifice to any one of them is a sacrifice also to God. . . .

The sacrificial animal par excellence is an ox, and in important social ceremonies, such as weddings and those held for settlements of feuds, the victim must be an ox. Oxen are also sacrificed in times of general calamity, sometimes when people are dangerously ill, and occasionally to spirits. A barren cow may take the place of an ox. Bulls are only sacrificed in one of the rites dosing a blood-feud, and occasionally, though only old beasts, in honour of a dead father. Except in these instances a male victim must be a neuter. If it is not, it is castrated before the rites begin. Fertile cows are only sacrificed at mortuary ceremonies, and then only for senior persons, as a tribute to their position in the community. It does not matter what is the colour of the victim, though in certain sacrifices there is a preference for beasts with certain markings. . . .

We have discussed to whom sacrifice is made and what is sacrificed. We have now to ask by whom it is made, and when and where. We have first to distinguish between the person (or social group) on whose behalf it is made, whom we may speak of as the sacrificer, though with some danger of misunderstanding,

because he may not take an active part in the rite performed on his behalf, and those who act on his behalf, the actors in the drama. There may be a number of these. Several people may take part in the consecration and several men may deliver invocations. One man may present the victim, another consecrate and make the invocation over it, and yet another slay it. Nevertheless, there are always one or more prime actors, those who make the consecrations and invocations, which, rather than the actual killing, constitute for Nuer the main acts in the series of rites making, up a sacrifice; and we may therefore speak of anyone, who, after consecrating the victim, makes an invocation over it as the officiant. There may be several of them. In certain sacrifices, particularly those of the collective kind, whoever else may invoke God, one or other particular functionary either must do so or it is thought highly desirable that he should do so. Normally any senior man, usually the head of the family of the sacrificer, can officiate at personal sacrifices. He would generally be one of the sacrificer's paternal kinsmen but it would not matter if he were not. The sacrifice is to God and not to ghosts, and it therefore does not matter who officiates. A youth would not officiate if there were an older man present, but this is a matter of social convention only: there is no ritual bar to his acting. Women do not sacrifice. They may assist in the act of consecration with ashes and they may pray, but they do not make invocations or slay victims. Neither the sacrificer nor the officiant has to be in a state of ceremonial purity. This is an idea entirely unknown to Nuer.....

Almost all sacrifices, whether personal or collective, have the same general features. A description of one is therefore, apart from details, description of almost all. The victim is brought to the place of sacrifice and there are performed in succession the four acts which compose the sacrificial drama: presentation, consecration, invocation, and immolation. Other features may be added, such as libations and aspersions and, mostly in sacrifices to spirits, hymn-singing, but these are supernumerary acts. The essential rites of the sacrifice proper are the four I have mentioned. They form what might be called the canon of sacrifice. .

God takes the yiegh, the life. Man takes the ring, the flesh, what is left over after the sacrifice. The carcass is cut up and skinned as soon as the animal falls. In most sacrifices the meat is consumed by members of the family and kin of the person on whose behalf it was made. In marriage and most other collective sacrifices it is divided among relatives, both paternal and maternal, in traditional portions; and the age-mates of the owner of the beast and representatives of lineages collateral to his may also have rights to shares. If the principal officiant is not a member of the family or of the dose kin but a master of ceremonies of the family or a priest or a prophet, he also receives his share. This part of the proceedings is of general interest and not merely for those directly concerned in the rites. If it is at all a public occasion people, whether they are concerned in the matter or not, gather round to watch the meat being cut up and banded to those to whom it is due, and there is often much shouting and argument as the distribution is goodhumouredly disputed and men tug at the carcass and snatch or beg pieces of meat. Even outsiders who get in the way and beg persistently enough are likely to receive pieces of it. According to the circumstances those who on such an occasion receive meat take it to their homes, maybe in different villages, for cooking and eating, or it is cooked by women of the homestead in which the sacrifice took place and eaten there by groups, according to sex, age, and kinship. The meat is cooked, served, and eaten as would be that of a wild beast slaughtered in hunting. It is boiled, though tid-bits may be roasted in the embers of a fire. I want to make it dear indeed that the cutting up of the victim, the preparation of its flesh, and the eating of it are not parts of the sacrifice. To regard the eating of the animal as part of the sacrificial rite would be like regarding a wedding feast as part of the marriage service in our own country. But if it does not form part of the rite and has no sacramental significance it forms part of the whole ceremony in the broader sense and has a social significance. We have always to remember that a sacrifice, even piacular sacrifice, furnishes a feast and that in the circumstances in which Nuer live and by convention this means that neighbours are likely in one way or another to share in it.

E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Nuer Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), pp. 197-215

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":
THE AINU BEAR SACRIFICE

The Ainu, now living in Hokkaido (northern Japan), Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands, are the descendants

of an archaic ethnic group probably originating from central or northern Siberia. The bear festival, 'Iyomante,' or 'Kamui Omante' (lit. 'to see off' or 'to send off' the 'kamui,' i.e., the 'god') is the most important of the Ainu rituals.

Ainu bear-hunters are very proud if they can secure a bear cub or two to bring up at home for the purpose of holding a great bear feast. Men have been known to risk their lives in order to secure one, and when they do catch a cub they bring it home with great glee, and, of course, get very drunk in honour of the occasion. Sometimes very young cubs may be seen living in the huts with the people, where they play with the children, and are cared for with great affection. In fact, some of them are treated even better than the children themselves, and I have known cases when the people have wept greatly when the cub has died. But as soon as they are grown big and strong enough to cause a little pain when they hug a person, or when their claws are too powerful to be pleasant, they are placed in a cage strongly made of pieces of timber. Here they generally remain until they arrive at the age of two or three years, at which time they are killed for the feast. . . .

When a young bear is about to be sacrificed, the day before this, to us, cruel and barbarous feast takes place, the owner sends round to all his people of the village, and invites them to come and take part in the festivities. . . . The last form of invitation I heard was as follows: 'I, so and so, am about to sacrifice the dear little divine thing who resides among the mountains. My friends and masters, come ye to the feast; we will then unite in the great pleasure of sending the god away. Come.' . . .

As the guests arrive at the place of sacrifice they enter the hut and sit around the fireplace, the men in front and the women behind. Millet dumplings are boiled and toasted, and a kind of white thick beer is brewed from millet. The women get what drink their husbands choose to give them, which, I have noticed, is very little indeed if the drink be the more expensive sake rather than millet beer. But this is not the real feast, but merely a sort of preliminary breaking of the fast.

When the guests have all come in, the men make numbers of inao,¹ and stick them into the hearth, and worship is performed. All the gods are worshiped and invited to partake of the feast with them. When this has been done, most of the inao are taken up reverently and carried to the nusa² place outside, and there stuck up. Next, two long and thickish poles are laid at their base. The men now come out of the hut, ornamented with their totem crowns, and solemnly approach the cage containing the bear. The women and children follow and sing, dance, and clap their hands. By-and-by all are ordered to the nusa place, and made to sit in a large circle, the old men in front. After this an Ainu is chosen who, having approached the bear, sits down before it and tells it that they are about to send it forth to its ancestors. He prays pardon for what they are about to do, hopes it will not be angry, tells it what an honour is about to be conferred upon it, and comforts it with the consolation that a large number of inao and plenty of wine, cakes, and other good cheer will be sent along with it. He also informs it that if it be a good and proper bear it will appear again to be treated in like manner. The last address I heard of ran thus: 'O thou divine one, thou wast sent into the world for us to hunt. O thou precious little divinity, we worship thee; pray hear our prayer. We have nourished thee and brought thee up with a deal of pains and trouble, all because we love thee so. Now, as thou hast grown big, we are about to send thee to thy father and mother. When thou comest to them please speak well of us, and tell them how kind we have been; please come to us again and we will sacrifice thee.'

After the prayer has been said another Ainu goes to the cub's cage and catches the victim's head in a rope having made a noose in it for that purpose. This noose is then passed round the neck and under the foreleg in such a manner as not to choke the animal when it struggles. Another noose is made in a second rope, and this is passed over the head in the same way, excepting that the end of it comes out on the opposite side of the bear. Thus, when the animal comes out of the cage it is led along by two men, one on each side. Sometimes, however, when the bear is a large one, a rope is put over the hind quarters, and a man walks behind holding it tightly and ready to aid in case there should be any dangerous display of temper.

As soon as the poor beast is out of the cage the people who have formed the ring shout and clap their hands while it is being led into their midst, and upon its arrival they take blunt arrows, which they call

Hepere-ai, i.e. 'cub arrows,' and shoot at it, thus trying to work it up into a passion. The shouting now becomes deafening, and the bear sometimes furious. But the wilder the bear becomes the more delighted do the people get. Should, however, the animal refuse to move, he is brushed down with a stick called Takusa, the tuft on the top of which is made of Arundinaria. When the excited and struggling brute shows signs of exhaustion a stake is driven into the ground in the centre of the ring of people, and to it the bear is tied. This stake is ornamented with inao shavings and leaves of Arundinaria, and is called Tushop-ni, i.e. 'tree having the rope.'

As soon as all is secure the blunt arrows are shot with renewed vigour, and the beast tears and rages till it is quite tired out. Then comes the most exciting time and true test of valour. All at once some brave young Ainu will rush forward and seize the brute by the ears and fur of the face, whilst another suddenly rushes out and seizes it by the hind quarters. These men both pull at the animal with all their might. This causes it to open its mouth. Another man then rushes forward with a round piece of wood about two feet long; this he thrusts into the bear's jaws. The poor beast in his rage bites hard at this, and holds it tight between his teeth. Next two men come forward, one on each side of the bear, and seize its fore-legs and pull them out as far as they can. Then two others will in a like manner catch hold of the two hind-legs. When all this has been done quite satisfactorily, the two long poles which were laid by the nitsa, and which are called Oh-numba ni, i.e. 'Poles for strangling,' are brought forward. One is placed under its throat, and the other upon the nape of its neck.

A good shot with the bow, who has been previously determined on by the men, now comes up and shoots the arrow into the beast's heart, and so ends its misery. Care has to be taken to strike the brute that no blood is shed, for, for some reason or other, it is considered unfortunate to allow any of the blood to fall upon the earth. . . .

As soon then as the bear has been shot in the heart it is carried to the two poles, which have been previously placed upon the ground for this purpose, and its head placed upon one of them, while the other is put over its neck. Now all the people shout and rush forward, every one eager to assist in squeezing the animal till life is quite extinct. It is said that they must be careful not to allow the poor beast to utter any cries during its death struggles, for this is thought to be very unlucky; why I cannot learn. People become so very excited at the time the cub is throttled that they sometimes trample on one another in their eagerness to have a hand in the death. And so the poor brute is killed, and the first part of the act of sacrifice accomplished.

As soon as it is strangled to death the bear is skinned and its head cut off, the skin, however, being left attached to the head. This is taken to the east window and placed upon a mat called inao-so, and ornamented with inao shavings, earrings, beads, and other things; indeed, on one occasion I even saw one decorated with old sword hilts and a Japanese mirror. After having been placed here a piece of its own flesh is cut off and placed under the snout. This is called Not-pokomap, i.e. 'that under the jaw.'

Then a piece of dried fish and a moustache lifter, neatly made up into a parcel, is put before it, also some millet dumplings, a cup of its own meat boiled, and some sake. The dried fish is called Sat-chep Shike, i.e. 'the bundle of dried fish.' The cup containing the boiled meat is called marapto itangi, i.e. 'the cup of the feast.' This having been done, a man worships, saying, 'O cub, we give you these inao cakes, and dried fish; take them to your parents, and say, 'I have been brought up for a long time by an Ainu father and mother, and have been kept from all trouble and harm. As I am now grown big I am come to thee. I have also brought these inao, cakes, and dried fish. Please rejoice.' If you say this to them they will be very glad.'

Another prayer ran thus: 'My dear cub, pray listen to me. I have cared for you a long time, and now present thee with inao, cakes, wine and other precious things. Do thou ride upon the inao, and other good things herewith presented to thee, and go to thy father and mother. Go happily and make them rejoice. When you arrive call together multitudes of divine guests, and make a great feast. Do thou again come to this world that I, who reared thee, may meet with thee again, and once more bring thee up for sacrifice. I salute thee, my dear cub; depart in peace.'

After this worship has been performed millet dumplings are threaded on sticks, and placed beside the head. These are said to be for the feast in the new world, for it would never do to appear before one's ancestors without a small present sufficient to provide viands for a meal. They are called Imoka-shike, i.e. 'remnants of the feast.' The men, now all readjust or don their crowns, for they have been either laid on one side or knocked off during the teasing and slaying of the cub. This done, they have a good dance altogether. . . . The dance over, they return to the hut, and make quantities of inao, which are carefully placed upon the bear's head. In the meantime some of the cub's flesh has been boiled. A cup of this is now taken, and set before the bear's snout, and he is said to be partaking of the marapto itangi, i.e. 'the cup of the feast.'

After a little time has elapsed the man who presides at the feast says, 'The little divinity has now finished eating; come, ye friends, let us worship.' He then takes the cup, salutes it, and divides the contents -a very small portion for each-among all the assembled guests, for it seems to be absolutely essential that each person, young and old alike, should take a little. Besides being called 'the cup of the feast,' this cup is also named ipuni itangi, i.e. 'the cup of offering.' This name refers to the fact of its having been offered to the divinity just sacrificed.

After this cup has been partaken of, more inao are made, while the rest of the bear is stewing in the pots. The entrails are then cut up fine, sprinkled with salt, and eaten raw. This, like the drinking of the blood, is said to be for the purpose of obtaining the prowess and other virtues of the bear. I must mention, also, that some of the men besmear themselves and their clothes with blood. This is said to be for the purpose of rendering themselves successful in hunting. This beastly habit is called Yai-isho-ushi, i.e. 'besmearing oneself with good sport,' or 'successful hunting.' . . .

As soon as the flesh has been sufficiently cooked it is shared out among the people present, and every member of the company partakes of some, however little it may be. It is thus that he obtains communion with his dear little divinity, as he calls the victim; and this appears to me to be the special way in which he shows his social and religious fellowship with his totem god and the people. Not to partake of this feast and not to make inao would be tantamount to confessing oneself outside the pale of Ainu fellowship. Every particle of the bear, bones excepted, formerly had to be eaten up, even to the entrails, though this rule is now relaxed. . . .

The head of the bear is at last detached from the skin and taken to the nusa heap, where it is placed among the other skulls. A tall pole is here set up having a fork in the top, the prongs of which are ornamented with inao. This pole is called keomande-ni, i.e. 'the pole for sending away

Notes

- 1 Wooden wands used for religious and ceremonial purposes.
- 2 A collection of inao.

John Batchelor, *The Ainu and Their Folk-Lore* (London, 1901), PP. 483-95. Another, more elaborate, description of the ritual is in Joseph M. Kitagawa, 'Ainu Bear Festival,' in *History of Religions*, 1 (1961), pp-95-151

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":

HORSE SACRIFICE AND THE SHAMAN'S ASCENT TO THE SKY

ALTAIC

Radlov's classic description of the Altaic ritual is based not only on his own observations but also on the texts of the songs and invocations recorded at the beginning of the nineteenth century by missionaries to the Altai and later edited by the priest V. L. Verbitsky. This sacrifice is celebrated from time to time by every family, and the ceremony continues for two or three consecutive evenings.

The first evening is devoted to preparation for the rite. The kam (shaman), having chosen a spot in a meadow, erects a new yurt there, setting inside it a young birch stripped of its lower branches and with nine steps (tapy) notched into its trunk. The higher foliage of the birch, with a flag at the top, protrudes through the upper opening of the yurt. A small palisade of birch sticks is erected around the yurt and a birch stick with a knot of horsehair is set at the entrance. Then a light-coloured horse is chosen, and after having made sure that the animal is pleasing to the divinity, the shaman entrusts it to one of the people present, called, for this reason, bas-tut-kan-kisi, that is, 'head-holder.' The shaman shakes a birch branch over the animal's back to force its soul to leave and prepare its flight to Bai 'Ulgan. He repeats the same gesture over the 'head-holder,' for his 'soul' is to accompany the horse's soul throughout its celestial journey and hence must be at the kam's disposition.

The shaman re-enters the yurt, throws branches on the fire, and fumigates his drum. He begins to invoke the spirits, bidding them enter his drum; he will need each one of them in the course of his ascent. At each summons by name, the spirit replies, 'I am here, kam!' and the shaman moves his drum as if he were catching the spirit. After assembling his spirit helpers (which are ill celestial spirits) the shaman, comes out of the yurt. At a few steps' distance there is a scarecrow in the shape of a goose; he straddles it, rapidly waving his hands as if to fly, and sings:

Under the white sky,

Over the white cloud;

Under the blue sky,

Over the blue cloud:

Rise up to the sky, bird!

To this invocation, the goose replies, cackling: 'Ungaigakgak ungai. gak, kaigaigakgak, kaigaigak.' It is, of course, the shaman himself who imitates the bird's cry. Sitting astride the goose, the kam pursues the soul of the horse (pura)-which is supposed to have fled-and neighs like a charger.

With the help of those present, he drives the animal's soul into the palisade and laboriously mimes its capture; he whinnies, rears, and pretends that the noose that has been thrown to catch the animal is tightening around his own throat. Sometimes he lets his drum fall to show that the animal's soul has escaped. Finally it is recaptured, the shaman fumigates it with juniper and dismisses the goose. Then he blesses the horse and, with the help of several of the audience, kills it in a cruel way, breaking its backbone in such a manner that not a drop of its blood falls to the ground or touches the sacrificers. The skin and bones are exposed, hung from a long pole. After offerings are made to the ancestors and to tutelary spirits of the yurt, the flesh is prepared and eaten ceremonially, the shaman receiving the best pieces. The second and most important part of the ceremony takes place on the following evening. It is now that the shaman exhibits his shamanic abilities during his ecstatic journey to the celestial abode of Bai Ulgin. The fire is burning in the yurt. The shaman offers horse meat to the Masters of the Drum, that is, the spirits that personify the shamanic powers of his family, and sings:

Take it, O Kaira Kan,

Host of the drum with six bosses!

Come tinkling here to met

If I cry: 'Cok!' bow thyself!

If I cry 'mal' take it to thee! . . .

He makes a similar address to the Master of the Fire, symbolizing the sacred power of the owner of the

yurt, organizer of the festival. Raising a cup, the shaman imitates with his lips the noise of a gathering of invisible guests busily drinking; then he cuts up pieces of the horse and distributes them among those present (who represent the spirits), who noisily eat them. He next fumigates the nine garments hung on a rope as an offering from the master of the house to Bai Ulgin, and sings:

Gifts that no horse can carry,

Alas, alas, alas!

That no man can lift,

Alas, alas, alas!

Garments with triple collars,

Thrice turning look upon them!

Be they blankets for the courser,

Alas, alas, alas!

Prince Ulgan, thou joyous one!

Alas, alas, alas!

Putting on his shamanic costume, the kam sits down on a bench, and while he fumigates his drum, begins to invoke a multitude of spirits, great and small, who answer, in turn: 'I am here, Kam!' In this way he invokes: Yaik Kan, the Lord of the Sea, Kaira Kan, Paisyn Kan, then the family of Bai Ulgin (Mother Tasygan with nine daughters at her right and seven daughters at her left), and finally the Masters and Heroes of the Abakan and the Altai (Mordo Kan, Altai Kan, Oktu Kan, etc.) After this long invocation, he addresses the Markut, the Birds of Heaven:

Birds of Heaven, five Markut,

Ye with mighty copper talons,

Copper is the moon's talon,

And of ice the moon's beak;

Broad thy wings, of mighty sweep,

Like a fan thy long tail,

Hides the moon thy left wing,

And the sun thy tight wing.

Thou, the mother of the nine eagles,

Who strayest not, flying through the Yaik,

Who weariest not about Edil,

Come to me, singing!

Come, playing, to my right eye,

Perch on my right shoulder . . .

The shaman imitates the bird's cry to announce its presence: 'Kazak, kak, kak I I am here, kam!' And as he does so, he drops his shoulder, as if sinking under the weight of a huge bird.

The summons to the spirit continues, and the drum becomes heavy. Provided with these numerous and powerful protectors, the shaman several times circles the birch that stands inside the yurt,¹ and kneels before the door to pray the Porter Spirit for a guide. Receiving a favourable reply, he returns to the centre of the yurt, beating his drum, convulsing his body, and muttering unintelligible words. Then he purifies the whole gathering with his drum, beginning with the master of the house. It is a long and complex ceremony, at the end of which the shaman is in a state of exaltation. It is also the signal for the ascent proper, for soon afterward the kam suddenly takes his place on the first notch (tapy) in the birch, beating his drum violently and crying 'Cok! cok!' He also makes motions to indicate that he is mounting into the sky. In 'ecstasy' (? !) he circles the birch and the fire, imitating the sound of thunder, and then hurries to a bench covered with a horsehide. This represents the soul of the pura, the sacrificed horse. The shaman mounts it and cries:

I have climbed a step,

Aihai, aihai!

I have reached a Plane,

Sagarbata!

I have climbed to the tapy's head,

Sagarbata!

I have risen to the full moon,

Sagarbata!2

The shaman becomes increasingly excited and, continuing to beat his drum, orders the bas-tut-kan- kisi to hurry. For the soul of the 'head-holder' abandons his body at the same time as the soul of the sacrificed horse. The bas-tut-kan-kisi complains of the difficulty of the road, and the shaman encourages him. Then, mounting to the second tapy, he symbolically enters the second heaven. and cries:

I have broken through the second ground,

I have climbed the second level,

See, the ground lies in splinters.

And, again imitating thunder and lightning, he proclaims:

Sagarbata! Sagarbata!

Now I have climbed up two levels . . .

In the third heaven the pura becomes extremely tired, and, to relieve it, the shaman summons the goose. The bird presents itself: 'Kagak ! Kagak ! I am here, kam!' The shaman mounts it and continues his celestial journey. He describes the ascent and imitates the cackling of the goose, which, in its turn, complains of the difficulties of the journey. In the third heaven there is a halt. The shaman now tells of his

horse's weariness and his own. He also gives information concerning the coming weather, the epidemics and misfortunes that threaten, and the sacrifices that they collectively should offer. After the bas-tut-kan-kisi has had a good rest, the journey continues. The shaman climbs the notches in the birch one after the other, thus successively entering the other celestial regions. To enliven the performance, various episodes are introduced, some of them quite grotesque: the kam offers tobacco to Karakus, the Black Bird, in the shaman's service, and Karakus drives away the cuckoo; he waters the pura, imitating the sound of a horse drinking; the sixth heaven is the scene of the last comic episode: a hare hunt. In the fifth heaven the shaman has a long conversation with the powerful Yayutsi (the 'Supreme Creator'), who reveals several secrets of the future to him; some of these the shaman communicates aloud, others are murmured. In the sixth heaven the shaman bows to the Moon, and to the Sun in the seventh. He passes through heaven after heaven to the ninth and, if he is really powerful, to the twelfth and higher; the ascent depends entirely on the shaman's abilities. When he has gone as high as his power permits, he stops and humbly addresses Bai Ulgin in the following terms:

Prince, to whom three ladders lead,

Bai Ulgan with the three Pocks,

Blue slope that has appeared,

Blue sky that shows itself

Blue cloud, drifting away,

Blue sky unattainable,

White sky unattainable,

Watering- place a year away!

Father Ulgan, thrice exalted,

Whom the moon's ax-edge spares,

Who uses the horse's hoof!

Thou didst create all men, Ulgan,

All that makes a noise around us.

All cattle thou hast forsaken, Ulgan!

Deliver us not to misfortune

Let us withstand the Evil One!

Show us not Kormos [the evil spirit]

Give us not into his hand!

Thou who the starry heaven

Hast turned a thousand, thousand times,

Condemn not my sins!

The shaman learns from Bai Ulgan if the sacrifice has been accepted and receives predictions concerning the weather and the coming harvest; he also learns what other sacrifice the divinity expects. This episode is the culminating point of the 'ecstasy': the shaman collapses, exhausted. The *bas-tut-kan-kisi* approaches and takes the drum and stick from his hands. The shaman remains motionless and dumb. After a time he rubs his eyes, appears to wake from a deep sleep, and greets those present as if after a long absence.

Notes

1 'This birch symbolizes the World Tree, which stands at the Centre of the Universe, the Cosmic Axis that connects sky, earth, and underworld; the seven, nine, or twelve notches (*tapty*) represent the 'heavens,' the celestial planes. It should be noted that the shaman's ecstatic journey always takes place near the 'Centre of the World.'

2 All this is clearly an exaggeration due to intoxication at having broken through the first cosmic plane. For actually, the Shaman has reached only the first heaven, he has not climbed to the highest *tapty*, he has not even risen to the full moon (which is in the sixth heaven).

M.Eliade, *Shamanism*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Bollingen Series LXXVI, 1964), pp. 190-7; translating and summarizing Wilhelm Radlov, *Lose Blatter aus dem Tagebuche eines reisenden Linguisteff*, two vols. in one (Leipzig, 1884), II, pp. 20-50

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": A MAZDEAN (ZOROASTRIAN) SACRIFICE TO THE SUN

('Khorshed Yasht,' 1-5)

1. We sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

When the light of the sun waxes warmer, when the brightness of the sun waxes warmer, then stand up the heavenly Yazatas, by hundreds and thousands, they gather together its Glory, they make its Glory, they make its Glory pass down, they pour its Glory unto the earth made by Ahura, for the increase of the world of holiness, for the increase of the creatures of holiness, for the increase of the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

2. And when the sun rises up, then the earth, made by Ahura, becomes clean, the running waters become clean, the waters of the wells become clean, the waters of the sea become clean, the standing waters become clean; and the holy creatures, the creatures of the Good Spirit, become clean.

3. Should not the sun rise up, then the Daevas would destroy all the things that are in the seven Karshvares, nor would the heavenly Yazatas find any way of withstanding or repelling them in the material world.

4. He who offers up a sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swifthorsed Sun-to withstand darkness, to withstand the Daevas born of darkness, to withstand the robbers and bandits, to withstand the Yatus and Pairikas, to withstand death that creeps in unseen- offers it up to Ahura Mazda, offers it up to the Amesha-Spentas, offers it up to his own soul. He rejoices all the heavenly and worldly Yazatas, who offers up a sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun,

5. I will sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who has a thousand ears, ten thousand eyes.

I will sacrifice unto the club of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, well struck down upon the skulls of the Daevas.

I will sacrifice unto that friendship, the best of all friendships, that reigns between the moon and the sun.

Translation by James Darmesteter, *The Zend-Avesta*, part II in *Sacred Books of the East*, XXIII (Oxford, 1883), PP- 85-7

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": A HOMERIC SACRIFICE FOR THE DEAD

(Homer, 'Odyssey,' XI, 18-50)

Odysseus speaks:

'Thither we came and beached our ship, and took out the sheep, and ourselves went beside the stream of Oceanus until we came to the place of which Circe had told us.

'Here Perimedes and Eurylochus held the victims, while I drew my sharp sword from beside my thigh, and dug a pit of a cubit's length this way and that, and around it poured a libation to all the dead, first with milk and honey, thereafter with sweet wine, and in the third place with water, and I sprinkled thereon white barley meal. And I earnestly entreated the powerless heads of the dead, vowing that when I came to Ithaca I would sacrifice in my halls a barren heifer, the best I had, and pile the altar with goodly gifts, and to Teiresias alone would sacrifice separately a ram, wholly black, the goodliest of my flocks. But when with vows and prayers I had made supplication to the tribes of the dead, I took the sheep and cut their throats over the pit, and the dark blood ran forth. Then there gathered from out of Erebus the spirits of those that are dead, brides, and unwedded youths, and toil-worn old men, and tender maidens with hearts yet new to sorrow, and many, too, that had been wounded with bronze-tipped spears, men slain in fight, wearing their blood-stained armour. These came thronging in crowds about the pit from every side, with a wondrous cry, and pale fear seized me. Then I called to my comrades and bade them flay and burn the sheep that lay there slain with the pitiless bronze, and to make prayers to the gods, to mighty Hades and dread Persephone. And I myself drew my sharp sword from beside my thigh and sat there, and would not suffer the powerless heads of the dead to draw near to the blood until I had enquired of Teiresias.'

Translation by A. T. Murray, in the *Loeb Classical Library*, vol. I (New York, 1919), PP. 387-9

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": A SACRIFICE TO RHEA

THE PHRYGIAN MOTHER-GODDESS

(Apollonius Rhodius, 'Argonautica,' I, 1078-1150)

After this, fierce tempests arose for twelve days and nights together and kept them there from sailing. But in the next night the rest of the chieftains, overcome by sleep, were resting during the latest period of the night, while Acastus and Mopsus the son of Ampycus kept guard over their deep slumbers. And above the golden head of Aeson's son there hovered a halcyon prophesying with shrill voice the ceasing of the stormy winds; and Mopsus heard and understood the cry of the bird of the shore, fraught with good omen. And some god made it turn aside, and flying aloft it settled upon the stern-ornament of the ship. And the seer touched Jason as he lay wrapped in soft sheepskins and woke him at once, and thus spake:

'Son of Aeson, thou must climb to this temple on rugged Dindymum and propitiate the mother (i.e., Rhea) of all the blessed gods on her fair throne, and the stormy blasts shall cease. For such was the voice I heard but now from the halcyon, bird of the sea, which, as it flew above thee in thy slumber, told me all. For by her power the winds and the sea and all the earth below and the snowy seat of Olympus are complete; and to her, when from the mountains she ascends the mighty heaven, Zeus himself, the son of Cronos, gives place. In like manner the rest of the immortal blessed ones reverence the dread goddess.'

Thus he spake, and his words were welcome to Jason's ear. And he arose from his bed with joy and woke all his comrades hurriedly and told them the prophecy of Mopsus the son of Ampycus. And quickly the younger men drove oxen from their stalls and began to lead them to the mountain's lofty summit. And they loosed the hawsers from the sacred rock and rowed to the Thracian harbour; and the heroes climbed the

mountain, leaving a few of their comrades in the ship. And to them, the Macrian heights and all the coast of Thrace opposite appeared to view dose at hand. And there appeared the misty mouth of Bosphorus and the Mysian hills; and on the other side the stream of the river Aesepus and the city and Nepian plain of Adrasteia. Now there was a sturdy stump of vine that grew in the forest, a tree exceeding old; this they cut down, to be the sacred image of the mountain goddess; and Argos smoothed it skillfully, and they set it upon that rugged hill beneath a canopy of lofty oaks, which of all trees have their roots deepest. And near it they heaped an altar of small stones and wreathed their brows with oak leaves and paid heed invoking the mother of Dindymum, most venerable, dweller in Phrygia and Titas and Cyllenus, who alone of many are called dispensers of doom and assessors of the Idaean mother-the Idaean Dactyls of Crete, whom once the nymph Anchiale, as she grasped with both hands the land of Oaxus, bare in the Dictaeon cave. And with many prayers did Aeson's son beseech the goddess to turn aside the stormy blasts as he poured libations on the blazing sacrifice; and at the same time by command of Orpheus the youths trod a measure dancing in full armour, and dashed with their swords on their shields, so that the ill-omened cry might be lost in the air-the wail which the people were still sending up in grief for their king. Hence from that time forward the Phrygians propitiate Rhea with the wheel and the drum. And the gracious goddess, I ween, inclined her heart to pious sacrifices; and favourable signs appeared. The trees shed abundant fruit, and round their feet the earth of its own accord put forth flowers from the tender grass. And the beasts of the wild wood left their lairs and thickets and came up fawning on them with their tails. And she caused yet another marvel; for hitherto there was no flow of water on Dindymum, but then for them an unceasing stream gushed forth from the thirsty peak just as it was, and the dwellers around in after times called that stream, the spring of Jason. And then they made a feast in honour of the goddess on the Mount of Bears, singing the praises of Rhea most venerable; but at dawn the winds had ceased and they rowed away from the island.

Translation by R. C. Seaton, in the Loeb Classical Library (New York, 1912), PP. 77-81

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": EXPIATION OF AN UMBRIAN TOWN

ARCHAIC ROMAN SACRIFICE

The following has been translated from texts inscribed in Umbrian dialect on bronze tablets from Gubbio, ancient Iguvium. Iguvium is one hundred miles north of Rome. The ritual described was probably typical of early Italian religion generally.

(VI. A) This sacrifice must begin with observation of the birds, when the owl and the crow are favourable [prospering) and the woodpeckers, male and female, are on the right hand [legitimizing]. The one who goes to observe the birds must sit in a fenced enclosure and call upon the priest: 'Specify, that I observe favourable owls, favourable crows, a male woodpecker on the right hand, a female woodpecker on the right hand, birds on the right, voices of birds on the right, sent by the god.' The priest shall specify accordingly: 'Observe there favourable owls, favourable crows, a male woodpecker on the right hand, a female woodpecker on the right hand, birds on the right, voices of birds on the right, sent by the gods for me, for the community of Iguvium, at this particular time.' While he sits in his seat-the one who goes to listen to the voices of the birds-no noise [whispering] shall be made, and no one shall come between [to obstruct his view], until he has returned-i.e. the one who went to listen to the voices of the birds. If any noise is made or any person sits between [him and the birds], it shall be invalid. . . .

(16) When the voices of the birds are heard, the one sitting in the enclosure shall announce it, calling the priest by name, '[I announce] favourable owls, favourable crows, a male woodpecker on the right hand, a female woodpecker on the right hand, birds on the right, voices of birds on the right hand for thee, for the community of Iguvium, at this particular time.' For all these sacred acts, for the procession about the people, for the expiation of the city, he must carry the sacred staff. The sacrificial hearth at the Treblanian gate, which is to be laid for the expiation of the city, thou shalt so arrange that fire may be kindled from fire. So likewise at the two other gates, the Tesenacan and the Veiine.

Before the Treblanian gate, three oxen shall be sacrificed to Jupiter Grabovius. At the offering shall be

said: 'To thee I offer prayers, O Jupiter Grabovius, for the Fisian city, for the town of Iguvium, for the names of the city, for the names of the town; be friendly, be gracious to the Fisian city, to the town of Iguvium, to the name of the city, to the name of the town, O holy one, to thee I pray with supplications, O Jupiter Grabovius, trusting in the sacred [sacrificial?] rite, I pray to thee with supplications, O Jupiter Grabovius. O Jupiter Grabovius, to thee [I offer] these fat oxen [as an expiation] for the Fisian city' for the town of Iguvium, for the names of -the city, for the names of the town.

'O Jupiter Grabovius, by the effect of this [offering] if in the Fisian city a fire breaks out [as a result of lightning], if in the town of Iguvium the due rites are neglected, [look upon it] as if it had been unintentional. O Jupiter Grabovius, if in thine offering [anything] is amiss, or neglected, or omitted, or [fraudulently] held back, or at fault, or if in thine offering there be any blemish, whether seen or unseen, O Jupiter Grabovius, let it be expiated by those fat oxen for an expiation, as is right. O Jupiter Grabovius, expiate the Fisian city, the town of Iguvium. O Jupiter Grabovius, expiate the name of the Fisian city, the town of Iguvium; the full citizens, the sacred rites, slaves, cattle, the fruits of the field, expiate. Be kind, be gracious with thy favour to the Fisian city, the town of Iguvium, the name of the city, the name of the town. O Jupiter Grabovius, preserve the Fisian city, preserve the town of Iguvium. O Jupiter Grabovius, preserve the Fisian city, preserve the town of Iguvium; full citizens, sacred rites, slaves, cattle, fruits of the field, preserve. Be kind, be gracious with thy favour to the Fisian city, to the town of Iguvium, the name of the city, the name of the town. O Jupiter Grabovius, with these fat oxen as an expiation for the Fisian city, for the town of Iguvium, for the names of the city, for the names of the town, O Jupiter Grabovius, I call upon thee.'

Translation by Frederick C. Grant, in his *Ancient Roman Religion*, Library of Religion paperbook series (New York, 1957), pp. 4-6, from Franz Bucheler, *Umbrica* (1883). VI A

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": AN OFFERING FOR JUPITER BEFORE THE SOWING

(Cato, 'On Agriculture,' 132)

Marcus Porcius Cato's work on agriculture, written about 160 B.C., is full of references to archaic and traditional rites, customs, and religious views..

The offering is to be made in this way: Offer to Jupiter Dapalis a cup of wine of whatever size you wish. Observe the day as a holiday (*feria*) for the oxen, their drivers, and those who make the offering. When you make the offering, say as follows: 'Jupiter Dapalis, since it is due and proper (*oportet*) that a cup of wine be offered thee, in my home among my family, for thy sacred feast; for that reason, be thou honoured by this feast that is offered thee.' Wash your hands, and then take the wine and say: 'Jupiter Dapalis, be thou honoured by this feast that is offered thee and be thou honoured by the wine that is placed before thee.' If you wish, make an offering to Vesta. The feast of Jupiter consists of roasted meat and an urn of wine. Present it to Jupiter religiously, in the proper form (*Jovi caste profanato sua contagione*). After the offering is made, plant millet, panic grass, garlic, and lentils.

Translation by Frederick C. Grant, in his *Ancient Roman Religion*, Library of Religion paperbook series (New York, 1957), P. 34

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": A ROMAN HARVEST SACRIFICE

(Cato, 'On Agriculture,' 134)

The offering of a pig preliminary to harvesting crops was perhaps originally intended to placate the 'Di Manes,' offended by the disturbance of the soil or by some accidental or unintentional wrong committed during the sowing, growth or maturing of the grain. Eventually it was understood to refer solely to the harvest.

Before the harvest the sacrifice of the *porca praecidanea* must be offered in this manner: Offer a sow as *porca praecidanea* to Ceres before you harvest spelt, wheat, barley, beans, and rape seed. Offer a prayer,

with incense and wine, to Janus, Jupiter and Juno, before offering the sow. Offer a pile of cakes (strues) to Janus, saying, 'Father Janus, in offering these cakes to thee, I humbly pray that thou wilt be propitious and merciful to me and my children, my house and my household.' Then make an offering of cake (fertum) to Jupiter with these words: 'In offering thee this cake, O Jupiter, I humbly pray that thou, pleased with this offering, will be propitious and merciful to me and my children, my house and my household.' Then present the wine to Janus, saying: 'Father Janus, as I have prayed humbly in offering thee the cakes, so mayest thou in the same way be honoured by this wine now placed before thee.' Then pray to Jupiter thus: 'Jupiter, mayest thou be honoured in accepting this cake; mayest thou be honoured in accepting the wine placed before thee.' Then sacrifice the Porca praecidanea. When the entrails have been removed, make an offering of cakes to Janus, and pray in the same way as you have Prayed before. Offer a cake to Jupiter, praying just as before. In the same way offer wine to Janus and offer wine to Jupiter, in the same way as before in offering the pile of cakes, and in the consecration of the cake (fertum). Afterward offer the entrails and wine to Ceres.

Translation by Frederick C. Grant, in his Ancient Roman Religion, Library of Religion paperback series (New York, 1957), PP. 34-5

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": DEVOTIO

THE SACRIFICIAL DEATH OF DECIUS

(Livy, 'History of Rome,' VIII, 9, 1-11; 10, 3)

This legendary incident took place, presumably, during the Samnite wars, circa 340 B.C.

The Roman consuls, before they led their troops into the battle, offered sacrifices. It is said that the soothsayer [haruspex] pointed out to Decius that the head of the liver was on the friendly [right] side, that the victim was in other respects acceptable to the gods, and that the sacrifice of Manlius had been most favourable. 'It will do,' said Decius, 'if my colleague has received favourable omens.' In the formation above described they advanced into the field. Manlius commanded the right wing, Decius the left. At first the battle was fought with equal strength and ardour on both sides; but after a time the Roman hastati [spearmen] on the left, unable to resist the pressure of the Latins, fell back upon the principes [i.e., the heavy armed troops]. In this instant of alarm Decius the consul shouted with a loud voice to Marcus Valerius: 'We need help from the gods, Marcus Valerius! Come, state [or public] pontiff of the Roman people, dictate the words, so that I can devote myself for [i.e., save] the legions.' The pontiff bade him put on the purple-bordered toga and veil his head, with one hand thrust out from beneath the toga and touching his chin, and standing upon a spear that was laid beneath his feet to say as follows: 'Janus, Jupiter, Father Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, Lares, Divi Novensiles, Di Indigites, gods in whose power are both we and our enemies, and you also, Di Manes-I invoke and implore you, your favour I beg and beseech, that you may prosper the power and the victory of the Roman people of the Quirites, and visit upon the foes of the Roman people of the Quirites terror, fear, and death. As I have pronounced the words, even so on behalf of [pro, in lieu of] the republic of the Roman people of the Quirites, the army, the legions, and the auxiliaries of the Roman people of the Quirites, I hereby devote the legions and auxiliaries of the enemy, together with myself, to the Di Manes and to Earth [Tellus].'

Having uttered this prayer, he ordered the lictors to go to Titus Manlius at once and announce to his colleague that he had devoted himself for the good of the army. Then, girding himself with the Gabinian cincture and leaping, armed, upon his horse, he plunged into the thick of the enemy, a conspicuous sight to both armies and with something about him more August than human, as though he had been sent from heaven to expiate all the anger of the gods, and to avert destruction from his people -and turn it upon their enemies. Thus the greatest terror and dread accompanied him, and, throwing the Latin front into disorder, it at once spread deeply into their whole army. This was most dearly evident from the fact that wherever he rode, men trembled as if struck by some baleful star; and when he fell beneath a hail of missiles, in that instant there could be no doubt of the consternation of the Latin cohorts, which everywhere deserted the field and took to flight. At the same time the Romans-their spirits now set free from religious fears-pressed on as if only then the signal had been given for the first time, and delivered a united blow. The light-armed men were running out between the first two ranks of foot soldiers and were adding their strength to that of

the spearmen and the heavy armed troops, while the troops in the third rank, kneeling on their right, knees, were waiting for the consul to signal them to rise [and advance]. . . .

For the rest, among all the citizens and allies the chief praise in that war belongs to the consuls, of whom one [Decius] had drawn upon himself above all the threats and dangers belonging to the gods above and the gods below, while the other had shown such courage and skill in battle that of those Romans and Latins who have handed down a report of the conflict all agree that whichever side was led by Titus Manlius would surely have won. The Latins fled to Minturnae. After the battle their camp was captured and many men—mostly Campanians—were seized and put to death there. The body of Decius could not be found that day, and night fell while the search continued. On the following day it was discovered in a great heap of enemy dead, covered with missiles, and was given burial by his colleagues in a manner befitting his death.

It seems appropriate at this point to add that the consul, dictator, or praetor who devotes the legions of the enemy need not also devote himself, but may instead devote any citizen he chooses from an enlisted Roman legion. If this man is killed, it is proof that all is well. If he does not die, then an image (signum) of him is buried seven feet or more beneath the ground and a sacrifice (piaculum, sin offering) is slain; and where the image is buried no Roman magistrate may lawfully ascend [i.e., upon the tumulus].

But if he chooses to devote himself, as Decius did, but does not die, he cannot rightly offer sacrifice either for himself or for the people, whether it is with a sacrificial victim or something else that he wishes to offer. The one who devotes himself may dedicate his arms to Vulcan or to any other god he chooses [as a rule, the enemies' weapons were dedicated to Vulcan]. The spear on which the consul had stood and prayed must not be allowed to fall into enemy hands. If this happens, expiation must be made to Mars, with swine, sheep and bull [Marti suovetaurilibus piaculum fieri]. These details, though the memory of both divine and human customs has now been wiped out by the preference shown to new and foreign ways rather than to the ancient and ancestral, I have thought it worth while to relate in the very words which were fashioned and handed down [from the days of old].

Translation by Frederick C. Grant, in his *Ancient Roman Religion*, Library of Religion paperback series (New York, 1957), PP. 23-5

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE COSMIC SACRIFICE

('Rig Veda,' X, 90)

Quite different from the impersonal creative force tad ekam of Rig Veda, X, 129 (109), or the hymn of Prajapati, Rig Veda, X, 121 (P- 34) is the Purusha-sukta. Purusha is at once supreme being, the cosmos, and as such he is sacrificed primordially as the very act of creation. As cosmic being, only one quarter of purusha is manifest; three-quarters of him are eternally unmanifest (like Brahman [neuter], the absolute creative power).

Self-immolated, his creative act becomes a prototype: all sacrifices henceforth are repetitions, reconstructing victim, altar, and even the consequences of that primeval sacrifice. In other words the human microcosmic work, in correspondence with the macrocosmic original, recreates the world with each new sacrifice, producing as in illo tempore, -not only all living creatures, celestial bodies, the three worlds, and the gods themselves, but also the substance of the three Vedas.

Of particular interest here (as it is the only Rig Vedic reference to the four social classes), the dismembered Purusha provides Brahmans, Rajanyas (or Kshatriyas), Vaishyas and Shudras from his own mouth, arms, thighs and feet, respectively. Thus does the Vedic creation hymn "count for the origin of the non-Aryan serf (Shudra), as well as the archaic tripartite distinction between the priest, concerned with the sacred utterance (brahman), the warrior and his force (kshatra) of 'arms,' and the Vaishya, sprung from the loins of Purusha, who knows the secrets of animal and plant fertility and of wealth.

1. A thousand heads had Purusha, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. He covered earth on every side, and spread ten fingers' breadth beyond.
2. This Purusha is all that yet hath been and all that is to be; The Lord of immortality which waxes greater still by food. 1
3. So mighty is his greatness; yea, greater than this is Purusha. All creatures are one-fourth of him, three-fourths eternal, life in heaven.
4. With three-fourths Purusha went up; one fourth of him again was here. Thence he strode out to every side over what eats not and what eats.
5. From him Viraj was born; again Purusha from Viraj was born.² As soon as he was born he spread eastward and westward ³ o'er the earth.
6. When gods prepared the sacrifice with Purusha as their offering, Its oil was spring, the holy gift was autumn; summer was the wood.
7. They balm'd as victim on the grass ⁴ Purusha born in earliest time. With him the deities and all Sadhyas⁵ and rishis sacrificed.
8. From that great general sacrifice the dripping fat was gathered up. He formed the creatures of the air, and animals both wild and tame.
9. From that great general sacrifice Rg- and Sama-hymns were born; Therefrom the metres were produced, the Yajus had its birth from it.⁶
10. From it were horses born, from it all creatures with two rows of teeth; From it were generated kine, from it the goats and sheep were born.
- 11.. When they divided Purusha how many portions did they make? What do they call his mouth, his arms? What do they call his thighs and feet?
12. The Brahman was his mouth, of both his arms was the Rajanya made. His thighs became the Vaishya, from his feet the Shudra was produced.
13. The moon was gendered from his mind, and from his eye the sun had birth; Indra and Agni from his mouth were born, and Vayu from his breath.
14. Forth from his navel came mid-air, the sky was fashioned from his head; Earth from his feet, and from his ear the regions. Thus they formed the worlds.
15. Seven fencing-logs ⁷ had he, thrice seven layers of fuel were prepared, When the gods, offering sacrifice, bound as their victim, Purusha.
16. Gods, sacrificing, sacrificed the victim; these were the earliest holy ordinances. The mighty ones attained the height of heaven, there where the Sadhyas, gods of old, are dwelling.

Notes

1 Although the Purusha is 'all that is,' sacrificial offerings yet provide him increase.

2 Viraj is obscure. As in other creation hymns (X, 129; X, 121), some primordial matter is presupposed. Here a cosmic 'man,' in lieu of the formless waters of undifferentiated sky-earth, is basal, but an intermediate stage of creation seems to be implied. 'From him' (the unmanifest quarter of Purusha) proceeds this secondary cosmic source, which in turn gives birth to (the manifest quarter of Purusha).

Aitareya-brahmana 1, 4 associates Viraj mystically with food, perhaps reflecting upon this passage and stanzas 2 and 4 above.

3 From one end of the earth (bhumi) to the other.

4 Sacrificial grass.

5 Sadhyas, an ancient class of celestial beings; those who are worthy of propitiation.

6 The three Vedas: Rigveda, Samaveda and Yajurveda are here produced. This hymn is obviously then one of the latest to be included in the Rig Veda. .

7 Borders of the sacrificial fire; usually three green sticks, but here a sacred number, seven.

Translation by Ralph T. H. Griffith, in his The Hymns of the Rigveda, IV (Benares, 1892), PP 289-93

RITUALS, ORACLES, PRESCRIPTIONS AND DEVOTION

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":
RAIN-MAKING

AUSTRALIA

It is universally believed by the tribes of the Karamundi nation, Of the Darling River, that rain can be brought down by the following ceremony. A vein in the arm of one of the men is opened and the blood allowed to drop into a piece of hollow bark until there is a little pool. Into this is put a quantity of gypsum, ground fine, and stirred until it has the consistency of a thick paste. A number of hairs are pulled out of the man's beard and mixed up with this paste, which is then placed between two pieces of bark and put under the surface of the water in some river or lagoon, and kept there by means of pointed stakes driven into the ground. When the mixture is all dissolved away, the blackfellows say that a great cloud will come, bringing rain. From the time that this ceremony takes place until the rain comes, the men are tabooed from their wives, or the charm will be spoiled, and the old men say that if this prohibition were properly respected, rain would come every time that it is done. In a time of drought, when rain is badly wanted, the whole tribe meets and performs this ceremony.

A. W. Howitt, The Native Tribes of South-East Australia (London, 1904), PP. 39-7

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": A SPELL FOR THE REVIVAL OSIRIS

('Coffin Texts,' 74)

Ah Helpless One!

Ah Helpless One Asleep!

Ah Helpless One in this place

which you know not-yet I know it!

Behold, I have found you [lying] on your side

the great Listless One.

'Ah, Sister!' says Iris to Nephthys,

'This is our brother,
Come, let us lift up his head,
Come, let us [rejoin] his bones,
Come, let us reassemble his limbs,
Come, let us put an end to all his woe,
that, as far as we can help, he will weary no more.
May the moisture begin to mount for this spirit!
May the canals be filled through you!
May the names of the rivers be created through you!
Osiris, live!
Osiris, let the great Listless One arise!
I am Isis.'
'I am Nephthys.
It shall be that Horus will avenge you,
It shall be that Thoth will protect you
-your two sons of the Great White Crown-
It shall be that you will act against him who acted-against you,
It shall be that Geb will sec,
It shall be that the Company will hear.
Then will your power be visible in the sky
And you will cause havoc among the [hostile] gods,
for Horus, your son, has seized the Great White Crown,
seizing it from him who acted against you.
Then will your father Atum call 'Come!' Osiris, live!
Osiris, let the great Listless One arise!'

Translation by R. T. Rundle Clark, in his *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1959), PP. 125-6

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":
THE SACRED PIPE

DAKOTA INDIANS

The sacred pipe plays a central ritual role among a great number of North American Indian tribes. The smoke is blown like incense to the celestial Beings, to the earth, and to the four cardinal points.

Two young men, in time of famine, were scouting for game upon the prairies. They encounter a beautiful woman, solitary. One of the Young men, being lascivious in thought of her, is enveloped in a cloud, which, lifting, leaves only his bones. The other, reverent in heart, is instructed to hasten to the tribe and prepare them for the reception of the stranger. The Medicine Lodge is erected, and at sunrise on the following day to the awaiting tribesmen the mysterious maiden appears, bearing with her a sacred calumet. This she bestows, as something very precious, to the tribal custodians, at the same time charging the members of the tribe with their duties to one another.

The version of Lone Man, a Teton, gives most fully the essential teaching. His narrative is recorded by Frances Densmore.

Braided sweet grass was dipped into a buffalo horn containing rain water and was offered to the Maiden. The chief said, 'Sister, we are now ready to hear the good message you have brought.' The pipe, which was in the hands of the Maiden, was lowered and placed on the rack. Then the Maiden sipped the water from the-sweet grass.

Then, taking up the pipe again, she arose and said: 'My relatives, brothers and sisters: Wakantanka has looked down, and smiles upon us this day because we have met as belonging to one family. The best thing in a family is good feeling towards every member of the family. I am proud to become a member of your family- a sister to you all. The sun is your grandfather, and he is the same to me. Your tribe has the distinction of being always very faithful to promises, and of possessing great respect and reverence towards sacred things. It is known also that nothing but good feeling prevails in the tribe, and that whenever any member has been found guilty of committing any wrong, that member has been cast out and not allowed to mingle with the other members of the tribe. For all these good qualities in the tribe you have been chosen as worthy and deserving of all good gifts. I represent the Buffalo tribe, who have sent you this pipe. You are to receive this pipe in the name of all the common people (Indians). Take it, and use it according to my directions. The bowl of the pipe is red stone-a stone not very common and found only at a certain place. This pipe shall be used as a peacemaker. The time will come when you shall cease hostilities against other nations. Whenever peace is agreed upon between two tribes or parties this pipe shall be a binding instrument. By this pipe the medicine-men shall be called to administer help to the sick.'

Turning to the women, she said:

'My dear sisters, the women: You have a hard life to live in this world, yet without you this life would not be what it is. Wakantanka intends that you shall bear much sorrow-comfort others in time of sorrow. By your hands the family moves. You have been given the knowledge of making clothes and of feeding the family. Wakantanka is with you in your sorrows and joins you in your griefs. He has given you the great gift of kindness towards every living creature on earth. You he has chosen to have a feeling for the dead who are gone. He knows that you remember the dead longer than do the men. He knows that you love your children dearly.'

Then turning to the children:

'My little brothers and sisters. Your parents were once little children like you, but in the course of time they became men and women. All living creatures were once small, but if no one took care of them they would never grow up. Your parents love you and have made many sacrifices for your sake in order that Wakantanka may listen to them, and that nothing but good may come to you as you grow up. I have brought this pipe for them, and you shall reap some benefit from it. Learn to respect and reverence this pipe, and above all, lead pure lives. Wakantanka is your great grandfather.'

Turning to the men:

'Now my dear brothers: In giving you this pipe you are expected to use it for nothing but good purposes. The tribe as a whole shall depend upon it for their necessary needs. You realize that all your necessities of life come from the earth below, the sky above, and the four winds. Whenever you do anything wrong against these elements they will always take some revenge upon you. You should reverence them. Offer sacrifices through this pipe. When you are in need of buffalo meat, smoke this pipe and ask for what you need and it shall be granted you. On you it depends to be a strong help to the women in the raising of children. Share the women's sorrow. Wakantanka smiles on the man who has a kind feeling for a woman, because the woman is weak. Take this pipe, and offer it to Wakantanka daily. Be good and kind to the little children.'

Turning to the chief:

'My older brother: You have been chosen by these people to receive this pipe in the name of the whole Sioux tribe. 'Wakantanka is pleased and glad this day because you have done what is required and expected that every good leader should do. By this pipe the tribe shall live. It is your duty to see that this pipe is respected and revered. I am proud to be called a sister. May Wakantanka look down on us and take pity on us and provide us with what we need. Now we shall smoke the pipe.'

Then she took the buffalo chip which lay on the ground, lighted the Pipe, and pointing to the sky with the stem of the pipe, she said, 'I offer this to Wakantanka for all the good that comes from above.' (Pointing to the earth:) 'I offer this to the earth, whence come all good gifts.' (Pointing to the cardinal points:) 'I offer this to the four winds, whence come all good things.' Then she took a puff of the pipe, passed it to the chief, and said, 'Now my dear brothers and sisters, I have done the work for which I was sent here and now I will go, but I do not wish any escort. I only ask that the way be cleared before me .

Then, rising, she started, leaving the pipe with the chief, who ordered that the people be quiet until their sister was out of sight. She came out of the tent on the left side, walking very slowly; as soon as she was outside the entrance she turned into a white buffalo calf.

H. B. Alexander, *The World's Rim* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1953), PP. 155-7; quoting from and commenting on Frances Densmore, *Teton Sioux Music* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 61, 1918), pp. 65-6

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": MEANING AND VALUE OF RITUALS

A CONFUCIAN APPRAISAL

('Hsun Tzu,' chapter 19, 'On Rites' [Li])

With Confucius and Mencius, Hsun Tzu was one of the outstanding philosophical figures of the Chou dynasty era. His exact dates are not known, but he flourished approximately 298-238 B.C.

Rites (li) rest on three bases: Heaven and earth, which are the source of all life; the ancestors, who are the source of the human race; sovereigns and teachers, who are the source of government. If there were no Heaven and earth, where would life come from? If there were no ancestors, where would the offspring come from? If there were no sovereigns and teachers, where would government come from? Should any of the three be missing, either there would be no men or men would be without peace. Hence rites are to serve Heaven on high and earth below, and to honour the ancestors and elevate the sovereigns and teachers. Herein lies the threefold basis of rites. . . .

In general, rites begin with primitive practices, attain cultured forms, and finally achieve beauty and felicity. When rites are at their best, men's emotions and sense of beauty are both fully expressed. When they are

at the next level, either the emotion or the sense of beauty oversteps the others. When they are at still the next level, emotion reverts to the state of primitivity.

It is through rites that Heaven and earth are harmonious and sun and moon are bright, that the four seasons are ordered and the stars are on their courses, that rivers flow and that things prosper, that love and hatred are tempered and joy and anger are in keeping. They cause the lowly to be obedient and those on high to be illustrious. He who holds to the rites is never confused in the midst of multifarious change; he who deviates therefrom is lost. Rites- are they not the culmination of culture ? . . .

Rites require us to treat both life and death with attentiveness. Life is the beginning of man, death is his end. When a man is well off both at the end and the beginning, the way of man is fulfilled. Hence the gentleman respects the beginning and is carefully attentive to the end. To pay equal attention to the end as well as to the beginning is the way of the gentleman and the beauty of rites and righteousness. . . .

Rites serve to shorten that which is too long and lengthen that which is too short, reduce that which is too much and augment that which is too little, express the beauty of love and reverence and cultivate the elegance of righteous conduct. Therefore, beautiful adornment and coarse sackcloth, music and weeping, rejoicing and sorrow, though pairs of opposites, are in the rites equally utilized and alternately brought into play. Beautiful adornment, music, and rejoicing are appropriate on occasions of felicity; coarse sackcloth, weeping, and sorrow are appropriate on occasions of ill-fortune. Rites make room for beautiful adornment but not to the point of being fascinating, for coarse sackcloth but not to the point of deprivation or self-injury, for music and rejoicing but not to the point of being lewd and indolent, for weeping and sorrow but not to the point of being depressing and injurious. Such is the middle path of rites. . . .

Funeral rites are those by which the living adorn the dead. The dead are accorded a send-off as though they were living. In this way the dead are served like the living, the absent like the present. Equal attention is thus paid to the end as well as to the beginning of life. . . .

Now the rites used on the occasion of birth are to embellish joy, those used on the occasion of death are to embellish sorrow, those used at sacrifice are to embellish reverence, those used on military occasions are to embellish dignity. In this respect the rites of all kings are alike, antiquity and the present age agree, and no one knows whence they came. . . .

Sacrifice is to express a person's feeling of remembrance and longing, for grief and affliction cannot be kept out of one's consciousness all the time. When men are enjoying the pleasure of good company, a loyal minister or a filial son may feel grief and affliction. Once such feelings arise, he is greatly excited and moved. If such feelings are not given proper expression, then his emotions and memories are disappointed and not satisfied, and the appropriate rite is lacking. There upon the ancient kings instituted rites, and henceforth the principle of expressing honour to the honoured and love to the beloved is fully realized. Hence I say: Sacrifice is to express a person's feeling of remembrance and longing. As to the fullness of the sense of loyalty and affection, the richness of ritual and beauty-these none but the sage can understand. Sacrifice is something that the sage clearly understands, the scholar-gentlemen contentedly perform, the officials consider a duty, and the common people regard as established custom. Among gentlemen it is considered the way of man; among the common people it is considered as having to do with the spirits.

Translation by Y. P. Mei, in Wm. Theodore de Bary (ed.), Sources of Chinese Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 123-4

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE ENSHRINEMENT OF AMATERASU

('Nihongi,' I, 175-6)

The following entry in Nihongi (see P. 94), for the twenty-fifth year of the Emperor Suinin's reign (5 B.C. " according to traditional dating but more probably around A.D. 260), describes the founding of the great

shrine to Amaterasu at Ise. The moving of the Sun Goddess no doubt refers to the transporting of the mirror thought to be her embodiment.

Third month, 10th day. The Great Goddess Amaterasu was taken from [the princess] Toyo-suki-iri-hime, and entrusted to [the princess] Yamato-hime no Mikoto. Now Yamato-hime sought for a place where she might enshrine the Great Goddess. So she proceeded to Sasahata in Uda. Then turning back from thence, she entered the land of Omi, and went round eastwards to Mino, whence she arrived in the province of Ise.

Now the Great Goddess Amaterasu instructed Yamato-hime saying: 'The province of Ise, of the divine wind, is the land whither repair the waves from the eternal world, the successive waves. It is a secluded and pleasant land. In this land I wish to dwell.' In compliance, therefore, with the instruction of the Great Goddess, a shrine was erected to her in the province of Ise. Accordingly an Abstinence Palace was built at Kawakami in Isuzu. This was called the palace of Iso. It was there that the- Great Goddess Amaterasu first descended from Heaven.

Adapted from Aston's translation, by Wm. Theodore de Bary (ed), Sources of Japanese Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), PP. 34-5

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": A SHINTO HARVEST RITUAL

('Norito')

The Praying for Harvest, or Toshigohi no Matsuri, was celebrated on the 4th day of the 2nd month Of each year, at the capital in the Zhingikuwan or Office for the Worship of the Shinto gods, and in the provinces by the chiefs of the local administration. At the Zhingikuwan there were assembled the ministers of state, the functionaries of that office, the priests and priestesses Of 573 temples, containing 737 shrines, which were kept up at the expense of the Mikado's treasury, while the governors of the provinces superintended in the districts under their administration the performance of rites in honour Of 2,395 other shrines.

The service began at twenty minutes to seven. The officials of the Zhingikuwan arranged the offering on the tables and below them, according to the rank of the shrines for which they were intended. The final preparations being now complete, the ministers of state, the virgin priestesses and the priests of the temples to which offerings were sent by the Mikado entered in succession, and took the places severally assigned to them. The horses which formed a part of the offerings were next brought in from the Mikado's stable, and all the congregation drew near, while the reader recited or read the norito. This reader was a member of the priestly family or tribe of Nakatomi, who traced their descent back to Amenokoyane, one of the principal advisers attached to the sungoddess' grandchild when he first descended on earth.

The earliest account of the proceedings on these occasions is contained in a Record of the year 871. The harvest ritual translated by Satow contains 13 prayers and invocations. The text reproduced below is the third in that series.

He 1 says: 'I declare in the presence of the sovran gods of the HARVEST .2 If the sovran gods will bestow in many-bundled ears and in luxuriant ears the late-ripening harvest which they will bestow, the late-ripening harvest which will be produced by the dripping of foam from the arms and by drawing the mud together between the opposing thighs,³ then I will fulfil their praises by setting-up the first fruits in a thousand ears and many hundred ears ⁴ raising-high the beer-jars, filling and ranging-in-rows the bellies of the beer-jars, I will present them [i.e. the first-fruits] in juice and in ear. As to things which grow in the great-field-plain-sweet herbs and bitter herbs: as to things which dwell in the blue-sea plain-things wide of fin and things narrow of fin, down to the weeds of the offing and weeds of the shore: and to CLOTHES- with bright cloth, glittering cloth, soft cloth and coarse cloth will I fulfil praises. And having furnished a white horse, a white boar and a white cock, ⁵ and the various kinds of things in the presence of the sovran god of the HARVEST, I fulfil his praises by setting up the great OFFERINGS of the sovran (GRANDCHILD'S ⁶ augustness.'

Notes

1 'He' is the reader of the ritual, and the word rendered by 'says' signifies that the speaker is supposed to be speaking the words of the Mikado.

2 Who the gods of the Harvest were is unknown. According to the Ko-ji-ki, Susa-no-o begot the Great Harvest god, Ohotoshi no Kami, who begot the Harvest god, Mi-tosbi no Kami, and several other names of deities, supposed to provide the human race with cereals, occur in various myths. The most famous of these are the goddess worshipped at the Outer Temple (Gekuu) at Watarahi in Ise, and the deity, Uka no mitama or Spirit of Food, to whom is dedicated the temple of Inari.

3 The process of preparing the half-liquid soil of the rice fields for the reception of the young plants is thus described.

4 Kahi, here rendered by ear,' is more exactly the seed of rice enclosed between the paleae.

5 The horse for the god to ride on, the cock to tell the time, and the boar (a domesticated animal, not the wild boar) for the god's food.

6 i.e. Grandchild of Amaterasu, the Sun-Goddess. The epithet 'soveran grandchild' was first applied to the founder on earth of the Mikado's dynasty, but came in time to be applied to each and all of his successors on the throne.

Translation, introduction and notes by Ernest Satow, 'Ancient Japanese Rituals: no. 1-The Praying for Harvest,' Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, vol. VII, part I (1879) pp. 97-132; quotation from PP- 113 ff.

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE AZTEC CEREMONIAL BATHING OF THE NEWBORN FROM BERNARDINO DE SAHAGUN

The priest addresses the Goddess of the Flowing Waters:

'Merciful Lady Chalchiuhtlicue, thy servant here present is come into this world, sent by our father and mother, Ometecutli and Omeciuatl, who reside at the ninth heaven. We know not what gifts he bringeth; we know not what hath been assigned to him from before the beginning of the world, nor with what lot he cometh enveloped. We know not if this lot be good or bad, or to what end he will be followed by ill fortune. We know not what faults or defects he may inherit from his father or mother. Behold him between thy hands! Wash him and deliver him from impurities as thou knowest should be, for he is confided to thy power. Cleanse him of the contamination he hath received from his parents; let the water take away the soil and the stain, and let him be freed from all taint. May it please thee, O Goddess, that his heart and his life be purified, that he may dwell in this world in peace and wisdom. May this water take away all ills, for which this babe is put into thy hands, thou who art mother and sister of the gods, and who alone art worthy to possess it and to give it, to wash from him the evils which he beareth from before the beginning of the world. Deign to do this that we ask, now that the child is in thy presence.'

H. B. Alexander, *The World's Rim* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1953), P. 177; translating Bernardino de Sahagun, *Historia de las Cosas de la Nueva Espana* (Mexico, 1946), bk. VI, chap. XXXII

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE EGYPTIAN 'NEGATIVE CONFESSION'

('Book of the Dead,' chapter 125)

When the deceased enters the hall of the goddesses of Truth, he says:

'Homage to thee, O great god, thou Lord of Truth. I have come to thee, my Lord, and I have brought myself hither that I may see thy beauties,' [i.e., experience thy gracious clemency]. 'I know thee, I know thy name. I know the names of the Two-and-Forty gods who live with thee in this Hall of Maati, who keep ward over those who have done evil, who feed upon their blood on the day when the lives of men are reckoned up in the presence of Un-Nefer [i.e., Osiris]. In truth I have come to thee. I have brought Truth to thee. I have destroyed wickedness for thee.' [These words are followed by a statement of the offences which he had not committed, and he says:]

1. I have not sinned against men.
2. I have not oppressed (or wronged) [my] kinsfolk.
3. I have not committed evil in the place of truth.
4. I have not known worthless men.
5. I have not committed acts of abomination.
6. I have not done daily works of supererogation (?)
7. I have not caused my name to appear for honours.
8. I have not domineered over slaves.
9. I have not thought scorn of the god (or, God).
10. I have not defrauded the poor man of his goods.
11. I have not done the things which the gods abominate.
12. I have not caused harm to be done to the slave by his master.
13. I have caused no man to suffer.
14. I have allowed no man to go hungry.
15. I have made no man weep.
16. I have slain no man.
17. I have not given the order for any man to be slain.
18. I have not caused pain to the multitude.
19. I have not filched the offerings in the temples.
20. I have not purloined the cakes of the gods.
21. I have not stolen the offerings of the spirits.
22. I have had no dealing with the pederast.
23. I have not defiled myself in the pure places of the god of my city.

24. I have not cheated in measuring of grain.
25. I have not filched land or added thereto.
26. I have not encroached upon the fields of others.
27. I have not added to the weight of the balance.
28. I have not cheated with the pointer of the scales.
29. I have not taken away the milk from the mouths of the babes.
30. I have not driven away the beasts from their pastures.
31. I have not netted the geese of the preserves of the gods.
32. I have not caught fish with bait of their bodies.
33. I have not obstructed water when it should run.
34. I have not cut a cutting in a canal of rating water.
35. I have not extinguished a flame when it ought to burn.
36. I have not abrogated the days of offering the chosen offerings.
37. I have not turned off cattle from the property of the gods.
38. I have not repulsed the god in his manifestations. I am pure. I am pure. I am pure. I am pure.

Translation by E. A. Wallis Budge, *Osiris, the Egyptian Religion of Resurrection*, vol 1 (1911), PP. 337-9; see also E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, vol 11 (1901), PP. 365-371

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": AZTEC CONFESSION AND PENITENCE

FROM BERNARDINO DE SAHAGUN

. . . the confessor speaks to the penitent saying: 'Oh brother, thou hast come to a place of great danger, and of much work and terror. . . . thou hast come to a place where snares and nets are tangled and piled one upon another, so that none can pass without falling into them. . . . these are thy sins, which are not only snares and nets and holes into which thou hast fallen, but also wild beasts, that kill and rend the body and the soul. . . . When thou wast created and sent here, thy father and mother Quetzalcoatl made thee like a precious stone . . . but by thine own will and choosing thou didst become soiled . . . and now thou hast confessed. . . . thou hast uncovered and made manifest all thy sins to our lord who shelters and purifies all sinners; and take not this as mockery, for in truth thou hast entered the fountain of mercy, which is like the clearest water with which our lord god, who shelters and protects us all, washes away the dirt from the soul. . . . now thou art born anew, now dost thou begin to live; and even now our lord god gives thee light and a new Sun; now also dost thou begin to flower, and to put forth shoots like a very clean precious stone issuing from thy mother's womb where thou art created. . . . It is fitting that thou do penance working a year in the house of god, and there shalt thou draw blood, and shalt thou pierce thy body with cactus thorns; and that thou make penance for the adulteries and other filth thou hast done, thou shalt pass osiers twice a day, one through thine ears and one through thy tongue; and not only as a penance for the carnal sins already mentioned, but for words and injuries with which thou hast affronted and hurt thy neighbours, with thy evil tongue. And for the ingratitude in which thou hast held the favours

our lord hast done thee, and for thy inhumanity to thy neighbours in not making offering of the goods bestowed upon thee by god nor in giving to the poor the temporal goods our lord bestowed upon thee. It shall be thy duty to offer parchment and copal, and also to give alms to the needy who starve and who have neither to eat nor drink nor to be clad, though thou know how to deprive thyself of food to give them, and do thy best to clothe those who go naked and in rags; look that their flesh is as thine, and that they are men as thou art.'

Laurette Sejourne, *Burning Water*, trans. Irene Nicholson (London, 1957), pp. 9-10; quoting from Bernardino de Sahagun, *Historia de las Cosas de la Nueva Espana* (Mexico, 1946), VOL. II, P. 275

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": A CHINESE THEORY OF PORTENTS

(Tung Chung-shu, 'Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu,' 30)

Tung Chung-shu lived 179?-104? B.C. The title of this lengthy work from which the following selection is taken may be rendered in English as 'Deep Significance of the Spring and Autumn Annals.'

The creatures of Heaven and earth at times display unusual changes and these are called wonders. Lesser ones are called ominous portents. The portents always come first and are followed by wonders. Portents are Heaven's warnings, wonders are Heaven's threats. Heaven first sends warnings, and if men do not understand, then it sends wonders to awe them. This is what the Book of Odes means when it says: 'We tremble at the awe and the fearfulness of Heaven!' The genesis of all such portents and wonders is a direct result of errors in the state. When the first indications of error begin to appear in the state, Heaven sends forth ominous portents and calamities to warn men and announce the fact. if, in spite of these warnings and announcements, men still do not realize how they have gone wrong, then Heaven sends prodigies and wonders to terrify them. if, after these terrors, men still know no awe or fear, then calamity and misfortune will visit them. From this we may see that the will of Heaven is benevolent, for it has no desire to trap or betray mankind.

If we examine these wonders and portents carefully, we may discern the will of Heaven. The will of Heaven desires us to do certain things and not to do others. As to those things which Heaven wishes and does not wish, if a man searches within himself, he will surely find warnings of them in his own heart, and if he looks about him at daily affairs, he will find verification of these warnings in the state. Thus we can discern the will of Heaven in these portents and wonders. We should not hate such signs, but stand in awe of them, considering that Heaven wishes to repair our faults and save us from our errors. Therefore it takes this way to warn us.

Translation by Burton Watson, in Wm. Theodore de Bary (ed.), *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960) p.187

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": The Appearance Of A White Pheasant

A favourable omen in ancient Japan

('Nihongi,' II, 237-9)

The Emperor said: 'When a sage ruler appears in the world and rules the Empire, Heaven is responsive to him, and manifests favourable omens. In ancient times, during the reign of Ch'eng-wang of the Chou Dynasty, a ruler of the Western land (i.e., China), and again in the time of Ming Ti of the Han Dynasty, white pheasants were seen. In this Our Land of Japan, during the reign of the Emperor Homuda, a white crow made its nest in the Palace. In the time of the Emperor O-sazaki, a Dragon-horse appeared in the West. This shows that from ancient times until now, there have been many cases of auspicious omens appearing in response to virtuous rulers. What we call phoenixes, unicorns, white pheasants, white crows, and such like birds and beasts, even including herbs and trees, in short all things having the property of significant response, are favourable omens and auspicious signs produced by Heaven and Earth. Now

that wise and enlightened sovereigns should obtain such auspicious omens is meet and proper. But why should We, who are so empty and shallow, have this good fortune? It is no doubt wholly due to Our Assistants, the Ministers, imperial Chieftains, Deity Chieftains, Court Chieftains and Local Chieftains, each of whom, with the utmost loyalty, conforms to the regulations that are made. For this reason, let us, from the Ministers down to the functionaries, with pure hearts reverence the Gods of Heaven and Earth, and one and all accepting the glad omen, make the Empire to flourish.'

Again he commanded, saying:

'The provinces and districts in the four quarters having been placed in Our charge by Heaven, We exercise supreme rule over the Empire. Now in the province of Anato, ruled over by Our divine ancestors, this auspicious omen has appeared. For this reason We proclaim a general amnesty throughout the Empire, and begin a new year-period, to be called White Pheasant. Moreover We prohibit the flying of falcons within the limits of the province of Anato.'

Adapted from Aston's translation, by Wm. Theodore de Bary (ed.), *Sources of Japanese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 80

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE ORACLE OF TROPHONIOS AT LEBADEIA

(Pausanias, 'Description of Greece,' ix, 39)

Trophonios, says Pausanias, is a figure similar to Asklepios, for in the grotto of Herkyna, in which are the sources of the river of that name (Herkyna is in fact the local river-nymph), 'there are standing statues, with serpents coiled round their sceptres. One might guess them to be Asklepios and Hygieia, but they may also be Trophonios and Herkyna, for even the serpents they reckon to be sacred to Trophonios - no less than to Asklepios. . . . The most celebrated things in the grove are a temple and statue of Trophonios. The latter, which is the work of Praxiteles, also resembles Asklepios.' Pausanias then goes on:

As to the oracle, the procedure is as follows. When a man decides to go down to visit Trophonios, he is first of all lodged for a prescribed number of days in a budding which is sacred to Agathos Daimon and Agathe Tyche [the Good Daimon and Good Fortune]. While living there he observes certain rules of purity, and in particular is allowed no warm baths; his bath is the river Herkyna. He gets Plenty of meat from the sacrifices, for anyone who intends to make the descent sacrifices both to Trophonios himself and to the children of Trophonios, and also to Apollo and Kronos and Zeus surnamed Basileus [King] and Hera the Charioteer and Demeter whom they surname Europe and call the nurse of Trophonios. At each of the sacrifices a diviner is present who inspects the entrails of the victim, and having looked at them foretells to the man intending to descend whether Trophonios will receive him kindly and graciously. The entrails from the earlier sacrifices do not reveal the mind of Trophonios so clearly. But on the night on which a man is to go down, they sacrifice a ram into a trench, calling upon Agamedes. Though all the previous sacrifices may have been favourable, it goes for nothing if the entrails of this ram do not say the same thing, but if they too agree, then every man goes down with good hope. The method of descent is this. First of all, when night has fallen two boys of citizen families, aged about thirteen, bring him to the river Herkyna and there anoint him with olive oil and wash him. These boys are called Hermai, and it is they who wash the visitor to Trophonios and perform all needful services for him. After this he is brought by the priests, not straight to the oracle, but to springs of water which lie close to one another. Here he has to drink the water called Lethe, in order to achieve forgetfulness of all that he has hitherto thought of; and on top of it another water, the water of Mnemosyne, which gives him remembrance of what he sees when he has gone down. He next looks upon a statue which is said to be the work of Daidalos, and which the priests reveal to none save those who intend to go down to the abode of Trophonios, and when he has seen this statue and worshipped it and prayed, he approaches the oracle, wearing a linen chiton girdled with ribbons, and shod with the native boots of the country.

The oracle is situated above the grove on the mountain-side. It lies in the middle of a circular floor of white marble, about equal in circumference to the smallest size of threshing-floor and raised to a height of

slightly under three feet. On the floor are set spikes with circular rails joining them, both spikes and railing being of bronze, and there are gates made through the railings. Inside the enclosure there is an opening in the earth, not a natural chasm but an accurate and skillful piece of building. In shape this chamber is like an oven. Its breadth across the middle is to all appearances about six feet, and even its depth one would not estimate to be more than twelve. It is made without any means of descent to the bottom, but whenever a man goes down to visit Trophonios they bring a light, narrow ladder for him. When he has gone down, he finds an opening between the bottom and the masonry, whose breadth appeared to be two spans, and its height a span. He lies down on the ground, and holding in his hand cakes kneaded with honey, he thrusts his feet into the opening and pushes forward himself, trying to get his knees inside the hole. The rest of his body is at once dragged in and follows his knees, just as a great and swift river would catch a man in its swirl and draw him under. From this stage on, once men are inside the adyton, they are not all instructed of the future in the same way; some have heard, others have seen as well. The way back is through the same opening, feet foremost.

They say that no one has died as the result of his descent, with the exception of one of the bodyguard of Demitrios, and as for him, he had not carried out any of the prescribed ritual at the sanctuary, nor did he go down to consult the god, but on the hope of getting gold and silver from the adyton. . . . When a man has come up from the abode of Trophonios, the priests take him over again and set him on a seat called the seat of Mnemosyne, which is not far from the adyton, and while he is seated there they ask him of all that he has seen and learned. Then when they have heard it they put him in charge of his friends, who lift him up and carry him to the house of Agathe Tyche and Agathos Daimon where he lodged before, for he is still in the grip of fear and unaware of himself or of those around him. But later on his wits will return to him unimpaired, and in particular he will recover the power of laughter. I do not write from hearsay, for I have consulted Trophonios myself, as well as seeing others who have done so.

Translation by W. K. C. Guthrie, in his *The Greeks and their Gods* (London, 1950), pp. 225-7. See also the commentary of J. C. Frazer, in *Pausanias's Description of Greece* (London, 1898), Bk. v. pp. 196-204

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": MYTH AND RITUAL

HOW TO BECOME A GANDHARVA

('Shatapatha Brahmana,' XI, 5,)

This selection from one of the latest and best known of the Brahmanas is a welcome expansion of a love story begun, but not concluded, in the most famous of the Rig Veda 'dialogue' (samvada) hymns, X, 95. The tale recurs in the Mahabharata and the Puranas, and was used by Kalidasa for his drama *Vikramorvashi*.

The Gandharvas and the Apsarases-ancient classes of celestial beings who in the later Samhitas are often associated with waters and trees-are, like many forest creatures, sometimes friendly, sometimes hostile to men. King Pururavas falls happily in love with the nymph, Urvashi, until the Gandharvas separate the lovers by a ruse and the lonely king seeks the ritual means whereby he too may become a proper forest creature, a Gandharva.

The nymph Urvashi loved Pururavas the son of Ida.¹ When she married him she said: You must embrace me three times a day, but never lie with me against my will. Moreover I must never see you naked, for this is the proper way to behave to us women !'

She lived with him long, and she was with child by him, so long did she live with him. Then the Gandharvas said to one another: 'This Urvashi has been living too long among men ! We must find a way to get her back !'

She kept a ewe with two lambs tied to her bed, and the Gandharvas carried off one of the lambs. 'They're taking away my baby,' she cried, 'as though there were no warrior and no man in the place!' Then they

took away the second, and she cried out in the same way.

Then he thought to himself. 'How can the place where I am be without a warrior and a man?', And, naked as he was, he leapt up after them, for he thought it would take too long to put on a garment.

Then the Gandharvas produced a flash of lightning, and she saw him as clearly as if it were day-and she vanished. . . .

Bitterly weeping, he wandered all over Kurukshetra 2. There is a lake of lotuses there, called Anyatahplaksha. He walked on its banks, and there were nymphs swimming in it in the form of swans³.

And she noticed him, and said: 'That's the man with whom I lived!' 'Let us show ourselves to him,' they said. 'Very well,' she replied, and they appeared to him [in their true forms] ⁴

Then he recognized her and entreated her:

'O my wife, with mind so cruel,
stay, let us talk together,
for if our secrets are untold
we shall have -no joy in days to come!'

Then she replied:

'What use is there in my talking to you!
I have passed like the first of dawns.
Pururavas, go home again!
I am like the wind, that cannot be caught.'

Mournfully Pururavas said:

'Today your lover will perish,
he will go to the furthest distance and never come back.
He will lie in the lap of disaster, ⁵
and fierce wolves will devour him.'

She replied:

'Pururavas do not die! do not go away!
do not let the fierce wolves devour you!
Friendship is not to be found in women,
For they have hearts like half-tamed jackals!'⁶

And then she said to him:

'When I dwelt in disguise in the land of mortals

and passed the nights of four autumns,⁷

I ate a little ghee ⁸ once a day,

and -now I have had quite enough! . . .

But her heart pitied him, and she said, 'Come on the last evening of the year, then, when your son is born, you shall lie one night with me.'

He came on the last night of the year, and there stood a golden palace. They told him to enter, and brought her to him.

She said: 'Tomorrow the Gandharvas will grant you a boon and you must make your choice.' He said: 'You choose for me!' She answered: 'Say, "Let me become one of you!"'

In the morning the Gandharvas gave him a boon, and he asked: 'Let me become one of you.'

'There is no fire among men,' they said, 'which is so holy that a man may become one of us by sacrificing with it.' So they put fire in a pan, and said: 'By sacrificing with this you will become one of us.' He took it and his son, and went homeward. On the way he left the fire in the forest and went to a village with the boy. When he came back the fire had vanished. In place of the fire was a pipal tree and in place of the pan a mimosa. So he went back to the Gandharvas.

They said: 'For a year you must cook enough rice for four [every day]. Each time [you cook] you must put on the fire three logs of the pipal anointed with ghee . . . and the fire which is produced [at the end of the year] will be the fire [which will make you one of us]. But that is rather difficult,' they added, 'so you should make an upper firestick of pipal wood and a lower one of mimosa wood, and the fire you get from them will be the fire [which will make you one of us]. But that too is rather difficult,' they added, 'so you must make both the upper and lower firestick ⁹ of pipal wood, and the fire you get from them will be the fire.'

So he made an upper and a lower firestick of pipal wood, and the fire he got from them was the fire [which would make him one of them]. He sacrificed with it and became a Gandharva.

Notes

1 And of Buddha, son of Soma. It is interesting to note that Pururavas belongs to the lunar race of kings, often mythically associated, like the Gandharvas themselves, with the heavenly soma. He is the ancestor of Puru, Bharata, Kuru, Pandu and the other protagonists of the Mahabharata.

2 The sacred 'field of the Kurus,' that great north Indian plain where the battle celebrated by the great epic was fought.

3 Some kind of aquatic bird (ati).

4 The following five stanzas are from Rig Veda, X, 95, 1, 2, 14-16, the 'dialogue' preserved by the priests who recite the Rig Veda. Our Rig Veda contains 18 stanzas; the Satapatha-brahmana was apparently aware of the first 15 of these

5 Nirriti, Destruction, the wife of Adharma and mother of death. (Hopkins, E. W., Epic Mythology [Strassburg: Trubner, 1915 1, P. 41.]

6 Salavrika, of uncertain meaning. J. Eggeling translates as 'hyenas,' while A. Weber suggests 'werewolves' may be intended. (J. Eggeling [trans.], Satapatha-brahmana Oxford 1900; SBE XLIVI, P. 71,ff. 4.)

7 i.e., four years.

8 Clarified butter.

9 The churning-sticks used to produce fire.

Translation by A. L. Basham, in his *The Wonder That Was India* (London, 1954), PP. 405-7

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": PERFORM ACTION, FREE FROM ATTACHMENT
TO ITS FRUITS

('Bhagavad Gita,' III, 8-9, 19-24, 31, 35)

8. Perform thou action that is (religiously) required;

For action is better than inaction.

And even the maintenance of the body for thee

Can not succeed without action.

9. Except action for the purpose of worship,

This world is bound by actions;

Action for that purpose, son of Kunti,

Perform thou, free from attachment (to its fruits)

10. Therefore unattached ever

Perform action that must be done;

For performing action without attachment

Man attains the highest.

20. For only thru action, perfection

Attained Janaka and others.

Also for the mere control of the world

Having regard, thou shouldst act.

21. Whatsoever the noblest does,

Just that in every case other folk (do);

What he makes his standard,

That the world follows.

22. For Me, son of Pritha, there is nothing to be done

In the three worlds whatsoever,
Nothing unattained to be attained;
And yet I still continue in action.

23. For if I did not continue
At all in action unwearied,
My path (would) follow
Men altogether, son of Pritha.

24. These folk would perish
If I did not perform action,
And I should be an agent of confusion;
I should destroy these creatures. . . .

31. Who this My doctrine constantly
Follow, such men,
Full of faith and not murmuring,
They too are freed from (the effect of) actions

35. Better one's own duty, (tho) imperfect,
Than another's duty well performed;
Better death in (doing) one's own duty;
Another's duty brings danger.

Translation by Franklin Edgerton, Bhagavad Gita, Vol. I, Harvard Oriental Series, VOI. 38 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944)

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": PERSONAL WORSHIP

PUJA HINDUISM

The Purification and Dedication of the Body:

The dedication of the body of the worshipper to the deity is a necessary prelude to ceremonial worship. In this rite the worshipper purifies and consecrates each part of his person that he may become fit to appear before a god.

'No man should worship a deity so long as he himself has not become a deity. If the repetition of sacred utterances is performed without previous dedication of the parts of the body to the different deities, this repetition of mantras is demoniacal and without useful effect. To worship a deity, a man must become the Self of that deity through dedication, breath control, and concentration until his body becomes the deity's

abode.' (Gandharva Tantra.)

1 The first step is the purification of the worshipper and of the accessories of worship.

'The purification of the person of the worshipper consists in bathing, The purification-of-the-subtle-elements (bhuta shuddhi) of the body is done through breath control and through the dedication of the six main parts of the body to the six deities to which they correspond. After this the other forms of dedication are performed.

2. 'The purification of the place of worship is done by cleaning it carefully, adorning it with an auspicious ornamentation made of powders of five colours, placing a seat and a canopy, using incense, lights, flowers, garlands, etc. All this must be done by the worshipper himself

3. 'Purification of the ritual utterances, the mantras, is done by repeating the syllables which compose them in the regular order and then in the reverse order.

4. 'Purification of the accessories is done by sprinkling water consecrated with the basic mantra and the weapon-mantra (astra-mantra, i.e., the sound phat) and then displaying the cow-gesture (dhenumudra).

5. 'Purification of the deity is done by placing the image on an altar invoking the presence of the deity through its secret mantra and the life-giving breathing-mantra (prana-mantra), bathing the image three times while reciting the basic mantra, then adorning it with garments and jewels. After this an offering of incense and light should be made.' (Kularnava Tantra.)

Removing Obstacles:

'The worshipper should bow with respect to the deities of the doors, first at the eastern door of the house of worship, then, successively at the southern door, the western door, and the northern door. After this he should bow to his chosen deity present in the form of its yantra.' (Nigama-kalpalata 14.)

If the sanctuary has only one door, the worship of the deities of the three other directions should be done mentally. 'The sacrificial house should be entered with the right foot' (Shivarcana Candrika), with the left foot if it is a left-hand sacrifice.

'The worshipper should remove obstacles of celestial origin by the godly look (looking with wide-open, unblinking eyes). Obstacles of the intermediary world are removed with the help of water consecrated with the astra-mantra. Terrestrial obstacles are avoided by doing three taps with the heel of the right foot.' (Shambavi Tantra.)

The Praise of the Deity:

'Just as gold is freed from its dross only by fire and acquires its shining appearance from heat, so the mind of a living being, cleansed from the filth of his actions and his desires through his love for me, is transformed into my transcendent likeness. The mind is purified through the hearing and uttering of sacred hymns in my praise., (Bhagavata Purana II, 14, 25.)

The glorification of a deity is something different from meaningless praise. The Brhad-devata (1, 6) says: 'The praise of something consists in the utterance of its name, the description of its shape, the proclaiming of its deeds, the mention of its family.'

'We cannot know a thing without knowing its merits, its qualities. All knowledge or science is based on a form of praise. A dictionary is but the praise of words. The works of science are filled with glorification. Everything which is an object of knowledge is as such a deity and is glorified in the Scripture that deals with it.' (Vijayananda Tripathi, 'Devata tattva,' Sanmarga,III, 1942.)

Meditation:

'Meditation is of two kinds, gross and subtle. In the subtle form meditation is done on the "body of sound," that is, the mantra, of the deity. In the gross form meditation is on one image with hands and feet. . . . The suprasensory can seldom be reached by the mind; hence one should concentrate on the gross form.'
(Yamala Tantra.)

'The worshipper should engage in meditation, gradually concentrating his mind on all the parts of the body of his chosen deity, one after another, from the feet to the head. He can thus acquire such an intense state of concentration that during his undisturbed meditation the whole body of the chosen deity will appear to his mind's eye as an indivisible form. In this way the meditation on the deity in its formal aspect will gradually become profound and steady.' (Siva Candra Vidyarnava Bhattacharya, Principles of Tantra [ed. Woodroffe, I, (1916), 134, or p. 874 [1952 ed.], quoted with slight changes.)

Japa, the Repetition of Mantras:

'Japa, as the repetition of a mantra, has been compared to the action of a man shaking a sleeper to wake him up.' (Woodroffe, The Garland of Letters, P. 211, with slight changes.)

'Once the image of the chosen deity has been formed in the mind by concentration, the seed-mantra should be repeated, withdrawing the mind from all other thoughts..... Japa is of three kinds, audible, articulate but inaudible, and mental..... Japa concentration by this -means is perfected, the consciousness of the worshipper is transferred to the deity represented by the utterance and he ceases to have an individuality distinct from that of the deity.' (Barada Kantha Majumdar. Principles of Tantra [cd. Woodroffe], II [1916, 77-8, or pp. 648 ff 1952 ed.], quoted with slight changes.)

Translation by Alain Daniélou, in his Hindu Polytheism (New York: Bollingen Series LXXIII, 1964), PP. 377-9

Bibliography for this page:

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE MERITS OF BUILDING A TEMPLE

HINDUISM

(Agni-purana,' XXXVIII, 1-50)

Agni said: I will now describe the fruits of making temples for the residence of Vasudeva and other deities. He who attempts to erect temples for gods is freed from the sins of a thousand births. Those who think of building a temple in their minds are freed from the sins of a hundred births. Those who approve of a man's building a temple for Krishna go to the region of Acyuta [Vishnu] freed from sins. Having desired to build a temple for Hari, a man immediately takes a million of his generations, past and future, to the region of Vishnu. The departed manes of the person who builds a temple for Krishna live in the region of Vishnu, well adorned and freed from the sufferings of hell. The construction of a temple for a deity dissipates even the sin of Brahmanicide. By building a temple one reaps the fruit which he does not even gain by celebrating a sacrifice. By building a temple one acquires the fruits of bathing at all the sacred shrines. The construction of a temple, which gives heaven, by a religious or an irreligious man, yields the fruit reaped by persons slain in a battle undertaken on behalf of the celestials. By making one temple one goes to heaven; by making three one goes to the region of Brahma; by making five one goes to the region of Shambhu; by making eight one goes to the region of Hari. By making sixteen one attains all objects of enjoyment and emancipation. A poor man, by building the smallest temple, reaps the same benefit which a rich man does by building the biggest temple for Vishnu. Having acquired wealth and built a temple with a small portion of it, a person acquires piety and gains favours from Hari. By making a temple with a lakh of rupees, or a thousand, or a hundred, or fifty, a man goes where the Garuda-emblemated deity resides. He who in his childhood even sportively makes a temple of Vasudeva with sand, goes to his region. He who builds temples of Vishnu at sacred places, shrines, and hermitages, reaps three-fold fruits. Those who decorate the temple of Vishnu with scents, flowers, and sacred mud, go to the city of the Lord. Having

erected a temple for Hari, a man, either fallen, about to fall, or half-fallen, reaps twofold fruits. He who brings about the fall of a man is the protector of one fallen. By making a temple for Vishnu one attains to his region. As long as the collection of bricks of Hari's temple exists, the founder of his family lives gloriously in the region of Vishnu. He becomes pious and adorable both in this world and in the next.

He who builds a temple for Krishna, the son of Vasudeva, is born as a man of good deeds and his family is purified. He who builds temples for Vishnu, Rudra, the sun-god, and other deities, acquires fame. What is the use to him of wealth which is hoarded by ignorant men? Useless is the acquisition of riches to one who does not have a temple built with hard earned money for Krishna, or whose wealth is not enjoyed by the Pitris, Brahmanas, celestials, and friends. As death is certain for men, so is his destruction. The man who does not spend his money for his enjoyment or in charities and keeps it hoarded is stupid and is fettered even when alive. What is the merit of him who, obtaining riches either by an accident or manliness, does not spend it for a glorious work or for religion? [What is the merit of him] who, having given away his wealth to the leading twice-born, makes his gift circulated, or speaks of more than he gives away in charities? Therefore, a wise man should have temples built for Vishnu and other deities. Having entered the region of Hari, he acquires reverential faith in Narottama [Vishnu]. He pervades all the three worlds containing the mobile and the immobile, the past, future, and present, gross, subtle, and all inferior objects. From Brahma to a pillar everything has originated from Vishnu. Having obtained entrance into the region of the Great Soul, Vishnu, the omnipresent god of gods, a man is not born again on earth.

By building temples for other gods, a man reaps the same fruit which he does by building one for Vishnu. By building temples for Shiva, Brahma, the sun, Candi, and Lakshmi-, one acquires religious merit. Greater merit is acquired by installing images. In the sacrifice attendant upon the setting up of an idol there is no end of fruits. One made of wood gives greater merit than one made of clay; one made of bricks yields more than a wooden one. One made of stone yields more than one made of bricks. Images made of gold and other metals yield the greatest religious merit. Sins accumulated in seven births are dissipated even at the very commencement. One building a temple goes to heaven; he never goes to hell. Having saved one hundred of his family, he takes them to the region of Vishnu. Yama said to his emissaries: 'Do not bring to hell persons who have built temples and adored idols. Bring those to my view who have not built temples. Range thus rightly and follow my commands.

'Persons can never disregard your commands, except those who are under the protection of the endless father of the universe. You should always pass over those persons who have their minds fixed on the Lord. They are not to live here. You should avoid from a distance those who adore Vishnu. Those who sing the glories of Govinda and those who worship Janardana [Vishnu or Krishna] with daily and occasional rites should be shunned by you from a distance. Those who attain to that station should not even be looked at by you. The persons who adore Him with flowers, incense, raiment, and favourite ornaments should not be marked by you. They go to the region of Krishna. Those who smear the body [of Vishnu] with unguents, who sprinkle his body, should be left in the abode of Krishna. Even a son or any other member born in the family of one who has built a temple of Vishnu should not be touched by you. Hundreds of persons who have built temples of Vishnu with wood or stone should not be looked at by you with an evil mind.'

By building a golden temple one is freed from all sins. He who has built a temple for Vishnu reaps the great fruit which one gains by celebrating sacrifices every day. By building a temple for the Lord he takes his family, a hundred generations past and a hundred to come, to the region of Acyuta. Vishnu is identical with the seven worlds. He who builds a temple for him saves the endless worlds and himself attains immortality. As long as the bricks will last, the maker [of the temple] will live for so many thousands of years in heaven. The maker of the idol attains the region of Vishnu and he who consecrates the installation of the same is immersed in Hari. The person who builds a temple and an image, as well as he who consecrates them, come before him.

This rite of pratishtha [installation] of Hari was related by Yama. For creating temples and images of the deities, Hayashirsha described it to Brahma.

Manmatha Nath Dutt, A Prose English Translation of Agni Puranam, vol. I, (Calcutta, 1903), PP. 142-6;

adapted by M. Eliade

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": ACTS AND REWARDS OF DEVOTION TO THE BUDDHA

('Shikshasamuccaya,' 299-301 ['Avalokana-sutra'])

Verily, for countless aeons he is not reborn blind or lame,

If, after he has decided to win enlightenment, he venerates a stupa of the Teacher.

-Firm in strength and vigour, a hero, firm in courage,

Speedily he wins fortune after he has circumambulated a Stupa.

One who in this last age, this dreadful age, reveres a stupa, greater is his merit,

Than if for hundreds of thousands of Nayutas of Kotis of aeons he has honoured a similar number of Buddhas.

For the Buddha is pre-eminent, unequalled, -most worthy of offerings,

he who has travelled along the noblest pre-eminent way.

One who does worship to this Chief of Men, he has the best and unequalled reward.

Deceased here among men, he goes to the Heavens of the Thirty-Three,

And there he obtains a brilliant palace made of jewels.

If he here gives a pointed tower, he will there be waited upon by Apsaras.

If he places a garland on a Stupa, he will be reborn among the Thirty-three.

And there he gets a celestial lotus-pond, full of excellent water,

With a floor of golden sand, bestrewn with vaidurya and crystal.

And when he has enjoyed that celestial delight, and completed his lifespan there,

The wise man, deceased from the Deva-world, becomes a man of wealth.

In hundreds of thousands of Nayutas of Kotis of births he will everywhere

Be honored after he has placed a garland on a shrine.

When he has given but a strip of cloth to the Saviour of the world, to the Protector,

All his aims will prosper, both among Gods and among men.

He keeps out of the inferior and unlucky modes of life, and is -not reborn in them.

When he has made a bower of garlands over the relics of the Saviour of the world,

He becomes a powerful king with a loyal retinue.

He is dear and cherished, honoured and praised,

By Gods and Nagas, and the wise -men in this world.

Wherever that hero is born, glorious with his merit's glory,

There his family is honoured, his country and his town.

Listen to me telling you of his advantages if he takes a speck of incense finer than a mustard seed '

And burns it at the shrines of the Lord: Serene in heart he forsakes all obstructions and all taints;

In whichever region he is, there he is full of merit, altogether full of health, firm in his intelligence, and alert,

He averts sorrow, and he goes his way dear and pleasant to many people.

if he should gain a kingdom, he honours the supreme Jina, a wise universal monarch of great might,

Golden his colour, adorned with marks, his body emits a pleasant odour in all worlds.

At birth already he receives the best of clothes, silken garments,

heavenly, superb, well made.

He is blessed with a beautiful body when he has clothed the Saviour's shrines with robes.

it is because he has done worship with robes at the shrines of the unequalled Saviours,

That here in this world his body becomes unequalled, and armoured with the thirty-two marks.

Translation by Edward Conze, in Conze, et al., Buddhist Texts through the Ages (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer (Publishers) Ltd., 1954)

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": MUHAMMAD PROCLAIMS THE PRESCRIPTIONS OF ISLAM

('Qur'an,' II, 166-75, 180-2, 186-93)

O believers, eat of the good things wherewith

We have provided you, and give thanks

to God, if it be Him that you serve.

These things only has He forbidden you;

carrion, blood, the flesh of swine,

what has been hallowed to other than God.

Yet whoso is constrained, not desiring,

nor transgressing, no sin shall be on him;

God is All-forgiving, All-compassionate.

Those who conceal what of the Book God has sent down
on them, and sell it for a little price-they shall eat naught
but the Fire in their bellies; God shall not
speak to them on the Day of Resurrection
neither purify them; there awaits them
a painful chastisement.

Those are they that have bought error at
the price of guidance, and chastisement at
the price of pardon; how patiently they
shall endure the Fire!

That, because God has sent down the Book
with the Truth, and those that are
at variance regarding the Book
are in wide schism.

It is not piety, that you turn your faces
to the East and to the West.

True piety is this:

to believe in God, and the Last Day,
the angels, the Book, and the Prophets,
to give of one's substance, however cherished,
to kinsmen, and orphans, the needy, the traveller, beggars,
and to ransom the slave,

to perform the prayer, to pay the alms,

And they who fulfil their covenant
when they have engaged in a covenant,
and endure with fortitude
misfortune, hardship and peril,
these are they who are true in their faith,

these are the truly godfearing.
O believers, prescribed for you is
retaliation, touching the slain;
freeman for freeman, slave for slave,
female for female. But if aught is pardoned
a man by his brother, let the pursuing
be honourable, and let the payment be
with kindness. That is a lightening
granted you by your Lord, and a mercy;
and for him who commits aggression
after that-for him there awaits
a painful chastisement.

In retaliation there is life for you,
men possessed of minds; haply you
will be godfearing.

O believers, prescribed for you is
the Fast, even as it was prescribed for
those that were before you-haply
you will be godfearing-
for days numbered; and if any of you
be sick, or if he be on a journey,
then a number of other days; and for those
who are able to fast, a redemption
by feeding a poor man. Yet better
it is for him who volunteers good,
and that you should fast is better for you,
if you but know;
the month of Ramadan, wherein the Qur'an

was sent down to be a guidance
to the people, and as clear signs
of the Guidance and the Salvation.

So let those of you, who are present
at the month, fast it; and if any of you
be sick, or if he be on a journey,
then a number of other days; God desires
ease for you, and desires not hardship
for you; and that you fulfil the number, and
magnify God that He has guided you, and haply
you will be thankful.

Permitted to you, upon the night of
the Fast, is to go in to your wives;
they are a vestment for you, and you are
a vestment for them. God knows that you have been
betraying yourselves, and has turned to you
and pardoned you. So now lie with them,
and seek what God has prescribed for you.

And eat and drink, until the white thread
shows clearly to you from the black thread
at the dawn; then complete the Fast

Unto the night, and do not lie with them
while you cleave to the mosques. Those are
God's bounds; keep well within them. So God
makes clear His signs to men; haply they
will be godfearing.

And fight in the way of God with those
who fight with you, but aggress not: God loves

not the aggressors.

And slay them wherever you come upon them,
and expel them from where they expelled you;
persecution is more grievous than slaying.

But fight them not by the Holy Mosque

until they should fight you there;

then, if they fight you, slay them

such is the recompense of unbelievers

but if they give over, surely God is

All-forgiving, All-compassionate.

Fight them, till there is no persecution

and the religion is God's, then if they

give over, there shall be no enmity

save for evildoers.

The holy month for the holy month;

holy things demand retaliation.

Whoso commits aggression against you,

do you commit aggression against him

like as he has committed against you;

and fear you God, and know that God is

with the godfearing.

And expend in the way of God;

and cast not yourselves by your own hands

into destruction, but be good-doers;

God loves the good-doers.

Fulfil the Pilgrimage and the Visitation

unto God, but if you are prevented,

then such offering as may be feasible.

And shave not your heads, till the offering reaches its place of sacrifice. If any of you is sick, or injured in his head, then redemption by fast, or freewill offering, or ritual sacrifice. When you are secure, then whosoever enjoys the Visitation until the Pilgrimage, let his offering be such as may be feasible; or if he finds none, then a fast of three days in the Pilgrimage, and of seven when you return, that is ten completely; that is for him whose family are not present at the Holy Mosque. And fear God, and know that God is terrible in retribution.

Translation by A. J. Arberry

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": 'THOSE WHO REPENT THEREAFTER AND MAKE AMENDS. . . .'

('Qur'an,' 11 1, 78-84)

Say: 'We believe in God, and that which has been sent down on us, and sent down on Abraham and Ishmael, Isaac and Jacob, and the Tribes, and in that which was given to Moses and Jesus, and the Prophets, of their Lord; we make no division between any of them, and to Him we surrender.'

Whoso desires another religion than Islam, it shall not be accepted of him; in the next world he shall be among the losers.

How shall God guide a people who have disbelieved
After they believed, and bore witness that the
Messenger is true, and the clear signs came to them?
God guides not the people of the evildoers
Those- their recompense is that there shall rest
on them the curse of God and of the angels
and of men, altogether, therein dwelling forever,
the chastisement shall -not be lightened
for them; no respite shall be given them.
But those who repent thereafter, and make amends-
God is All-forgiving, All-compassionate.
Translation by A. J. Arberry

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": PILGRIMAGE IN THE QUR'AN

('Qur'an,' XXII, 27-38)

And [make mention of] when We prepared as a habitation for Abraham the site of the House' [saying to him] : Do not associate anything with Me, but make pure My House 1 for those who circumambulate, those who stand, those who bow and those who make prostration. And announce among the people the pilgrimage (haji). Let them come to thee on foot, on every kind of worn-out beast, coming in from every deep ravine, to witness things beneficial to them, and on days that have been specified to make mention of Allah's name over such beasts of the flocks as He has given them for provision. So eat ye of them and feed the misfortunate, the poor. Then let them finish with their uncleanness,² let them fulfill their vows, and let them circumambulate the ancient House. So! and if anyone makes much of [showing respect to] the things Allah has forbidden, that will be good for him with his Lord. Allowable for you are the cattle save what is recited to you,³ so avoid the pollution of idols, and avoid any false speaking, being Hanifs to Allah, not such as associate [others] with Him. Should anyone associate [any other] with Allah it is like something that has fallen from heaven which the birds snatched away or the wind blew away to some distant place. So! and if anyone makes much of [showing respect to] Allah's rites,⁴ that is [a sign] of purity of heart. Yours are the benefits from them (i.e. the cattle) until a set term, then their place is at the ancient house. For each community We have appointed some sacrificial rites (mansak) that they should mention the name of Allah over some of the beasts of the flocks which He has given them as provision. Your God is One God, so to Him surrender ye yourselves, and do thou [O Muhammad] give good tidings to those who humble themselves, whose hearts are moved with awe when Allah is mentioned, also to those who steadfastly endure what befalls them, and to those who observe prayer and from what We have given them as provision give freely (in charity). The sacrificial victims (budh) We have appointed for you as among Allah's rites in which there is good for you, so make mention over them of the name of Allah as they stand in line, and when they have fallen on their sides eat of them and feed both the contented and the clamorous. Thus have We subjected them (i.e., the cattle) to you. Mayhap ye will give thanks. Their flesh reaches not to Allah, nor does their blood, but piety on your part will reach Him.

Notes

1 i.e., the Ka'ba at Mecca, where it is the eternal shrine. Bait, 'house,' is the Arabic equivalent of the Hebrew beth, which we find in Beth-el, Beth-dagon, Beth-peor, Beth-shemesh, and such names in the Old Testament.

2. Tafath here means the state of neglect into which they have been forced to let their persons get because of the ritual restrictions of the sacral state as pilgrims. The rites being now over, they are to cut their nails, trim their beards, etc., in a kind of desacralization which allows them to resume normal life again.

3 i.e., the Qur'anic passages concerning foods forbidden to a Muslim, such as swine, the flesh of an animal that has died of itself, or of any animal offered in sacrifice to other than Allah. Such forbidden foods are listed in XVI, 115/ 116; II, 173/168; V, 1-3/4.

4 Sha'a'ir here probably means the rites and ceremonies at the holy sites other than the Ka'ba.

Translation and notes by Arthur Jeffery, *Islam: Muhammad and His Religion* (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1958) pp. 200-1

PRAYERS AND HYMNS

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": BUSHMAN DEMANDS THE HELP OF HIS GOD

SOUTH AFRICA

Gauwa must help us that we kill an animal.

Gauwa, help us. We are dying of hunger.

Gauwa does not give us help.

He is cheating. He is bluffing.

Gauwa will bring something for us to kill next day

After he himself hunts and has eaten meat,

When he is full and is feeling well.

Lorna Marshall, 'I Kung Bushman Religious Beliefs' *Africa*, XXXII (1962), p. 247

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": PRAYER TO IMANA

THE GREAT CREATOR OF THE RUANDA-URUNDI

Imana is the great Creator, the First Cause of all good. He does not enter into daily life at all, in a practical sense, and yet he is continually in the people's thoughts; all his acts are of his own volition, and he cannot be influenced by man. He is honoured but not feared, as he has no power to harm; there is no cult as there is for Ryangombe. . .

There is little or no prayer made to Imana. All the worship goes to Ryangombe. There is, however, a cry for help, known as Kwambaza. A person in great distress can cry out to Imana for help wherever he is. As the cry is much the same in both countries [i.e., Ruanda and Urundi], I will give it without the vernacular, as the changes in language are too great to make either serve for both.

'O Imana of Urundi (Ruanda), if Only you would help me! O Imana of pity, Imana of my father's house (or country), if only you would help me! O Imana of the country of the Hutu and the Tutsi, if only you would help me just this once! O Imana, if only you would give me a rugo and children! I prostrate myself before you, Imana of Urundi (Ruanda). I cry to you: give me offspring, give me as you give to others ! Imana, what shall I do, where shall I go? I am in distress, where is there room for me? O Merciful, O Imana of mercy, help this once !'

Rosemary Guilleband, 'The Idea of God in Ruanda- Urundi,' in Edwin W. Smith (ed.), African Ideas of God: A Symposium (London, 1950), pp. 186, 192-3

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": A HYMN TO MWARI

THE GOD OF MASHONA- SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Great Spirit!

Piler up of rocks into towering mountains!

When thou stampest on the stone,

The dust rises and fills the land.

Hardness of the precipice;

Waters of the pool that turn

Into misty rain when stirred.

Vessel overflowing with oil!

Father of Runji,

Who seweth the heavens like cloth:

Let him knit together that which is below.

Caller forth of the branching trees:

Thou bringest forth the shoots

That they stand erect.

Thou has filed the land with mankind,

The dust rises on high, oh Lord!

Wonderful One, thou livest

In the midst of the sheltering rocks,

Thou givest of rain to mankind:

We pray to thee,

Hear us, Lord!

Show mercy when we beseech thee, Lord.

Thou art on high with the spirits of the great.

Thou raisest the grass-covered hills

Above the earth, and createst the rivers,

Gracious One.

Translation by F. W. T. Posselt, as quoted by Edwin W. Smith, 'The Idea of God among South African Tribes,' in Smith (ed.), *African Ideas of God: A Symposium* (London, 1950), p. 127

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": AN ARAPAHO PRAYER

The Arapaho are an Algonquian tribe now settled in Oklahoma. With this prayer pronounced by the priest, a woman is consecrated. She impersonates the Mother of creation.

My Father, have pity upon us! Remember that we are your children since the time you created the heavens and the earth, with a man and woman!

Our Grandfather, the Central-Moving Body, who gives light, watch us in the painting of the belt which our Father directed, as it is before us! Now speak to your servant who is to wear the belt! Look at her with good gifts, and may she do this for the benefit of the new people (children) so that this tribe shall have strength and power in the future! . . .

We cannot cease praying to you, my Father, Man-Above, for we desire to live on this earth, which we are now about to paint on this occasion. We have given this belt to the sweet smoke for our purity hereafter. May our thought reach to the sky where there is holiness. Give us good water and an abundance of food!

G. A. Dorsey, *The Arapaho Sun Dance*, Field Columbian Museum Anthropology Series, IV (1903), p. 74

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": 'GIVE THANKS TO MOTHER EARTH'

PAWNEE TRIBE- OKLAHOMA

Behold! Our Mother Earth is lying here.

Behold! She giveth of her fruitfulness.

Truly, her power gives she us.

Give thanks to Mother Earth who lieth here.

Behold on Mother Earth the growing fields!

Behold the promise of her fruitfulness!

Truly, her power gives she us.

Give thanks to Mother Earth who lieth here.

Behold on Mother Earth the spreading trees!

Behold the promise of her fruitfulness!

Truly, her power gives she us.

Give thanks to Mother Earth who lieth here.

We see on Mother Earth the running streams,

We see the promise of her fruitfulness.

Truly, her power gives she us.

Our thanks to Mother Earth who lieth here!

Alice C. Fletcher, *The Hako, a Pawnee Ceremony*, in *Twenty-second Annual Report, part 2, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, D.C., 1904), P. 334

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": A TAHITIAN FAMILY-PRAYER

This ancient prayer was repeated each night, in former times.

Save me! Save me! it is the night of the gods. Watch close to me, my God (atua)! Close to me, oh, my Lord (fatu)! Protect me from enchantments, sudden death, evil conduct, from slandering or being slandered, from intrigue, and from quarrels concerning the limits of land. Let peace reign about us, oh, my God I Protect me from the furious warrior, who spreads terror, whose hair bristles! May I and my spirit live and rest in peace this night, oh my God.

E. S. Craighill Handy, *Polynesian Religion*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 34 (Honolulu, 1927), p. 201; translated from J. A. Moerenhout, *Voyages aux iles du Grand Ocean, II* (Paris, 183.7), P. 83

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": A HAWAIIAN LAMENT

What is my great offence, O god!

I have eaten standing perhaps, or

Without giving thanks,

Or these my people have eaten

Wrongfully.

Yes, that is the offence, O Kane-of-the-water-of-life.

O spare; O let me live, thy devotee,

Look not with indifference upon me.

I call upon thee, O answer thou me,

O thou god of my body who art in heaven.

O Kane, let the lightning flash, let the thunder roar,

Let the earth shake.

I am saved; my god has looked upon me,

I am being washed. I have escaped the danger.

E. S. Craighill Handy, Polynesian Religion, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 34 (Honolulu, 1927), P. 142; quoting Abraham Fornander.

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": A SUMERO-AKADIAN PRAYER

TO EVERY GOD

This prayer is, in effect, a general prayer, asking any god for pardon for any transgression. The writer, in his suffering, admits that he may have broken some divine rule. But he does not know either what he has done or what god he has offended. Furthermore, he claims that the whole human race is ignorant of the divine will and thus is perpetually committing sin. The gods, therefore, should have mercy and remove his transgressions.

May the fury of my lord's heart be quieted toward me.

May the god who is not known be quieted toward me;

May the goddess who is not known be quieted toward me.

May the god whom I know or do not know be quieted toward me;

May the goddess whom I know or do not know be quieted toward me,

May the heart of my god be quieted toward me;

May the heart of my goddess be quieted toward me.

May my god and goddess be quieted toward me.

May the god who has become angry with me be quieted toward me,

May the goddess who has become angry with me be quieted toward me.

(lines 11-18 cannot be restored with certainty)

in ignorance I have eaten that forbidden by my god;

in ignorance I have set foot on that prohibited by my goddess.

O Lord, my transgressions are many; great are my sins.

O my god, (my) transgressions are many; great are (my) sins.

my goddess, (my) transgressions are many; great are (my) sins.

O god whom I know or do not know, (my) transgressions are many;

great are (my) sins,

O goddess whom I know or do not know, (my) transgressions are many;
great are (my) sins;

The transgression which I have committed, indeed I do not know;

The sin which I have done, indeed I do not know.

The forbidden thing which I have eaten, indeed I do not know;

The prohibited (place) on which I have set foot, indeed I do not know;

The lord in the anger of his heart looked at me;

The god in the rage of his heart confronted me;

When the goddess was angry with me, she made me become ill.

The god whom I know or do not know has oppressed me;

The goddess whom I know or do not know has placed suffering upon me.

Although I am constantly looking for help, no one takes me by the
hand;

When I weep they do not come to my side.

I utter laments, but no one hears me;

I am troubled; I am overwhelmed, I can not see.

O my god, merciful one, I address to thee the prayer, 'Ever incline to
me';

I kiss the feet of my goddess, I crawl before thee.

(lines 41-9 are mostly broken and cannot be restored with certainty)

How long, O my goddess, whom I know or do not know, eye thy hostile
heart will be quieted?

Man is dumb; he knows nothing;

Mankind, everyone that exists-what does he know?

Whether he is committing sin or doing good, he does not even know.

O my lord, do not cast thy servant down;

He is plunged into the waters of a swamp, take him by the hand.

The sin which I have done, turn into goodness;

The transgression which I have committed, let the wind carry away;

My many misdeeds strip off like a garment.

O my god, (my) transgressions are seven times seven; remove my transgressions,

O my goddess, (my)transgressions are seven times seven; remove my transgressions;

O god whom I know or do not know, (my) transgressions are seven times seven; remove my transgressions;

O goddess whom I know or do not know, (my) transgressions are seven times seven; remove my transgressions.

Remove my transgressions (and) I will sing thy praise.

May thy heart, like the heart of a real mother, be quieted toward me;

Like a real mother (and) a real father may it be quieted toward me.

Translation by Ferris J. Stephens, in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Princeton, 1950), PP. 391-2; reprinted in Isaac Mendelsohn (ed.), *Religions of the Ancient Near East*, Library of Religion paperback series (New York, 1955 X PP. 175-.7)

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE GREAT HYMN TO SHAMASH

Among the longest and most beautiful of the hymns that have come down to us in cuneiform, this ranks as one of the best products of Mesopotamian religious writing.

21. You climb to the mountains surveying the earth,

22. You suspend from the heavens the circle of the lands.

23. You care for all the peoples of the lands,

24. And everything that Ea, king of the counsellors, had created is entrusted to you.

25. Whatever has breath you shepherd without exception,

26. You are their keeper in upper and lower regions.

27. Regularly and without cease you traverse the heavens,

28. Every day you pass over the broad earth. . . .

33. Shepherd of that beneath, keeper of that above,

34. You, Shamash, direct, you are the light of everything.
35. You never fail to cross the wide expanse of sea,
36. The depth of which the Igigi know not.
37. Shamash, your glare reaches down to the abyss
38. So that monsters of the deep behold your light. . . .
45. Among all the Igigi there is none who toils but you,
46. None who is supreme like you in the whole pantheon of gods.
47. At your rising the gods of the land assemble,
48. Your fierce glare covers the land.
49. Of all the lands of varied speech,
- 50.. You know their plans, you scan their way.
- 51.. The whole of mankind bows to you,
52. Shamash, the universe longs for your light. . . .
88. A man who covets his neighbour's wife
89. Will [. . .] before his appointed day.
- 90.. A -nasty snare is prepared for him. [. . .]
91. Your weapon will strike at him, and there will be none to save
him.
92. [His] father will not stand for his defense,
93. And at the judge's command his brothers will not plead.
94. He will be caught in a copper trap that he did not foresee.
95. You destroy the horns of a scheming villain,
96. A zealous [. . .] his foundations are undermined.
97. You give the unscrupulous judge experience of fetters,
98. Him who accepts a present and yet lets justice miscarry you make
bear his punishment.
99. As for him who declines a present but nevertheless takes the part
of the weak,

- 100.. It is pleasing to Shamash, and he will prolong his life. . . .
124. The progeny of evil-doers will [fail.]
125. Those whose mouth says 'No'-their case is before you.
126. In a moment you discern what they say;
127. You hear and examine them; you determine the lawsuit of the wronged.
128. Every single person is entrusted to your hands;
129. You manage their omens; that which is perplexing you make plain.
130. You observe, Shamash, prayer, supplication, and benediction,
131. Obeisance, kneeling, ritual murmurs, and prostration.
132. The feeble man calls you from the hollow of his mouth,
133. The humble, the weak, the afflicted, the poor,
134. She whose son is captive constantly and unceasingly confronts you.
135. He whose family is remote, whose city is distant,
136. The shepherd [amid) the terror of the steppe confronts you,
137. The herdsman in warfare, the keeper of sheep among enemies.
138. Shamash, there confronts you the caravan, those journeying in fear,
139. The travelling merchant, the agent who is carrying capital.
140. Shamash, there confronts you the fisherman with his net,
141. The hunter, the bowman who drives the game,
142. With his bird net the fowler confronts You.
143. The prowling thief, the enemy of Shamash,
144. The marauder along the tracks of the steppe confronts you.
145. The roving dead, the vagrant soul,
146. They confront you, Shamash, and you hear all.
147. You do not obstruct those that confront you. . . .

148. For my sake, Shamash, do not curse them!
149. You grant revelations, Shamash, to the families of men,
150. Your harsh face and fierce light you give to them. . . .
154. The heavens are not enough as the vessel into which you gaze,
155. The sum of the lands is inadequate as a seer's bowl.....
159. You deliver people surrounded by mighty waves,
160. In return you receive their pure, clear libations. . . .
165. They in their reverence laud the mention of you,
166. And worship your majesty for ever. . . .
174. Which are the mountains not clothed with your beams?
175. Which are the regions not warmed by the brightness of your light?
176. Brightener of gloom, illuminator of darkness,
177. Dispeller of darkness, illuminator of the broad earth.

Translation by W. G. Lambert, in his *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Oxford, 1960), I, 127 ff.

'LOOSE ME FROM SIN'

A HYMN TO VARUNA

('Rig Veda,' II, 28)

1. This laud of the self-radiant wise Aditya 1 shall be supreme o'er
all that is in greatness.

I beg renown of Varuna the mighty, the god exceeding kind to
him who worships.

2. Having extolled thee, Varuna, with thoughtful care may we have
high fortune in thy service,

Singing thy praises like the fires at coming, day after day,
of mornings rich in cattle.

3. May we be in thy keeping, O thou leader, wide-ruling Varuna,
lord of many heroes.

O sons of Aditi,² for ever faithful, pardon us, gods, admit us to

your friendship.

4. He made them flow, the Aditya, the sustainer. the rivers run by
Varuna's commandments 3

These feel no weariness, nor cease from flowing: swift have they
flown like birds in air around us.

5. Loose me from sin as from a bond that binds me 4 may we swell,
Varuna, thy spring of Order.5

Let not my thread, while I weave song, be severed, nor my work's
sum before the time be shattered.

6. Far from me, Varuna, remove all danger. accept me graciously,
thou holy sovereign.

Cast off, like cords that hold a calf, my troubles: I am not even
my eyelid's lord without thee.

7. Strike us not, Varuna, with those dread weapons which, Asura,
at thy bidding wound the sinner.

Let us not pass away from light to exile. Scatter that we may
live, the men who hate us.

8. O mighty Varuna, now and hereafter, even as of old, will we
speak forth our worship.

For in thyself, infallible god, thy statutes ne'er to be moved are
fixed as on a mountain.

9. Wipe out what debts I have myself contracted: let me not profit,
king, by gain of others.

Full many a morn remains to dawn upon us: in these, O Varuna,
while we live direct us.

10. O king, whoever, be he friend or kinsman hath threatened me
affrighted in my slumber-

If any wolf or robber fain would harm us, therefrom, O Varuna,

give thou us protection.

11. May I not live, O Varuna, to witness my wealthy, liberal, dear friend's destitution.

King, may I never lack well-ordered riches. Loud may we speak, with heroes, in assembly.

Notes

1 The Adityas, sovereign beings, are led by the god Varuna, who is universal ruler (samraj), guardian Of the cosmic law (rita), and asura par excellence. As maintainer of truth and the moral order Varuna must also be the punisher of sin, and with 'this laud supreme' the poet seeks not only to gain the material favours of Varuna, but also to escape his dreadful recompense for ill.

2 The mother of the Adityas and a goddess also frequently invoked for release from sin.

3 Varuna as a celestial being merely orders the waters to flow; Indra, on the other hand (Rig Veda, II, 12, 3; see no.) must break resisting forces to release the cosmic waters.

4 just as important as the fact that Varuna is the god who 'binds' sinners is the knowledge that he forgives and releases from the fetters (pasha) those who are penitent.

5 Rita.

Translation by Ralph T. H. Griffith, in his The Hymns of the Rig Veda, I (Benares, 1889), pp. 379-80

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": 'HOW MAY VARUNA AND I BE UNITED?'

('Rig Veda,' VII, 86)

1. The tribes of men have wisdom through his greatness who stayed even spacious heaven and earth asunder,1

Who urged the high and mighty sky to motion, and stars of old, and spread the earth before him.

2. With my own heart I commune on the question how Varuna and I may be united.

What gift of mine will he accept unangered? When may I calmly look and find him gracious?

3. Fain to know this my sin I question others: I seek the wise, O Varuna, and ask them.

This one same answer even the sages gave me, surely this Varuna
is angry with thee.²

4. What, Varuna, hath been my chief transgression, that thou wouldst
slay the friend who sings thy praises?

Tell me, unconquerable Lord, and quickly sinless will I approach
thee with my homage.

5. Loose us from sins committed by our fathers, from those wherein
we have ourselves offended.

O king, loose, like a thief who feeds the cattle,³ as from the cord a
calf, set free Vasishtha .⁴

6. Not our own will betrayed its, but seduction, thoughtlessness,
Varuna! wine, dice, or anger.

The old is near to lead astray the younger. even slumber leadeth
men to evil-doing.

7. Slavelike may I do service to the bounteous, serve, free from sin,
the god inclined to anger.

This gentle lord gives wisdom to the simple: the wiser god leads
on the wise to riches.

8. O lord, O Varuna, may this laudation come close to thee and lie
within thy spirit.

May it be well with us in rest and labour. Preserve us evermore,
ye gods, with Blessings.

Notes

1 Heaven and earth, originally united, are 'propped apart' and established by Varuna, the upholder of the cosmic order (rita).

2 Varuna 'binds' with fetters those who transgress; ritually or morally, his universal law. The poet, perhaps suffering from illness, seeks to confess the sin for which he is being punished, so that Varuna may forgive and 'release.' His guilt is an uneasy burden while his sin goes unnamed, and the praiser of Varuna seeks only to restore a right relationship with the god.

3 Or, 'like a cattle-stealing thief' (A. A. Macdonell, A Vedic Reader for Students [London: Oxford

University, 19171, P. 138.)

4 A well-known 'seer' (rishi).

Translation by Ralph T. H. Griffith, in his *The Hymns of the Rigveda*, III (Benares, 1891), pp. 106-7

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": 'MAKE ME IMMORTAL'

A HYMN TO SOMA PAVAMANA

('Rig Veda,' IX, 113, 7-11)

7. O Pavamana, place me in that deathless, undecaying world Wherein the light of heaven is set, and everlasting lustre shines.

Flow, Indu, flow for Indra's sake.

8. Make me immortal in that realm where dwells the king, the son of Vivasvan,

Where is the secret shrine of heaven, where are those waters, young and fresh.

Flow, Indu, flow for Indra's sake.

9. Make me immortal in that realm where they move even as they

list,

In the third sphere of inmost heaven, where lucid worlds are full of light.

Flow, Indu, flow for Indra's sake.

10. Make me immortal in that realm of eager wish and strong desire,

The region of the golden Sun, where food and full delight are found.

Flow, Indu, flow for Indra's sake.

11. Make me immortal in that realm where happiness and transports,

where

joys and felicities combine, and longing wishes are fulfilled.

Flow, Indu, flow for Indra's sake.

Notes

1 'flowing dear,' an epithet of soma, the elixir of life, derived from the root *pit*, 'to make clean, purify.' The juice is poured from the pressing through a woolen filter and into jars or vats.

2 The 'bright drop,' soma, intoxicates the warrior Indra for his cosmic struggle with the demon Vritra.

3 Yama, ruler of departed spirits, son of Vivasvan.

4 In the highest heaven, which Vishnu's third stride encompassed, dwell Yama and the Fathers. Soma itself is found in the three worlds, just as in the ritual soma, pressed thrice daily, is held in three tubs.

5The translator has followed Sayana here, the word is svadha and is obscure

Translation by Ralph T. H. Griffith, in his The Hymns of the Rigveda, XV (Benares, 1892), pp. 105-106

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": HYMNS TO AGNI

('Rig Veda,' I, 11, III, VII, selections)

1. I praise Agni, domestic priest, divine minister of sacrifice, Invoker, greatest bestower of wealth.1

2. Worthy is Agni to be praised by living as by ancient seers:
He shall bring hitherward the gods. 2

7. To thee, dispeller of the night, O Agni, day by day with prayer, Bringing thee reverence, we come;

8. Ruler of sacrifices, guard of Law 3 eternal, radiant one,
Increasing in thine own abode.

9. Be to us easy of approach, even as a father to his son:
Agni, be with us for our weal.

1.. Thou, Agni, shining in thy glory through the days, art brought
to life from out the waters, from the stone;
From out the forest trees and herbs that grow on ground, thou,
sovereign lord of men, art generated pure .4

2. Thine is the Herald's task and Cleanser's duly timed:
Leader art thou, and Kindler for the pious man.
Thou art Director, thou the ministering priest: thou
art the Brahman, lord and master in our home 5

9. Agni, men seek thee as a father with their prayers, win thee,
bright-formed, to brotherhood with holy act.
Thou art a son to him who duly worships thee, and as a trusty
friend thou guardest from attack.

14. By thee, O Agni, all the immortal guileless gods eat with thy
mouth the oblation that is offered them.
By thee do mortal men give sweetness to their drink.
Pure art thou born, the embryo 6 of the plants of earth. (II,I,1-2, 9, 14-)

2. That light Of thine in heaven and earth,
O Agni, in plants,
O holy one, and in the waters,
Wherewith thou hast spread wide
the air's mid-region
-bright that splendour, wavy, man-beholding. (III, 22, 2.)

4. I have begotten this new hymn for Agni, falcon of the Sky:7
will he not give us of his wealth?

8. Shine forth at night and morn: through thee
with fires are we provided well.
Thou, rich in heroes, art our friend.

10. Bright, purifier, meet for praise,
immortal with refulgent glow,
Agni drives Rakshasas away.

13. Agni, preserve us from distress:
consume our enemies, O God,
Eternal, with thy hottest flames.

14. And, irresistible, be thou a mighty iron fort to us,
with hundred walls for man's defence.

15. Do thou preserve us, eve and morn, from sorrow,
from the wicked man,
Infallible! by day and night. (VII, 15, 4, 8, 10, 13-15-)

Notes

1 Agni, addressed here in the first of 1028 hymns, is second only to Indra in Rig Vedic popularity. As 'Fire' cosmic or ritual-his production, or rather his perpetual regeneration, becomes the subject of some 200 hymns. Typically, in this first brief stanza he is praised as domestic priest (purohita), performer (ritvij) of the sacrifice (yajna), the invoking and reciting priest (hotar), and bestower of wealth upon his worshippers.

2 Agni not only conveys the ablations to the gods, but brings the gods to the sacrifice as well.

3 Rita.

4 Agni is at home in the three worlds. In fact, his characteristics constantly fall into three-fold patterns. Here he is acknowledged as the vital heat in the waters, earth and plants of the terrestrial world. Similarly, he is child of the celestial waters, and as such is the separate deity Apam Napat; he is generated as a spark in the air from between two stones, as Indra generates him in lightning from the clouds' (cf. Rig Veda II, 12, 3); and thirdly he is on earth the fire kindled in wood.

5 With more detail than in I, 1,1, Agni's priestly roles are enumerated, illustrating not only the complexity of early Vedic ritual, but also the manner in which Agni is seen to pervade the entire sacrificial action. He is hotar, potar (the 'Purifier'), neshtar (who leads' forward the wife of the sacrificer), agnidh (the assistant to the adhvaryu who lights the fire by friction), prashastar (the first assistant to the hotar), adhvaryu (who performs the manual aspects of sacrifice such as constructing the altar and preparing the soma), brahman (who in the later ritual is overseer of the sacrifice, but who is here perhaps and assistant), and, finally, Agni is the householder himself.

6 Garbha. Agni is the vital heat, the germ of life.

7 As mediator between the realms of men and of the gods, the characteristics of flight are often Agni's. As divine eagle or falcon (shyena) he is depicted in the Agnicayana (Yajur Veda), the ritual construction of a 10,800 brick fire-altar in the form of a flying bird. The iron fort with a hundred walls in stanza 14 below perhaps recalls the eagle's soma-theft in Rig Veda, IV, 26 and 27.

8 Terrestrial demons who attack and eat humans.

Translation by Ralph T. H. Griffith, in his *The Hymns of the Rigveda*, I-III (Benares, 1889- 91); adapted by M. Eliade

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE PRAYER OF SCIPIO AFRICANUS

(Livy, 'History of Rome,'XXIX, 27, 1-4)

As the great expedition was about to sail from Sicily to attack Carthage in 204 B.C., Scipio Africanus, on his flagship, offered the following prayer, for a successful voyage.

'Ye gods and goddesses, who inhabit the seas and the lands, I supplicate and beseech you that whatever has been done under my command, or is being done, or will later be done, may turn out to my advantage and to the advantage of the people and the commons of Rome, the allies, and the Latins who by land or sea or on rivers follow me, [accepting] the leadership, the authority, and the auspices of the Roman people; that you will support them and aid them with your help; that you will grant that, preserved in safety and victorious over the enemy, arrayed in booty and laden with spoils, you will bring them back with me in triumph to our homes; that you will grant us the power to take revenge upon our enemies and foes; and that you will grant to me and the Roman people the power to enforce upon the Carthaginians what they have planned to do against our city, as an example of [divine] punishment.'

Translation by Frederick C. Grant, in his Ancient Roman Religion, Library of Religion paperback series (New York, 1957), P. 159

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": CLEANTHE'S HYMN TO ZEUS

(Stobaeus, 'Eclogae,'I, 1, 12)

Cleanthes of Assos (331-233 B.C.) was the disciple and successor of Zeno as head of the Stoic school. He was the real founder of Stoic theology.

Most glorious of immortals, Zeus
The many named, almighty evermore,
Nature's great Sovereign, ruling all by law
Hail to thee! On thee 'tis meet and right

That mortals everywhere should call.
From thee was our begetting; ours alone
Of all that live and move upon the earth
The lot to bear God's likeness.
Thee will I ever chant, thy power praise!

For thee this whole vast cosmos, wheeling round
The earth, obeys, and where thou leadest
It follows, ruled willingly by thee.
In thy unconquerable hands thou holdest fast,
Ready prepared, that two-timed flaming blast,
The ever-living thunderbolt:
Nature's own stroke brings all things to their end.
By it thou guidest aright the sense instinct
Which spreads through all things, mingled even
With stars in heaven, the great and small-
Thou who art King supreme for evermore!

Naught upon earth is wrought in thy despite, O God.
Nor in the ethereal sphere aloft which ever winds
About its pole, nor in the sea-save only what
The wicked work, in their strange madness,

Yet even so, thou knowest to make the crooked straight.
Prune all excess, give order to the orderless,
For unto thee the unloved still is lovely-
And thus in one all things are harmonized,
The evil with the good, that so one Word
Should be in all things everlastingly.

One Word-which evermore the wicked flee!
Ill-fated, hungering to possess the good
They have no vision of God's universal law,
Nor will they hear, though if obedient in mind
They might obtain a noble life, true wealth.
Instead they rush unthinking after ill:
Some with a shameless zeal for fame,
Others pursuing gain, disorderly;
Still others folly, or pleasures of the flesh.
[But evils are their lot] and other times
Bring other harvests, all unsought-
For all their great desire, its opposite!

But, Zeus, thou giver of every gift,
Who dwellest within the dark clouds, wielding still
The flashing stroke of lightning, save, we pray,
Thy children from this boundless misery.
Scatter, O Father, the darkness from their souls,
Grant them to find true understanding
On which relying thou justly rulest all-
While we, thus honoured, in turn will honour thee,
Hymning thy works forever, as is meet
For mortals while no greater right
Belongs even to the gods than evermore
Justly to praise the universal law!

Translation by Frederick C. Grant, in his *Hellenistic Religions* (New York, 1953), PP. 152-4

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": MUHAMMAD PRESCRIBES THE DAILY PRAYERS

FOR THE MUSLIM

('Qur'an,'XVII, 80-3)

Perform the prayer

at the sinking of the sun to the darkening of the night

and the recital of dawn;

surely the recital of dawn is witnessed

And as for the night,

keep vigil a part of it, as a work of supererogation for thee;

it may be that thy Lord will

raise thee up to a laudable station.

And say: 'My Lord,
lead me in with a just ingoing, and lead me out with a
just outgoing, grant me
authority from Thee, to help me.'

And say:

'The truth has come, and falsehood has vanished away;
surely falsehood
is ever certain to vanish.'

Translation by A. J. Arberry

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": PRAYERS OF DERVISHES

I have naught but my destitution

To plead for me with Thee.

And in my poverty I put forward that destitution as my plea.

I have no power save to knock at Thy door,

And if I be turned away, at what door shall I knock?

Or on whom shall I call, crying his name,

If Thy generosity is refused to Thy destitute one?

Far be it from Thy generosity to drive the disobedient one to despair!

Generosity is more freehanded than that.

In lowly wretchedness I have come to Thy door,

Knowing that degradation there finds help.

In full abandon I put my trust in Thee,

Stretching out my hands to Thee, a pleading beggar.

[Attributed to 'Abd al-Qadir al-Jilani' as well as 'Abuyad al-Tijani']

PATTERNS OF INITIATION

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": PATTERNS OF INITIATION

AN AUSTRALIAN TRIBAL INITIATION

The terms 'tribal initiation,' 'puberty rites,' and 'initiation into an age group' designate the collective rituals whose function is to effect the transition from childhood or adolescence to adulthood, and which are obligatory for all members of a particular society. The puberty initiation represents above all the revelation of the sacred-and, for the primitive world, the sacred means not only everything that we now understand by religion, but also the whole body of the tribe's mythological and cultural traditions. Through initiation, the candidate passes beyond the natural mode-the mode of the child-and gains access to the cultural mode, that is, he is introduced to spiritual values. (cf.. M.Eliade, Birth and Rebirth [New York: Harper & Row, 1958])

Broadly speaking, the Australian initiation ceremony comprises the following phases: first, the preparation of the 'sacred ground,' where the men will remain in isolation during the festival; second, the separation of the novices from their mothers, and, in general, from all women; third, their segregation in the bush, or in a special isolated camp, where they will be instructed in the religious traditions of the tribe, fourth, certain operations performed on the novices, usually circumcision, the extraction of a tooth, or subincision, but sometimes scarring or pulling out the hair. Throughout the period of the initiation, the novices must behave in a special way, undergo a number of ordeals, and be subjected to various dietary taboos and prohibitions. Each element of this complex initiatory scenario has a religious meaning.

The separation of the novices from their mothers takes place more or less dramatically, in accordance with the customs of different tribes. The least dramatic method is found among the Kurnai, where the initiation ceremony is in any case quite simple. The mothers sit behind the novices, the men come forward in single file between the two groups and so separate them. The instructors raise the novices into the air several times, the novices stretching their arms as far as possible toward the sky. The meaning of this gesture is clear. the neophytes are being consecrated to the Sky God. They are then led into the sacred enclosure where, lying on their backs with their arms crossed on their chests, they are covered with rugs. From then on they see and hear nothing. After a monotonous song, they fall asleep, later, the women withdraw. A Kurnai headman explained to A. W. Howitt-from whom we quote below if a woman were to see these things, or hear what we tell the boys, I would kill her.' When the neophytes wake, they are invested with a 'belt of manhood' and their instruction begins. The central mystery of the Kurnai initiation is called 'Showing the Grandfather.'

'Showing the Grandfather.' This is the cryptic phrase used to describe the central mystery, which in reality means the exhibition to the novices of the Tundun, and the revelation to them of the ancestral beliefs. It is used, for instance, by the Bullawangs to their charges, as in telling them 'This afternoon we will take you, and show your grandfather to you.'

The Kurnai have, two bull-roarers, a larger one called 'Tundun,' or 'the man,' and a smaller one called 'Rukat-Tundun,' the woman, or wife of Tundun. 'The larger one is also called 'Grandfather,' Wehntwin, or Mukbrogan. In this the Kurnai differ from the Murring, who have only one bull-roarer, but they agree with several other Australian tribes. I think, but I cannot be sure, that where two bull-roarers are used, it indicates ceremonies in which the women take a certain part, whereas in tribes where there is only one, as the Murring, the women are totally excluded.

While the novices were thus under tutelage during the day following the sleeping ceremony, and while most of the men were out hunting, the Headman and several others went away to prepare for the great ceremony of the grandfather. The spot chosen was, as I afterwards ascertained, over 2000 paces distant from the camp of the Tutnurring. While sitting there, talking to the Bullawangs, I several times heard the peculiar screech of the 'woman Tundun,' when the men who were making them tried one to see if it was satisfactory. When they were ready, about an hour before sunset, word was brought to the Bullawangs, who took their charges to the appointed place under the pretext 'Let us go for a walk. You must be tired with sitting there all day.'

On reaching the place, which was at the edge of an extensive and dense scrub of Ti-tree (Melaleuca), with a little open plain of some fifty acres in front, the novices were halted, and made to kneel down in a row, with their blankets drawn closely over their heads, so as to prevent their seeing anything. One of the Bullawangs knelt before each, and another stood behind. The principal Headman stood near, holding his

throwing-stick in his hand. This being arranged satisfactorily, the ceremony commenced. The second Headman emerged from the scrub at about a hundred and fifty yards' distance, holding his bullroarer, a 'man Tundun,' in his hand, which he commenced to whirl round, making a dull-sounding roar. The man immediately following him had a 'woman Tundun'; and in this way sixteen men came slowly forward, each one, as he came into the open, whirling his instrument and adding to the roaring and screeching din. By the time the last man had marched out into the dear ground, the leader had gained a point on the opposite side of the kneeling Tutnurrings, and the performers then halted in a semicircle, and produced a finale of discordant sounds. When this ceased, the Headman ordered the novices to stand up, and raise their faces towards the sky. Then, pointing upwards with his spear-thrower, the blanket was pulled off the head of each boy by his Bullawang, and the eyes of all the novices being directed to the uplifted throwing-stick, the Headman said, 'Look there! Look there ! Look there !' successively pointing first to the sky, then lower, and finally to the Tundun men. Two old men now immediately ran from one novice to the other, saying in an earnest manner, 'You must never tell this. You must not tell your mother, nor your sister, nor any one who is not jeraeil.' In the olden times spears were held pointed at the novices at this juncture, to emphasize the threats that were made, should they reveal the mysteries unlawfully. The old Headman then, in an impressive manner, revealed to the novices the ancestral beliefs, which I condense as follows: Long ago there was a great Being, called Mungan-ngaua, who lived on the earth, and who taught the Kurnai of that time to make implements, nets, canoes, weapons-in fact, all the arts they know. He also gave them the personal names they bear, such as Tulaba. Mungan-ngaua had a son named Tundun, who was married, and who is the direct Jeraeil ancestor-(of the Wehntwin, or father's father)-of the Kurnai. Mungan-ngaua instituted the jeraeil, which was conducted by Tundun, who made the instruments which bear the names of himself and of his wife.

Some tribal traitor once impiously revealed the secrets of the Jeraeil to women, and thereby brought down the anger of Mungan upon the Kurnai. He sent fire (the Aurora Australis), which filled the whole space between earth and sky. Men went mad with fear, and speared One another, fathers killing their children, husbands their wives, and brothers each other. Then the sea rushed over the land, and nearly all mankind were drowned. Those who survived became the ancestors of the Kurnai. Some of them turned into animals, birds, reptiles, fishes; and Tundun and his wife became porpoises. Mungan left the earth, and ascended to the sky, where he still remains.

From that time, say the Kurnai, the knowledge of the jeraeil and, its mysteries has been handed down from father to son, together with the penalty for unlawfully revealing them, and for breaking the ordinance of Mungan-namely, destruction by his fire, or death at the hands of the men to whom his laws have been transmitted.

The novices having been thus properly instructed, were told to take the Tundun in hand, and to sound it, which they did with evident reluctance and apprehension.

A. W. Hoitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), pp. 628-31

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":
DUKDUK

A MELANESIAN SECRET SOCIETY

There is a most curious and interesting institution, by which the old men of the tribe band themselves together, and, by working on the superstitions of the rest, secure for themselves a comfortable old age and unbounded influence. . . . The Dukduk is a spirit, which assumes a visible and presumably tangible form, and makes its appearance at certain fixed times. Its arrival is invariably fixed for the day the new moon becomes visible. It is announced a month beforehand by the old men, and is always said to belong to one of them. During that month great preparations of food are made, and should any young man have failed to provide an adequate supply on the occasion of its last appearance, he receives a pretty strong hint to the effect that the Dukduk is displeased with him, and there is no fear of his offending twice. When it is remembered that the old men, who alone have the power of summoning the Dukduk from his home at

the bottom of the sea, are too weak to work, and to provide themselves with food or dewarra the reason for this hint seems to me pretty obvious. The day before the Dukduk's expected arrival the women usually disappear, or at all events remain in their houses. It is immediate death for a woman to look upon this unquiet spirit. Before daybreak everyone is assembled on the beach, most of the young men looking a good deal frightened. They have many unpleasant experiences to go through during the next fortnight, and the Dukduk is known to possess an extraordinary familiarity with all their shortcomings of the preceding month. At the first streak of dawn, singing and drum-beating is heard out at sea, and, as soon as there is enough light to see them, five or six canoes, lashed together with a platform built over them, are seen to be slowly advancing towards the beach. Two most extraordinary figures appear dancing on the platform, uttering shrill cries, like a small dog yelping. They seem to be about ten feet high, but so rapid are their movements that it is difficult to observe them carefully. However, the outward and visible form assumed by them is intended to represent a gigantic cassowary, with the most hideous and grotesque of human faces. The dress, which is made of the leaves of the draconaena, certainly looks much like the body of this bird, but the head is like nothing but the head of a Dukduk. It is a conical-shaped erection, about five feet high, made of very fine basket work, and gummed all over to give a surface on which the diabolical countenance is depicted. No arms or hands are visible, and the dress extends down to the knees. The old men, doubtless, are in the secret, but by the alarmed look on the faces of the others it is easy to see that they imagine that there is nothing human about these alarming visitors. As soon as the canoes touch the beach, the two Dukduks jump out, and at once the natives fall back, so as to avoid touching them. If a Dukduk is touched, even by accident, he very frequently tomahawks the unfortunate native on the spot. After landing, the Dukduks dance round each other, imitating the ungainly motion of the cassowary, and uttering their shrill cries. During the whole of their stay they make no sound but this. It would never do for them to speak, for in that case they might be recognized by their voices. Nothing more is to be done now till evening, and they occupy their time running up and down the beach, through the village, and into the bush, and seem to be very fond of turning up in the most unexpected manner, and frightening the natives half out of their wits. During the day a little house has been built in the bush, for the Dukduks' benefit. No one but the old men knows exactly where this house is, as it is carefully concealed. Here we may suppose the restless spirit unbends to a certain extent, and has his meals. Certainly no one would venture to disturb him. In the evening a vast pile of food is collected, and is borne off by the old men into the bush, every man making his contribution to the meal. The Dukduk, if satisfied, maintains a complete silence; but if he does not think the amount collected sufficient, he shows his disapprobation by yelping and leaping. When the food has been carried off, the young men have to go through a very unpleasant ordeal, which is supposed to prepare their minds for having the mysteries of the Dukduk explained to them at some very distant period. They stand in rows of six or seven, holding their arms high above their heads. When the Dukduks appear from their house in the bush, one of them has a bundle of stout canes, about six feet long, and the other a big club. The Dukduk with the canes selects one of them, and dances up to one of the young men, and deals him a most tremendous blow, which draws blood all round his body. There is, however, on the young man's part no flinching or sign of pain. After the blow with the cane he has to stoop down, on the 'tail,' which must be most unpleasant. Each of these young men has to go through this performance some twenty times in the course of the evening, and go limping home to bed. He will nevertheless be ready to place himself in the same position every night for the next fortnight. The time of a man's initiation may and often does last for about twenty years, and as the Dukduk usually appears at every town six times in every year, the novice has to submit to a considerable amount of flogging to purchase his freedom of the guild. Though I have never witnessed it, the Dukduk has the right, which he frequently exercises, of killing any man on the spot. He merely dances up to him, and brains him with a tomahawk or club. Not a man would dare dispute this right, nor would any one venture to touch the body afterwards. The Dukduks in such a case pick up the body, and carry it into the bush, where it is disposed of, how, one can only conjecture. Women, if caught suddenly, in the bush, are carried off, and never appear again, nor are any inquiries made after them. It is no doubt this power the Dukduks possess, of killing either man or woman with impunity, which makes them so feared. It is, above all things, necessary to preserve the mystery, and the way in which this is done is very clever. The man personating the Dukduk will retire to his house, take off his dress, and mingle with the rest of his tribe, so as not to be missed, and will put his share of food into the general contribution, thus making a present to himself. The last day on which the moon is visible, the Dukduks disappear, though no one sees them depart; their house in the bush is burned, and the dresses they have worn are destroyed. Great care is taken to destroy everything they have touched, the canes and clubs

being burned every day by the old men.

H. Romilly, *The Western Pacific and New Guinea* (London, 1886)pp 27-33

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": DIKSHA, AN INDIAN INITIATORY RITUAL

HINDUISM

The Diksha must be performed by anyone who is preparing the soma sacrifice. The Rig-Veda seems to know nothing of the diksha, but it is documented in the Atharva-Veda. Here the brahmacharin- that is, the novice undergoing the initiatory puberty rite-is called the dikshita, 'he who practices the diksha.' Herman Lommel has rightly emphasized the importance of this passage (Atharva-Veda, XI, 5, 6); the novice is homologized with one in the course of being reborn to make himself worthy to perform the soma sacrifice. For this sacrifice implies a preliminary sanctification of the sacrificer-and to obtain it he undergoes a return to the womb. The texts are perfectly clear. According to the Aitareya Brahmana (1,3; 'Him to whom they give the diksha, the priests make into an embryo again. They sprinkle him with water; the water is man's sperm. . . . They conduct him to the special shed; the special shed is the womb of the dikshita; thus they make him enter the womb that befits him. . . . They cover him with a garment; the garment is the caul. . . . Above that they put the black antelope skin; verily the placenta is above the caul. . . . He closes his hands; verily the embryo has its hands closed so long as it is within, the child is born with closed hands. . . . He casts off the black antelope skin to enter the final bath; therefore embryos come into the world with the placenta cast off. He keeps on his garment to enter it and therefore a child is born with a caul upon it.'

The parallel texts emphasize the embryological and obstetrical character of the rite with plentiful imagery. 'The dikshita is an embryo, his garment is the caul,' and so on, says the Taittiriya Samhita (1, 3, 2.). The same work (VI,2, 5, 5) also repeats the image of the dikshita-embryo, completed by that of the hut assimilated to the womb-an extremely ancient and widespread image; when the dikshita comes out of the hut, he is like the embryo emerging from the womb. The Maitrayatni- Samhita (III, 6,li) says that initiate leaves this world and 'is born into the world of the Gods'; the cabin is the womb for the dikshita, the antelope skin the placenta. The reason for this return to the womb is emphasized more than once. 'In truth man is unborn. It is through sacrifice that he is born' (III, 6, 7). And it is stressed that man's true birth is spiritual: 'The dikshita is semen,' the Maitrarayanit-Samhita adds (III, 6, l) that is, in order to reach the spiritual state that will enable him to be reborn among the Gods, the dikshita must symbolically become what he has been from the beginning. He abolishes his biological existence, the years of his human life that have already passed, in order to return to a situation that is at once embryonic and primordial; he 'goes back' to the state of semen, that is, of pure virtuality.

M. Eliade, *Birth and Rebirth* (New York: Harper & Row, 1958), pp. 54-5

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": INITIATION OF A WARRIOR

GOING BERSERK

(Volsunga Saga, chapters 7-8)

In a passage that has become famous, the Ynglingasaga sets the comrades of Odin before us: 'They went without shields, and were mad as dogs or wolves, and bit on their shields, and were as strong as bears or bulls; men they slew, and neither fire nor steel would deal with them; and this is what is called the fury of the berserker.' This mythological picture has been rightly identified as a description of real men's societies-the famous Mannerbunde of the ancient Germanic civilization. The berserkers were, literally, the 'warriors in shirts (serkr) of bear.' This is as much as to say that they were magically identified with the bear. In addition they could sometimes change themselves into wolves and bears. A man became a berserker as the result of an initiation that included specifically martial ordeals. So, for example, Tacitus tells us that among the Chatti the candidate cut neither his hair nor his beard until he had killed an enemy. Among the Taifali, the youth had to bring down a boar or a wolf, among the Heruli, he had to fight unarmed. Through these ordeals, the candidate took to himself a wild-animal mode of being; he became a

dreaded warrior in the measure in which he behaved like a beast of prey. He metamorphosed himself into a superman because he succeeded in assimilating the magico-religious force proper to the carnivore.

The Volsunga Saga has preserved the memory of certain ordeals typical of the initiations of berserkers. By treachery, King Siggeir obtains possession of his nine brothers-in-law, the Volsungs. Chained to a beam, they are all eaten by a she-wolf, except Sigmund, who is saved by a ruse of his sister Signy. Hidden in a hut in the depths of the forest, where Signy brings him food, he awaits the hour of revenge. When her first two sons have reached the age of ten, Signy sends them to Sigmund to be tested. Sigmund finds that they are cowards, and by his advice Signy kills them. As the result of her incestuous relations with her brother, Signy has a third son, Sinfjotli. When he is nearly ten, his mother submits him to a first ordeal: she sews his shirt to his arms through the skin. Siggeir's sons, submitted to the same ordeal, had howled with pain, but Sinfjotli remains imperturbable. His mother then pulls off his shirt, tearing away the skin, and asks him if he feels anything. The boy answers that a Volsung is not troubled by such a trifle. His mother then sends him to Sigmund, who submits him to the same ordeal that Siggeir's two sons had failed to sustain: he orders him to make bread from a sack of flour in which there is a snake. When Sigmund comes home that night, he finds the bread baked and asks Sinfjotli if he did not find anything in the flour. The boy answers that he remembers having seen something, but he paid no attention to it and kneaded everything up together. After this proof of courage Sigmund takes the boy into the forest with him. One day they find two wolfskins hanging from the wall of a hut. The two sons of a king had been transformed into wolves and could only come out of the skins every tenth day. Sigmund and Sinfjotli put on the skins, but cannot get them off. They howl like wolves and understand the wolves' language. They then separate, agreeing that they will not call on each other for help unless they have to deal with more than seven men. One day Sinfjotli is summoned to help and kills all the men who had attacked Sigmund. Another time, Sinfjotli himself is attacked by eleven men, and kills them without summoning Sigmund to help him. Then Sigmund rushes at him and bites him in the throat, but not long afterward finds a way to cure the wound. Finally they return to their cabin to await the moment when they can put off their wolfskins. When the time comes, they throw the skins into the fire. With this episode, Sinfjotli's initiation is completed, and he can avenge the slaying of the Volsungs.

The initiatory themes here are obvious: the test of courage, resistance to physical suffering, followed by magical transformation into a wolf. But the compiler of the Volsunga Saga was no longer aware of the original meaning of the transformation. Sigmund and Sinfjotli find the skins by chance and do not know how to take them off. Now transformation into a wolf—that is, the ritual donning of a wolfskin constituted the essential moment of initiation into a men's secret society. By putting on the skin, the initiate assimilated the behaviour of a wolf, in other words, he became a wild-beast warrior, irresistible and invulnerable. 'Wolf' was the appellation of the members of the Indo-European military societies.

Summarized in M. Eliade, *Birth and Rebirth* (New York: Harper & Row, 1958), 1)p. 81-3; summarizing and commenting on Volsunga Saga, chaps. 7-8

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": CUCHULAINN'S INITIATION

('Tain Bo Cualnge')

According to the Old Irish *Tain Bo Cualnge*, Cuchulainn, nephew of Conchobar king of Ulster, one day overheard his master, the druid Cathba, saying: 'The little boy that takes arms this day shall be splendid and renowned for deeds of arms . . . but he shall be short-lived and fleeting.' Cuchulainn sprang up and, asking his uncle for arms and a chariot, set off for the castle of the three sons of Necht, the worst enemies of the kingdom of Ulster. Although these heroes were supposed to be invincible, the little boy conquered them and cut off their heads. But the exploit heated him to such a degree that a witch warned the king that if precautions were not taken, the boy would kill all the warriors in Ulster. The king decided to send a troop of naked women to meet Cuchulainn. And the text continues: 'Thereupon the young women all arose and marched out . . . and they discovered their nakedness and all their shame to him. The lad hid his face from them and turned his gaze on the chariot, that he might not see the nakedness or the shame of the women. Then the lad was lifted out of the chariot. He was placed in three vats of cold water to extinguish his wrath;

and the first vat into which he was put burst its staves and its hoops like the cracking of nuts around him. The next vat into which he went boiled with bubbles as big as fists therein. The third vat into which he went, some men might endure it and others might not. Then the boys wrath (ferg) went down . . . and his festive garments were put on him.'

Translation by Joseph Dunn Tain Bo Cualnge [London, 1914], pp. 60 ff.), as summarized in M. Eliade, Birth and Rebirth (New York: Harper & Row, 1958) PP. 84-5

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen":
DIONYSUS AND THE BACCHAE

(Euripides, 'The Bacchae,' 677-775)

According to the ancient authorities, the cult of Dionysus came to Greece from Thrace or from Phrygia (the Phrygians were a Thracian tribe). The cult was of a frenetic and ecstatic character, as this passage from Euripides' Bacchae so strikingly illustrates. One of the herdsmen describes to Pentheus, the king of Thebes, an attack of the maenads (bacchae) upon the royal herd.

About that hour

when the sun lets loose its light to warm the earth

our grazing herds of cows had just begun to climb

the path along the mountain ridge. Suddenly

I saw three companies of dancing women,

one led by Autonoe the second captained

by your mother Agave, while Ino led the third.

There they lay in the deep sleep of exhaustion,

some resting on boughs of fir, others sleeping

where they fell, here and there among the oak leaves

but all modestly and soberly, -not, as you think,

drunk with wine nor wandering, led astray

by the music of the flute, to hunt their Aphrodite

through the woods.

But your mother heard the lowing

of our horned herds, and springing to her feet,

gave a great cry to waken them from sleep.

And they too, rubbing the bloom of the sleep

from their eyes, rose up lightly and straight

a lovely sight to see: all as one,
the old women and the young and the unmarried girls.
First they let the hair fall loose, down over their shoulders,
and those whose straps had slipped
fastened their skins of fawn with writhing snakes
that licked their cheeks. Breasts swollen with milk,
new mothers who had left their babies behind at home
nestled gazelles and young wolves in their arms,
suckling them. Then they crowned their hair with leaves,
ivy and oak and flowering bryony. One woman
struck her thyrsus against a rock and a fountain
of cool water came bubbling up. Another drove
her fennel in the ground, and where it struck the earth,
at the touch of god, a spring of wine poured out.
Those who wanted milk scratched at the soil
with bare fingers and the white milk came welling up.
Pure honey spurted, streaming, from their wands.
If you had been there and seen these wonders for yourself,
you would have gone down on your knees and prayed
to the god you now deny.
We cowherds and shepherds
gathered in small groups, wondering and arguing
among ourselves at these fantastic things,
the awful miracles those women did.
But then a city fellow with the knack of words
rose to his feet and said: 'All you who live
upon the pastures of the mountain, what do you say?
Shall we earn a little favour with King Pentheus

by hunting his mother Agave out of the revels?'
Falling in with his suggestion, we withdrew
and set ourselves in ambush, hidden by the leaves
among the undergrowth. Then at a signal
all the Bacchae whirled their wands for the revels to begin.
With one voice they cried aloud:
'O Iacchus! Son of Zeus!' 'O Bromius!'
they cried until the beasts and all the mountain seemed
wild with divinity. And when they ran,
everything ran with them.
It happened, however,
that Agave ran near the ambush where I lay concealed.
Leaping up, I tried to seize her,
but she gave a cry: 'Hounds who run with me,
men are hunting us down! Follow, follow me!
Use your hands for weapons.'
At this we fled
and barely missed being torn to pieces by the women.
Unarmed, they swooped down upon the herds of cattle
grazing there on the green of the meadow. And then
you could have seen a single woman with bare hands
tear a fat calf, still bellowing with fright, in two,
while others clawed the heifers to pieces.
There were ribs and cloven hooves scattered everywhere,
and scraps smeared with blood hung from the fig trees.
And bulls, their raging fury gathered in their horns,
lowered their heads to charge, then fell, stumbling
to the earth, pulled down by hordes of women

and stripped of flesh and skin more quickly, sire,
than you could blink royal eyes. Then,
carried up by their own speed, they flew like birds
across the spreading fields along Asopus' stream
where most of all the ground is good for harvesting.
Like invaders they swooped on Hysiae
and on Erythrae in the foothills of Cithaeron.
Everything in sight they pillaged and destroyed.
They snatched the children from their homes.
And when they piled their plunder on their backs,
it stayed in place, untied. Nothing, neither bronze nor iron,
fell to the dark earth. Flames flickered
in their curls and did not burn them. Then the villagers,
furious at what the women did, took to arms.
And there, sire, was something terrible to see.
For the men's spears were pointed and sharp,
and yet drew no blood, whereas the wands the women
threw inflicted wounds. And then the men ran,
routed by women! Some god, I say, was with them.
The Bacchae then returned where they had started,
by the springs the god had made, and washed their hands
while the snakes licked away the drops of blood
that dabbled their checks.
Whoever this god may be, sire,
welcome him to Thebes. For he is great
in many other ways as well. It was he,
or so they say, who gave to mortal men
the gift of lovely wine by which our suffering

is stopped. And if there is no god of wine,
there is no love, no Aphrodite either,
nor other pleasure left to men.

Translation by William Arrowsmith, in Grene and Lattimore (eds.), *The Complete Greek Tragedies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), pp. 573-4

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES

Happy is he among men upon earth who has seen these mysteries; but he who is uninitiate and who has no part in them never has lot of like good things once he is dead, down in the darkness and gloom.

Hymn to Demeter, 480-2 (translation by Hugh G. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns, and Homerica*, Loeb Classical Library [New York, 1920], P. 323)

Thrice happy are those of mortals, who having seen those rites depart for Hades; for to them alone is it granted to have true life there; to the rest all there is evil.

Sophocles, Frag. 719 (Dindorf) (translation by G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961], P. 284)

Happy is he who, having seen these rites, goes below the hollow earth; for he knows the end of life and he knows its god-sent beginning.

Pindar, Frag. 102 (Oxford) (translation by Mylonas, *Op.cit.*, P. 285)

Beautiful indeed is the Mystery given us by the blessed gods: death is for mortals no longer an evil, but a blessing.

Inscription found at Eleusis (translation by S. Angus, *The Mystery Religions and Christianity* [London, 1925], P. 140)

It was the common belief in Athens that whoever had been taught the Mysteries would, when he died, be deemed worthy of divine glory. Hence all were eager for initiation.

Scholias on Aristophanes (*The Frogs*, 158) (translation by S. Angus, *op cit.*, p. 140)

Pausanias avoided explanations regarding the Mysteries and refrained from describing the buildings to be seen in the sacred precincts of Demeter both at Eleusis and Athens:

I purposed to pursue the subject, and describe all the objects that admit of description in the sanctuary at Athens called the Eleusinion, but I was prevented from so doing by a vision in a dream. I will, therefore, turn to what may be lawfully told to everybody.

Pausanias, I, 14, 3 (translation by Frazer)

My dream forbade me to describe what is within the wall of the sanctuary; and surely it is dear that the uninitiated may not lawfully hear of that from the sight of which they are debarred.

Pausanias, 1, 38, 7 (translation by Frazer)

And the synthema (pass-word) of the Eleusinian mysteries is as follows: 'I fasted; I drank the kykeon; I took out of the chest; having done my task, I put again into the basket, and from the basket again into the chest.'

Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptikos*, II, 21. [For the interpretations of this sacred formula, cf. George E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, pp. 294-305]

The Phrygians, the Naassene says, assert that God is a fresh ear of cutwheat, and following the Phrygians the Athenians, when they initiate in the Eleusinia exhibit in silence to the epoptai the mighty and marvellous and most complete epoptic mystery, an ear of cut-wheat.

Hippolytus, *Philosophoumena*, V, 8

[According to Walter Otto, 'there can be no doubt of the miraculous nature of the event. The ear of wheat growing and maturing with a supernatural suddenness is just as much a part of the mysteries of Demeter as the vine growing in a few hours is part of the revels of Dionysus.' W. Otto, 'Meaning of the Eleusinian Mysteries,' P. 25, in *The Mysteries* (New York, 1955), PP. 14-31; see also Mylonas, *op. cit.* PP- 305-10-]

Aristotle maintains that it is not necessary for the initiated to learn anything, but to receive impressions and to be put in a certain frame of mind by becoming worthy candidates.

Synesius, *De Dione*, 10. (cf. Jeanne Groissant, *Aristotle et les Mysteres*, Paris, 1932)

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": DEATH AND INITIATION IN THE MYSTERIES

(Plutarch, 'On the Soul')

The soul [at the point of death] has the same experience as being initiated into great mysteries. . . . At first one wearily hurries to and fro, and journeys with suspicion dark as one uninitiated: then come all the terrors of initiation, shuddering, trembling, sweating, amazement: then one is struck with a marvellous light, one is received into pure regions and meadows, with voices and dances and the majesty of holy sounds and shapes: among these he who has fulfilled initiation wanders free, and released and bearing his crown joins in the divine communion, and consorts with pure and holy men, beholding those who live here uninitiated, an uncleansed horde, trodden under foot of him and huddled together in mud and fog, abiding in their miseries through fear of death and mistrust of the blessings there.

Plutarch, *On the Soul*, quoted in Stobaeus, IV, as translated by George E. Mylonas, in his *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), pp. 246-65

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": INITIATION INTO THE MYSTERIES OF CYBELE

THE TAUROBOLIUM

(Prudentius, 'Peristephanon,' X, 101 1-50)

The high priest who is to be consecrated is brought down under ground in a pit dug deep, marvellously adorned with a fillet, binding his festive temples with chaplets, his hair combed back under a golden crown, and wearing a silken toga caught up with Sabine girding.

Over this they make a wooden floor with wide spaces, woven of planks with an open mesh; they then divide or bore the area and repeatedly pierce the wood with a pointed tool that it may appear full of small holes.

Hither a huge bull, fierce and shaggy in appearance, is led, bound with flowery garlands about its flanks,

and with its horns sheathed; Yea, the forehead of the victim sparkles with gold, and the flash of metal plates colours its hair.

Here, as is ordained, the beast is to be slain, and they pierce its breast with a sacred spear; the gaping wound emits a wave of hot blood, and the smoking river flows into the woven structure beneath it and surges wide.

Then by the many paths of the thousand openings in the lattice the falling shower rains down a foul dew, which the priest buried within catches, putting his shameful head under all the drops, defiled both in his clothing and in all his body.

Yea, he throws back his face, he puts his cheeks in the way of the blood, he puts under it his ears and lips, he interposes his nostrils, he washes his very eyes with the fluid, nor does he even spare his throat but moistens his tongue, until he actually drinks the dark gore.

Afterwards, the flamens draw the corpse, stiffening now that the blood has gone forth, off the lattice, and the pontiff, horrible in appearance, comes forth, and shows his wet head, his beard heavy with blood, his dripping fillets and sodden garments.

This man, defiled with such contagions and foul with the gore of the recent sacrifice, all hail and worship¹ at a distance, because profane blood² and a dead ox have washed him while concealed in a filthy cave.

Notes

1 All hail and worship. The consecrated priest, emerging from the blood bath with the gift of divine life (drawn from the sacred bull) himself becomes divine and is therefore worshipped. Those who received the 'taurobolium' could be described as 'born again for eternity' (renatus in aeternum, C.I.L., VI, 510; many other inscriptions refer to the taurobolium and prove the rite to have been in use early in the second century A.D).

2 Profane blood. It must be remembered that Prudentius was a Christian and that to him the blood was profane (*vilis*) and the whole rite not only repulsive but blasphemous.

Translation and notes by C. K. Barrett, *The New Testament Background* (London, SPCK 1956), pp. 96-7

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE EPIPHANY OF THE MYSTERY GOD

Aristides records an experience in which 'there came from Isis a Light and other unutterable things conducing to salvation. In the same night appeared Serapis and Aesculapius himself, both marvellous in beauty and stature and in certain aspects resembling each other' (*Orat. Sac.*, III, p. 500). All ancient epiphaneiae were of the character of a dazzling light. Porphyry knows that 'the eye of the body cannot bear' the brightness of divine apparitions (*De Mysteriis*, II, 8). The experience of Apuleius, 'I saw the sun shining at midnight,' and 'adoravi de proxumo,' refers to such an epiphany. In the Attis cult, 'Hail, Bridegroom, Hail, new Light' announced the epiphany. In the Liturgy of Mithra (*Dieterich*, p.10) we read, 'Thou shalt see a youthful god, lovely in form, with red locks, wearing a white tunic and scarlet mantle, and holding a bright crown.'

S. Angus, *The Mystery Religions and Christianity* (London, 1925), PP. 135-6

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": IDENTIFICATION WITH THE MYSTERY OF GOD

By mystic identification Lucius, after the sacrament of initiation, was arrayed like the sun and set up like an image of the god' before the spectators (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, XI, 24). The mystes of Attis became himself Attis. . . . A Greek papyrus has preserved a magical prayer based on Hermetic theology, in which occur the words: 'Enter thou into my spirit and my thoughts my whole life long, for thou art I and I am thou; thy name I guard as a charm in my heart.' In a similar prayer we read: 'I know thee Hermes, and thou

knowest me: I am thou, and thou art I.'

S. Angus, *The Mystery Religions and Christianity* (London, 1915), pp. 109-10

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": 'DEMORTALIZING'

APATHANATISMOS

'I a man ... born of mortal womb ... having been this day begotten again by thee, out of so many myriads rendered immortal in this hour by the good will of God in his abounding goodness' (the so 'called Liturgy of Mithra). 'This is the good end for those who have attained knowledge, namely, Deification,' we read in the Hermetic literature (Poimandres, 1, 26), which recalls the famous statement of Clement of Alexandria that the true Gnostic 'practices being God.' In the Thanksgiving prayer of the Perfect Word occurs the expression 'Saved by thee . . . we rejoice that even in our mortal bodies thou didst deify us by the Vision of Thyself' (Greek text in R. Reitzenstein, *Die Hellenistische Mysterienreligionen*, 2nd ed., p. 114)

S. Angus, *The Mystery Religions and Christianity* (London, 1925), pp. 110-111

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": PLATO ON INITIATION

('Phaedo,' 69 c)

The Neoplatonist Olympiodoros comments on this passage: 'He is adapting an Orphic verse.'

It looks as if those also who established rites of initiation for us were no fools, but that there is a hidden meaning in their teaching when it says that whoever arrives uninitiated in Hades will lie in mud, but the purified and initiated when he arrives there will dwell with gods. For there are in truth, as those who understand the mysteries say, 'Many who bear the wand, but few who become Bakchoi.' Now these latter are in my own opinion no others than those who have given their lives to true philosophy.

Translation and introductory note by Frederick C. Grant, in his *Hellenistic Religions* (New York, 1953), PP. 136-44

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": INITIATION IN THE MYSTERIES OF ISIS

(Apuleius, 'Metamorphoses,' XI, 1-26)

Apuleius of Madaura, in North Africa, lived in the second century A.D. He was a lawyer, a novelist, and an orator. His famous *Metamorphoses*, which used to be called *The Golden Ass*, is a thinly veiled apologetic and autobiographic work in eleven books, replete with charming tales (e.g., 'Cupid and Psyche' in IV, 28 MVI, 24). The hero, Lucius, being over-curious about magic, is accidentally turned into an ass. His restoration to human shape by the mercy of Isis and his initiation into her rites form the climax of the work and are regarded as being based on direct acquaintance with the Isis mysteries.

Introduction

[Book XI opens with an auspicious note of mystery. Lucius is spending the night asleep on the warm sand of the seashore.]

(1) About the first watch of the night, I awoke in sudden terror; the full moon had risen and was shining with unusual splendour as it emerged from the waves. All about me lay the mysterious silence of the night. I knew that this was the hour when the goddess [Isis] exercised her greatest power and governed all things by her providence -not only animals, wild and tame, but even inanimate things were renewed by her divine illumination and might; even the heavenly bodies, the whole earth, and the vast sea waxed or waned in accordance with her will.

The Epiphany of Isis

[Lucius decides to make his appeal to Isis for release from his asinine disguise, and the goddess responds. His prayer in 2 recounts her titles as Queen of Heaven, Ceres, Proserpina, celestial Venus.]

(3) So I poured out my prayers and supplications, adding to them much pitiful wailing, and once more fell sound asleep on the same bed of sand. Scarcely had I closed my eyes when lo! from the midst of the deep there arose that face divine to which even the gods must do reverence. Then a little at a time, slowly, her whole shining body emerged from the sea and came into full view. I would like to tell you all the wonder of this vision, if the poverty of human speech does not prevent, or if the divine power dwelling within that form supplies a rich enough store of eloquence.

First, the tresses of her hair were long and thick, and streamed down softly, flowing and curling about her divine neck. On her head she wore as a crown many garlands of flowers, and in the middle of her forehead shone white and glowing a round disc like a mirror, or rather like the moon; on its right and left it was bound about with the furrowed coils of rising vipers, and above it were stalks of grain. Her tunic was of many colours, woven of the finest linen, now gleaming with snowy whiteness, now yellow like the crocus, now rosy-red like a flame. But what dazzled my eyes more than anything else was her cloak, for it was a deep black, glistening with sable sheen; it was cast about her, passing under her right arm and brought together on her left shoulder. Part of it hung down like a shield and drooped in many a fold, the whole reaching to the lower edge of her garment with tasseled fringe.

(4) Here and there along its embroidered border, and also on its surface, were scattered sequins of sparkling stars, and in their midst the full moon of midmonth shone forth like a flame of fire. And all along the border of that gorgeous robe there was an unbroken garland of all kinds of flowers and fruits. In her hands she held emblems of various kinds. In her right hand she carried a bronze rattle [the sistrum] made of a thin piece of metal curved like a belt, through which were passed a few small rods; this gave out a tinkling sound whenever she shook it three times with a quivering pulsation. In her left hand was a golden cup, from the top of whose slender handle rose an asp, towering with head erect and its throat distended on both sides. Her perfumed feet were shod with sandals woven of the palm of victory.

Such was the vision, and of such majesty. Then, breathing forth all the blessed fragrance of happy Arabia, she deigned to address me with voice divine;

(5), Behold, Lucius, I have come, moved by thy prayers ! I, nature's mother, mistress of all the elements, earliest offspring of the ages, mightiest of the divine powers, Queen of the dead, chief of them that dwell in the heavens, in whose features are combined those of all the gods and goddesses. By my nod I rule the shining heights of heaven, the wholesome winds of the sea, and the mournful silences of the underworld. The whole world honours my sole deity [numen unicum] under various forms, with varied rites, and by many names . . . and the Egyptians mighty in ancient lore, honouring me with my peculiar rites, call me by my true name, Isis the Queen.

'I have come in pity for thy woes. I have come, propitious and ready to aid. Cease from thy weeping and lamentation, and lay aside thy grief. For thee, by my providence, the day of salvation is dawning! Therefore turn thy afflicted spirit, and give heed to what I command. The day, even the very day that follows this night, is dedicated to me by an everlasting dedication, for on this day, after I have laid to rest the storms of winter and stilled the tempestuous waves of the sea, my priests shall dedicate to the deep, which is now navigable once more, a new boat, and offer it in my honour as the first fruits of the year's seafaring. Thou must await this festival with untroubled heart and with no profane thoughts.'

[The goddess tells Lucius that he must mingle with the crowd at the Ploiaphesia and edge his way up to the priest, who will be wearing a garland of roses. Having been forewarned by the goddess in a vision, the priest will be prepared for what is to happen, namely, that Lucius (still the ass) will seize the priest's garland and eat it, where upon he will be restored to human form. And so it takes place. Transformed once more into human shape, Lucius is exhorted by one of the priests, 'whose smiling face seemed more than mortal':]

(15) 'O Lucius, after enduring so many labours and escaping so many tempests of Fortune, you have now at length reached the port and haven of rest and mercy ! Neither your noble lineage nor your high rank nor your great learning did anything for you; but because you turned to servile pleasures, by a little youthful folly you won the grim reward of your hapless curiosity. And yet while Fortune's blindness tormented you with various dangers, by her very malice she has brought you to this present state of religious blessedness. Let Fortune go elsewhere and rage with her wild fury, and find someone else to torment! For Fortune has no power over those who have devoted themselves to serve the majesty of our goddess. For all your afflictions -robbers, wild beasts, slavery, toilsome and futile journeys that ended where they began, and the daily fear of death-all these brought no advantage to wicked Fortune. Now you are safe, under the protection of that Fortune who is not blind but can see, who by her clear light enlightens the other gods. Therefore rejoice and put on a more cheerful countenance, appropriately matching your white robe, and follow with joyful steps the procession of this Saviour Goddess. Let all such as are not devout followers of the goddess see and acknowledge their error, [saying]; "See, here is Lucius, freed from his former miseries by the providence of the great goddess Isis, and rejoicing in triumph over his Fortune!" And in order that you may live even more safely and securely, hand in your name to this sacred militia [i.e., join the Isiac order]-for it is only a little while ago that you were asked to take the oath-and dedicate yourself to obey our religion and take upon yourself the voluntary yoke of ministry. For when you have begun to serve the goddess, then will you realize more fully the fruits of your liberty.'

The Initiation of Lucius

[And so the priest prophesied and made his appeal to Lucius, and Lucius consented and joined the procession, amid the jeers of the unbelievers. But his conversion, like that of many others, was a slow process, and only gradually did he come to identify himself with the Isiac priests; for, like many another, he believed the strict profession of religion was something too hard for him: 'The laws of chastity and abstinence are not easy to obey' (19) And yet he continued to frequent the services of worship

(21). and eventually came to desire earnestly to be admitted to the mysteries of Isis. This took place on 'the night that is sacred to the goddess.']

(22) The priest finished speaking, and I did not mar my obedience by any impatience, but with a quiet and gentle and edifying silence I rendered attentive service at the daily observance of the sacred rites. Nor did the saving grace of the mighty goddess in any way deceive me or torture me with long delays, but in the dark of night, by commands that were not in the least dark, she clearly signified to me that the day so long desired had come, in which she would grant the fulfillment of my most earnest prayers. She also stated what amount I must provide for the supplications, and she appointed Mithras himself, her high priest, to administer the rites to me; for his destiny, she said, was closely bound up with mine by the divine conjunction of the stars.

These and other gracious admonitions of the supreme goddess refreshed my spirit, so that even before it was clear day I shook off sleep and hastened at once to the priest's lodging. I met him just as he was coming out of his bedchamber, and saluted him. I had decided to request with even more insistence that I should be initiated, now that it was due me. But he at once, as soon as he saw me, anticipated me, saying, 'Lucius, you happy, you greatly blessed man, whom the August deity deigns to favour with such good will! But why,' he asked, 'do you stand here idle, yourself delaying? The day you have so long asked by your unwearied prayers has come, when by the divine commands of the goddess of many names you are to be admitted by my hands into the most holy secrets of the mysteries.' Then, taking my right hand in his, the gentle old man led me to the very doors of the huge temple; and after celebrating with sole ritual the opening of the gates and completing the morning sacrifice, he brought out from a hidden place in the temple certain books whose titles were written in undecipherable letters. Some of these [letters] were shaped like all kinds of animals and seemed to be brief ways of suggesting words; others had their extremities knotted or curved like wheels, or intertwined like the tendrils of a vine, which was enough to safeguard them from the curiosity of profane readers. At the same time he told me about the various preparations it was necessary to make in view of my initiation.

(23) I lost no time, but promptly and with a liberality even beyond what was required I either bought these things myself or had my friends buy them for me. And now, the time drawing near and requiring it, as he

said, the priest conducted me with an escort of the religiously-minded to the nearest baths; and when I entered the bath, where it is customary for the neophytes to bathe, he first prayed to the gods to be gracious to me and then sprinkled me with purest water and cleansed me. He then led me back to the temple, and since the day was now more than half over he placed me at the feet of the goddess herself; then, after confiding certain secret orders to me, those which were too holy to be spoken, he openly, before all who were present, bade me for ten successive days to abstain from all the pleasures of the table, to eat no meat and drink no wine. All these requirements I observed with scrupulous care. And at last came the day designated by the divine guarantee. The sun was sloping downward and bringing on the evening when lo! from everywhere came crowds of the initiates, flocking around me, and each of them, following the ancient rite, presented me with various gifts. Finally, all the uninitiated having withdrawn, they put on me a new linen robe, and the priest, seizing me by the hand, led me to the very inmost recesses of the holy place.....

. . . Hear then and believe, for what I tell you is true. I drew near to the confines of death, treading the very threshold of Proserpine. I was borne through all the elements and returned to earth again. At the dead of night, I saw the sun shining brightly. I approached the gods above and the gods below, and worshipped them face to face. See, I have told you things which, though you have heard them, you still must know nothing about. I will therefore relate only as much as may, without committing a sin, be imparted to the understanding of the uninitiate.

(24) As soon as it was morning and the solemn rites had been completed, I came forth clothed in the twelve gowns that are worn by the initiate, apparel that is really most holy, but about which no sacred ban forbids me to tell, since at that time there were many who saw me wearing it. For in the very midst of the holy shrine, before the image of the goddess, there was a wooden platform on which I was directed to stand, arrayed in a robe which, although it was only of linen, was so richly embroidered that I was a sight to behold. The precious cape hung from my shoulders down my back even to the ground, and it was adorned, wherever you looked, with the figures of animals in various colours. Here were Indian dragons, there griffins from the Hyperborean regions, winged like birds, but out of another world. This cape the initiates call the Olympian. In my right hand I carried a flaming torch, and my head was decorated with a crown made of white palm leaves, spread out to stand up like rays. After I had been thus adorned like the sun and set up like an image of a god, the curtains were suddenly withdrawn, and the people crowded around to gaze at me. . . .

[There followed feast and parties, and on the third day a solemn fast-breaking ceremony. Unable at first to bear to leave the image of the goddess, finally Lucius addresses her one last time, sobbing :]

(25) 'O holy and eternal guardian of the human race, who dost always cherish mortals and bless them, thou carest for the woes of miserable men with a sweet mother's love. Neither day nor night, nor any moment of time, ever passes by without thy blessings, but always on land and sea thou watchest over men; thou drivest away from them the tempests of life and stretchest out over them thy saving right hand, wherewith thou dost unweave even the inextricable skein of the Fates; the tempests of Fortune thou dost assuage and restrainest the baleful motions of the stars. Thee the gods above adore, thee the gods below worship. It is thou that whirlst the sphere of heaven, that givest light to the sun, that governest the universe and trampled down Tartarus. To thee the stars respond, for thee the seasons return, in thee the gods rejoice, and the elements serve thee. At thy nod the winds blow, the clouds nourish [the earth], the seeds sprout, and the buds swell. Before thy majesty the birds tremble as they flit to and fro in the sky, and the beasts as they roam the mountains, the serpents hiding in the ground, and the monsters swimming in the deep. But my skill is too slight to tell thy praise, my wealth too slender to make thee due offerings of sacrifice. . . . Therefore the only thing one can do, if one is devout but otherwise a pauper, that I will strive to do. Thy face divine and thy most holy deity-these I will hide away deep within my heart; thine image I shall treasure forever!

Having thus pleaded with the mighty deity, I embraced Mithras the priest, now my spiritual father, and hanging upon his neck with many a kiss I begged his forgiveness, since I could make no proper return for all the great benefits that he had conferred upon Me. (26) Then, after many words of thanks, long drawn out, I finally set out for home by the shortest route. . . . A few days later, led on by the mighty goddess, I

reached Rome on the eve of the Ides of December.

Translation and explanatory material by Frederick C Grant, in his *Hellenistic Religions* (New York, 1953), PP. 136-44

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": PERSONAL PIETY IN ROME

SECOND CENTURY A.D.

(Apuleius, 'Apologia,' 55-6)

Apuleius is defending himself against the charge of practicing magic, and especially of carrying magical objects wrapped in a handkerchief.

You ask, Aemilianus [the prosecutor], what I had in that handkerchief? Although I might deny that I had deposited any handkerchief whatsoever of mine in Pontianus' library-or even supposing I were to admit, at the most, that I did so deposit it-I can still deny that there was anything wrapped up in it. And if I should take this line, you have no evidence or argument by which to refute me; for there is no one who has ever touched it, and there is only one freedman, according to your own statement, who has ever seen it. Nevertheless, for all that, let me say that the cloth was jammed full. Imagine yourself now, if you please, to be on the verge of a great discovery-as when the comrades of Ulysses thought they had found a great treasure when they ran off with the bag full of all the winds ! Would you like to have me tell you what it was I had wrapped up in that handkerchief and committed to the care of Pontianus' household gods? You shall have your wish.

I have been initiated into almost all of the Greek mysteries, and I have preserved with the greatest care certain of the emblems and tokens (*signa et monumenta*) of my initiations, which were presented to me by the priests. I am not talking now about anything strange or unheard of. Even a single initiate (*mystes*) of the mysteries of Liber Pater who is present here knows what he keeps hidden away at home, safe from all profane touch, the object of his silent veneration. But I, as I have said, moved by religious zeal and a desire to know the truth, have devoted myself to many different mysteries (*sacra*), numerous rites, and various ceremonies relating to the gods. I am not making this up on the spur of the moment. Nearly three years ago, during the first days of my residence at Oea, in a public discourse which I delivered on the majesty of Aesculapius, I made the same statement and recounted the number of the mysteries with which I was familiar. That discourse was thronged, has been read far and wide, is in everyone's hands, and has won the approval of the pious inhabitants of Oea not so much through any eloquence of mine as because it speaks of Aesculapius. Will anyone who happens to remember it repeat the beginning of that particular passage in my discourse?-Do you not hear, Maximus [the presiding magistrate], how many voices are supplying the words? Indeed, they are freely reciting it! Let me now order this same passage to be read aloud, since you show by the gracious expression on your face that you will not be displeased to hear it. [The passage is then read aloud.]

Can anyone who has the slightest recollection of religious rites be surprised that a man who has been a partaker of so many divine mysteries should preserve in his home certain mementos of these sacred ceremonies, or that he should wrap them in a linen cloth, which is the purest covering for holy things? For wool, produced by the most lethargic of animals and stripped off the sheep's back, was accordingly recognized by the followers of Orpheus and Pythagoras as a profane vesture. But flax, the purest of all plants and among the best of the fruits of the earth, is used by the most holy priests of Egypt, not only for clothing and raiment but as a veil to hide sacred things.

And yet I know that some persons, and chiefly this fellow Aemilianus, think it a good joke to deride things divine. For I learn, from certain men in Oea who know him, that up to the present he never has prayed to any god or frequented any temple; if he happens to pass by any shrine, he thinks it wrong to raise his hand to his lips as an act of reverence. He has never given the first fruits of his crops or vines or flocks to any of the rural gods who feed and clothe him; there is no shrine at his villa, no holy place nor sacred grove. But why should I speak of sacred groves or shrines? Those who have been at his place say they

never have seen there even one stone where an offering of oil has been made or one bough where wreaths have been hung (ramum coronatum). As a result, two nicknames have been given him: He is called Charon, as I already have said, on account of his truculence of tongue and manner, but he is also-and this is the name he prefers-called Mezentius, because he despises the gods. For this reason I can easily understand why he should regard my list of so many initiations as something to jest about. It is even possible that, because of his contumacy for things divine, it may never enter his head that what I say is the truth, viz., that I guard most sacredly the emblems and mementos of so many holy rites. But 1-for what 'Mezentius' thinks of me I would not turn a hand; but to others I would announce in the clearest voice: if any of you who happen to be present have been partakers with me in these same solemn rites, give the sign and you shall bear what it is that I am preserving. For no consideration of personal safety will compel me to declare to the uninitiated (ad profanos) what things I have accepted to be kept in secret.

Translation by Frederick C. Grant, in his *Ancient Roman Religion*, Library of Religion paperback series (New York, 1957), pp. 226-8

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": KUKAI'S INITIATION IN THE ESOTERIC BUDDHISM

('Kobo Daishi Zenshu,' I, 98 ff.)

Kukai (774-835) learned in China and introduced to Japan the Buddhism known as the True Words (Mantrayana in Sanskrit, Shingon in Japanese). In Shingon Buddhism the mysteries are transmitted orally from master to disciple. This Esoteric Buddhism became the most important religion of Heian Japan.

The passage printed below is taken from the Memorial Presenting a List of Newly Imported Sutras, which Kukai wrote to the emperor upon his return from studying in China. Kukai wrote reports on the results of his studies and cautiously relates his initiation.

During the sixth moon of 804, I, Kukai, sailed for China aboard the Number One Ship, in the party of Lord Fujiwara ambassador to the T'ang court. We reached the coast of Fukien by the eighth moon, and four months later arrived at Ch'ang-an, the capital, where we were lodged at the official guest residence. The ambassadorial delegation started home for Japan on March 15, 805, but in obedience to an imperial edict, I alone remained behind in the Hsi-ming Temple where the abbot Yung-chung had formerly resided.

One day, in the course of my calls on eminent Buddhist teachers of the capital, I happened by chance to meet the abbot of the East Pagoda Hall of the Green Dragon Temple. This great priest, whose Buddhist name was Hui-kuo, was the chosen disciple of the Indian master Amoghavajra. His virtue aroused the reverence of his age; his teachings were lofty enough to guide emperors. Three sovereigns revered him as their master and were ordained by him. The four classes of believers looked up to him for instruction in the esoteric teachings.

I called on the abbot in the company of five or six monks from the Hsi-ming Temple. As soon as he saw me he smiled with pleasure, and he joyfully said, 'I knew that you would come! I have been waiting for such a long time. What pleasure it gives me to look on you today at last! My life is drawing to an end, and until you came there was no one to whom I could transmit the teachings. Go without delay to the ordination altar with incense and a flower.' I returned to the temple where I had been staying and got the things which were necessary for the ceremony. It was early in the sixth moon, then, that I entered the ordination chamber. I stood in front of the Womb Mandala [Garbha Mandala] and cast my flower in the prescribed manner.¹ By chance it fell on the body of the Buddha Vairochana in the centre. The master exclaimed in delight, 'How amazing! How perfectly amazing!' He repeated this three or four times in joy and wonder. I was then given the fivefold baptism and received the instruction in the Three Mysteries that bring divine intercession. Next I was taught the Sanskrit formulas for the Womb Mandala, and learned the yoga contemplation on all the Honoured Ones.

Early in the seventh moon I entered the ordination chamber of the Diamond [Vajra] Mandala for a second baptism. When I cast my flower it fell on Vairochana again, and the abbot marvelled as he had before. I also received ordination as an acharya early in the following month. On the day of my ordination I provided

a feast for five hundred of the monks. The dignitaries of the Green Dragon Temple all attended the feast, and everyone enjoyed himself.

I later studied the Diamond Crown Yoga and the five divisions of the True Words teachings, and spent some time learning Sanskrit and the Sanskrit hymns. The abbot informed me that the Esoteric scriptures are so abstruse that their meaning cannot be conveyed except through art. For this reason he ordered the court artist Li Chen and about a dozen other painters to execute ten scrolls of the Womb and Diamond Mandalas, and assembled more than twenty scribes to make copies of the Diamond and other important esoteric scriptures. He also ordered the bronzesmith Chao Wu to cast fifteen ritual implements. These orders for the painting of religious images and the copying of the sutras were issued at various times.

One day the abbot told me, 'Long ago, when I was still young, I met the great master Amoghavajra. From the first moment he saw me he treated me like a son, and on his visit to the court and his return to the temple I was inseparable from him as his shadow. He confided to me. 'You will be the receptacle of the esoteric teachings. Do your best! Do your best!' I was then initiated into the teachings of both the Womb and Diamond, and into the secret mudras as well. The rest of his disciples, monks and laity alike, studied just one of the Mandalas or one Honoured One or one ritual, but not all of them as I did. How deeply I am indebted to him I shall never be able to express.

'Now my existence on earth approaches its term, and I cannot long remain. I urge you, therefore, to take the two Mandalas and the hundred volumes of the Esoteric teachings, together with the ritual implements and these gifts which were left to me by my master. Return to your country and propagate the teachings there.

'When you first arrived I feared I did not have time enough left to teach you everything, but now my teaching is completed, and the work of copying the sutras and making the images is also finished. Hasten back to your country, offer these things to the court, and spread the teachings throughout your country to increase the happiness of the people. Then the land will know peace and everyone will be content. In that way you will return thanks to Buddha and to your teacher. That is also the way to show your devotion to your country and to your family. My disciple I-ming will carry on the teachings here. Your task is to transmit them to the Eastern Land. Do your best! Do your best!' These were his final instructions to me, kindly and patient as always. On the night of the last full moon of the year he purified himself with a ritual bath and, lying on his right side and making the mudra of Vairochana, he breathed his last.

That night, while I sat in meditation in the Hall, the abbot appeared to me in his usual form and said, 'You and I have long been pledged to propagate the esoteric teachings. If I am reborn in Japan, this time I will be your disciple.'

I have not gone into the details of all he said, but the general import of the Master's instructions I have given. [Dated 5th December 806].

Note

1 Mandala is a rather complex design, comprising a circular border and one or more concentric circles enclosing a square divided into four triangles; in the centre of each triangle, and in the centre of the Mandala itself, are other circles containing images of divinities or their emblems. During the initiation, the guru blindfolds the disciple and puts a flower in his hand; the disciple throws it into the Mandala, and the section into which it falls reveals the divinity who will be especially favourable to him. On the Symbolism and the Rituals of the Mandala, cf. M. Eliade, *Yoga* (New York: Bollingen Series LVI, 1958), pp. 219 ff.; G. Tucci, *The Theory and practice of the Mandala* (London, 1961).

Translation by Wm. Theodore de Bary, in De Bary (ed.), *Sources of Japanese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), PP. 144-6. Introductory comment adapted from De Bary, pp. 137 ff. Note by M. Eliade.

GODS, HEROES, AND DEATH

Mircea Eliade "From Primitives to Zen": THE DESCENT OF ISHTAR

TO THE NETHER WORLD

Ishtar, goddess of life and fertility, decides to visit her sister Ereshkigal, goddess of death and sterility. As Ishtar forces her way through the gates of the nether world, her robes and garments are stripped from her. Naked and helpless, she finally reaches Ereshkigal, who instantly has her put to death. Without Ishtar, there is no fertility on earth, and the gods soon realize their loss. Ea creates the beautiful eunuch Asushunamir, who tricks Ereshkigal into reviving Ishtar with the water of life and releasing her.- The ending of the myth is obscure; perhaps Ishtar's lover, Tammuz, was released along with her. Like the Gilgamesh Epic the myth of the descent of Ishtar to the nether world has its Sumerian counterpart (see S. N. Kramer, 'Inanna's Descent to the Nether World,' ANET, pp. 52-7)- Yet the Akkadian version differs substantially from its Sumerian prototype and is by no means a slavish translation of the former. The Sumerian version of the myth dates from the first half of the second millennium B.C.; the Semitic versions do not antedate the end of the second millennium B.C.

To the Land of no Return, the realm of Ereshkigal,

Ishtar, the daughter of Sin, set her mind.

Yea, the daughter of Sin set her mind

To the dark house, the abode of Irkalla,¹

To the house which -none leave who have entered it,

To the road from which there is no way back,

To the house wherein the dwellers are bereft of light,

Where dust is their fare and clay their food,

(Where) they see no light, residing in darkness,

(Where) they are clothed like birds, with wings for garments,

(And where) over door and bolt is spread dust.

When Ishtar reached the gate of the Land of no Return,

She said (these) words to the gatekeeper.

'O gatekeeper, open thy gate,

Open thy gate that I may enter!

If thou openest not the gate so that I can-not enter,

I will smash the door, I will shatter the bolt,

I will smash the doorpost, I will move the doors,

I will raise up the dead, eating the living,

So that the dead will outnumber the living.'

The gatekeeper opened his mouth to speak,

Saying to exalted Ishtar.

'Stop, my lady, do not throw it 2 down!

I will go to announce thy name to Queen Ereshkigal.

'The gatekeeper entered, saying to Ereshkigal:

'Behold, thy sister Ishtar is waiting at the gate,

She who upholds the great festivals,

Who stirs up the deep before Ea, the king.'

When Ereshkigal heard this,

Her face turned pale like a cut-down tamarisk,

While her lips turned dark like a bruised kuninu-reed.

'What drove her heart to me? What impelled her spirit hither?

Lo, should I drink water with the Anunnaki?

Should I eat clay for bread, drink muddied water for beer?

Should I bemoan the men who left their wives behind?

Should I bemoan the maidens who were wrenched from the
laps of their lovers?

(Or) should I bemoan the tender little one who was sent off before his
time? 3

Go, gatekeeper, open the gate for her,

Treat her in accordance with the ancient rules.'

Forth went the gatekeeper (to) open the door for her.

'Enter, my lady, that Cutha 4 may rejoice over thee,

That the palace of the Land of no Return may be glad at thy presence.

'When the first door he had made her enter,

He stripped and took away the great crown on her head.

'Why 0 gatekeeper, didst thou take the great crown on my head?'

'Enter, my lady, thus are the rules of the Mistress of the Nether World.'

[Ishtar passes through seven gates of the nether world. At each of them the gatekeeper removes an ornament. At the second gate, he takes the pendants on her ears; at the third, the chains round her neck, then he removes, respectively, the ornaments on her breast, the girdle of birthstones on her hips, the clasps round her hands and feet, and the breechcloth on her body. Each time, she asks the same question; each time she receives the same answer.]

As soon as Ishtar had descended to the Land of no Return,

Ereshkigal saw her and was enraged at her presence.

Ishtar, unreasoning, flew at her.

Ereshkigal opened her mouth to speak,

Saying (these) words to Namtar, her vizier:

'Go, Namtar, lock her up in my palace!

Release against her, against Ishtar, the sixty miseries:

Misery of the eyes against her eyes,

Misery of the sides against her sides,

Misery of the feet against her feet,

Misery of the head against her head-

Against every part of her, against her whole body!

After Lady Ishtar had descended to the Land of no Return,

The bull springs not upon the cow, the ass impregnates not the jenny,

In the street the man impregnates not the maiden.

The man lay in his (own) chamber, the maiden lay on her side

.....

The countenance of Papsukkal, the vizier of the great gods,

Was fallen, his face was clouded.

He was clad in mourning, long hair he wore.

Forth went Papsukkal before Sin his father, weeping.

His tears flowing before Ea, the king:

'Ishtar has gone down to the nether world, she has not come up.

Since Ishtar has gone down to the Land of no Return,

The bull springs not upon the cow, the ass impregnates -not the jenny,

In the street the man impregnates not the maiden.

The man lay down in his (own) chamber,

The maiden lay down on her side.'

Ea in his wise heart conceived an image,

And created Asushunamir, a eunuch:

'Up, Asushunamir, set thy face to the gate of the Land of no Return;

The seven gates of the Land of no Return shall be opened for thee.

Ereshkigal shall see thee and rejoice at thy presence.

When her heart is calmed, her mood is happy,

let her utter the oath of the great gods.

(Then) lift up thy head, paying mind to the life-water bag.-

'Pray, Lady, let them give me the life-water bag

That water therefrom I may drink.' 5

As soon as Ereshkigal heard this,

She smote her thigh, bit her finger.-

'Thou didst request of me a thing that should not be requested.

Come, Asushunamir, I will curse thee with a mighty curse!

The food of the city's plows 6 shall be thy food,

The sewers of the city shall be thy drink.

The shadow of the wall shall be thy station,

The threshold shall be thy habitation,

The besotted and the thirsty shall smite thy cheek!'

Ereshkigal opened her mouth to speak,

Saying (these) words to Namtar, her vizier.

'Ea, Namtar, knock at Egalgina, 7

Adorn the thresholds with coral-stone,

Bring forth the Annunaki and seat (them) on thrones of gold,

Sprinkle Ishtar with the water of life and take her from my presence!'

Forth went Namtar, knocked at Egalgina.

Adorned the thresholds with coral-stone,

Brought forth the Anunnaki, seated (them) on thrones of gold,

Sprinkled Ishtar with the water of life and took her from her presence.

When through the first gate he had made her go out,

He returned to her the breechcloth for her body.

[As Ishtar passes through each of the seven gates, her ornaments are returned to her one by one.]

'If she does not give thee her ransom price, bring her back.⁸

As for Tammuz, the lover of her youth,

Wash him with pure water, anoint him with sweet oil;

Clothe him with a red garment, let him play on a flute of lapis.

Let courtesans turn his mood.'

When Belili⁹ had ... her jewelry,

And her lap was filled with 'eye-stones',¹⁰

On hearing the sound of her brother, Belili struck the jewelry on

So that the 'eye-stones' filled her chamber.

'My only brother, bring no harm to me!

On the day when Tammuz welcomes me,

When with him the lapis flute (and) the carnelian ring welcome Me,

When with him the wailing men and the wailing women welcome me-

May the dead rise and smell the incense.'

Notes

1 Another name of Ereshkigal, the queen of the nether world.

2 The door.

3 i.e. Ereshkigal would have cause for weeping if all these occupants of the nether world should be liberated by Ishtar.

4 A name of the nether world.

5 The scheme evidently succeeds, as Ereshkigal, distracted by the beauty of Asushunamir (meaning 'His Appearance is brilliant'), does not recover until it is too late.

6 This probably means 'dirt.'

7 'Palace of Justice.'

8 The concluding part of the myth and its allusions, particularly to Tammuz are obscure.

9 Apparently referring to Ishtar.

10 'Bead'?

Translation by E. A. Speiser, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Princeton, 1950), pp. 106-109, reprinted in Isaac Mendelsohn (ed.), *Religions of the Ancient Near East*, Library of Religion paperback series (New York, 1955), pp. 119-25; notes by Mendelsohn

GILGAMESH

IN SEARCH OF IMMORTALITY

Although originally written in Akkadian, the Gilgamesh Epic was translated into several Near Eastern languages and became the most famous literary creation of the ancient Babylonians. Gilgamesh, king of Uruk, is two-thirds god and one-third man, and 'like a wild ox.' As the story begins, the nobles of Uruk are complaining to the gods that the mighty Gilgamesh in his restlessness and arrogance is playing havoc with the city. His mother, the goddess Aruru, creates a companion for him-the wild man Enkidu, who runs with the animals on the steppe. Enkidu is first tamed and made human by a temple harlot. Then he is taken to Uruk, where he wrestles with Gilgamesh. The match is a draw and the two become inseparable companions.

One day, Gilgamesh, always looking for adventure, proposes that he and Enkidu travel to the distant cedar forest to kill Huwawa, its evil guardian. Enkidu protests that the journey is very dangerous and Huwawa very fierce, but Gilgamesh is determined and finally they set out. The undertaking is successful and the two are covered with glory.

But Enkidu has already had premonitions of disaster. On their return to Uruk, the goddess Ishtar sees the beauty of Gilgamesh and proposes to him. He rejects her, reminding her of the fates of her previous lovers. She is furious and has Anu send the sacred bull of heaven to attack him. When Gilgamesh and Enkidu slay the bull, the gods become very angry-this is too presumptuous. As punishment, Enkidu must die.

Enkidu's death is the occasion for the section which we have included here, the climax and culmination of the Epic. For the first time Gilgamesh has had to face the fact of death, and it bewilders and terrifies him. Hoping to learn the secret of immortality, he makes a long and difficult journey in search of Utnapishtim, the one human being who has acquired it. Utnapishtim tells his story-the famous story of the flood. But Gilgamesh is, after all, human and very tired. He falls asleep. Utnapishtim is about to send him away when his wife intervenes in pity. Gilgamesh is told about a wonderful plant of immortality that grows at the bottom of the sea. He obtains it; but as he stops to cool himself in a quiet pool a snake carries off the plant. Gilgamesh, completely unsuccessful, returns to Uruk, and the text concludes as he proudly shows his city to his ferryman.

For Enkidu, his friend, Gilgamesh
Weeps bitterly, as he ranges over the steppe:
'When I die, shall I not be like Enkidu?
Woe has entered my belly.
Facing death, I roam over the steppe.

To Utnapishtim, 1 Ubar-Tutu's son,
I have taken the road to proceed in all haste.
When arriving by night at mountain passes,
I saw lions and grew afraid.
I lifted my head to Sin 2 to pray.

[The remainder of the column is fragmentary or broken away. When Gilgamesh next appears, he has arrived before a mountain.]

The name of the mountain is Mashu.
When he arrived at the mountain range of Mashu,
Which daily keeps watch over sunrise and sunset-
Whose peaks reach to the vault of heaven
(And) whose breasts reach to the nether world below-
Scorpion-men guard its gate,
Whose terror is awesome and whose glance was death.
Their shimmering halo sweeps the mountains
That at sunrise and sunset keep watch over the sun.
When Gilgamesh beheld them, with fear
And terror was darkened his face.
He took hold of his senses and bowed before them.
A scorpion-man calls to his wife:
'He who has come to us-his body is the flesh of the gods!'
His wife answers the scorpion-man:
'Two-thirds of him is god, one-third of him is human.'
The scorpion-man calls to the fellow,
Addressing (these) words to the offspring of the gods:
'Why hast thou come on this far journey?
Why hast thou arrived before me,
Traversing seas whose crossings are difficult?
The purpose of thy coming I would learn.'

[The remainder of the column is broken away. In the next part that we have, Gilgamesh replies:]

'On account of Utnapishtim, my father, have I come,
Who joined the Assembly of the gods, in search of life.
About death and life I wish to ask him.'
The scorpion-man opened his mouth to speak,
Saying to Gilgamesh:
'Never was there, Gilgamesh, a mortal who could achieve that.
The mountain's trail no one has travelled.
For twelve leagues extends its inside.
Dense is the darkness and light there is none.'

[The remainder is fragmentary or broken. Gilgamesh persists, and eventually the scorpion-man opens the mountain to him.]

When Gilgamesh heard this,
To the word of the scorpion-man he gave heed.
Along the road of the sun he went 3
When one league he had attained,
Dense is the darkness and light there is none;
He can see nothing ahead or behind.

[Gilgamesh travels for eight leagues in total blackness. Beginning the ninth league, he feels the north wind fanning his face. He gradually emerges from the cave.]

'When eleven leagues he had attained, the dawn breaks.
And when he had attained twelve leagues, it had grown bright.
On seeing the grove of stories, he heads for.....
The carnelian bears its fruit;
It is hung with vines good to look at.
The lapis bears foliage;
It, too, bears fruit lush to behold.

[The remainder of the tablet is mutilated or lost. There are two fairly complete versions of the episodes in the following tablet-the Old Babylonian and Assyrian recensions-as well as two, more fragmentary, versions. We shall begin with the Old Babylonian version. The top of the tablet is broken.]

Shamash was distraught, as he betook himself to him;
He says to Gilgamesh:
'Gilgamesh, whither rovest thou?
The life thou pursuest thou shalt not find.'
Gilgamesh says to him, to valiant Shamash:
'After marching (and) roving over the steppe,
Must I lay my head in the heart of the earth
That I may sleep through all the years?
Let mine eyes behold the sun
That I may have my fill of the light!
Darkness withdraws when there is enough light.
May he who has died a death behold the radiance of the sun!'

[Again there is a break in the text. Gilgamesh is addressing Siduri,⁴ the ale-wife, who, according to the Assyrian text, 'dwells by the deep sea.']

'He who with me underwent all hardships Enkidu, whom I loved dearly,
Who with me underwent all hardships has now gone to the fate of mankind!
Day and night I have wept over him.
I would not give him up for burial-
In case my friend should rise at my plaint
Seven days and seven nights,
Until a worm fell out of his nose.
Since his passing I have not found life,
I have roamed like a hunter in the midst of the steppe.
O ale-wife, now that I have seen thy face,
Let me not see the death which I ever dread.'
The ale-wife said to him, to Gilgamesh:
'Gilgamesh, whither rovest thou?
The life thou pursuest thou shalt not find.
When the gods created mankind,
Death for mankind they set aside,
Life in their own hands retaining.
Thou, Gilgamesh, let full be thy belly,
Make thou merry by day and by night.
Of each day make thou a feast of rejoicing,
Day and night dance thou and play!
Let thy garments be sparkling fresh,
Thy head be washed; bathe thou in water.
Pay heed to the little one that holds on to thy hand,
Let thy spouse delight in thy bosom!
For this is the task of mankind!'

[The remainder of the conversation is lost. The Assyrian text gives a different version of Sidura's response.]

Gilgamesh also says to her, to the ale-wife:
'Now ale-wife, which is the way to Utnapishtim?
What are its markers? Give me, O give me, its markers!
If it be possible, the sea I will cross,
If it not be possible, over the steppe I will range!'
The ale-wife said to him, to Gilgamesh:
'Never, O Gilgamesh, has there been a crossing,
And none who came since the beginning of days could cross the sea.
Only valiant Shamash crosses the sea;
Other than Shamash who can cross (it)?
Toilsome is the place of crossing
Very toilsome the way thereto,
And deep are the Waters of Death that bar its approaches!
Where then, O Gilgamesh, wouldst thou cross the sea?
On reaching the Waters of Death, what wouldst thou do?
Gilgamesh, there is Urshanabi, boatman to Utnapishtim.
With him are the Stone Things.⁵ In the woods he picks 'urnu'-snakes.⁶
Him let thy face behold.
If it be suitable, cross thou with him.
If it be not suitable, draw thou back.'
When Gilgamesh heard this,
He raised the axe in his hand,
Drew the dirk from his belt, slipped into (the forest),
And went down to them. ⁷
Like an arrow he descended among them.

[The text is too fragmentary for translation. When it resumes, Gilgamesh is responding to Urshanabi's questions. He again tells of Enkidu's death and his own search and asks how he can find Utnapishtim. Urshanabi warns him that, by breaking the 'Stone Things,' he has hindered his own crossing. But he agrees to guide Gilgamesh, and sends him off to cut poles. They set sail and soon come to the waters of death, where Urshanabi instructs Gilgamesh: 'Press on, Gilgamesh, take a pole, (But) let thy hand not touch the Waters of Death . . . !' Finally they reach Utnapishtim's island. Utnapishtim questions Gilgamesh, who repeats his long story again, concluding it as follows.]

Gilgamesh also said to him, to Utnapishtim:
'That -now I might come and behold Utnapishtim,
Whom they call the Faraway,
I ranged and wandered over all the lands,
I traversed difficult mountains,
I crossed all the seas!
My face was not sated with sweet sleep,
I fretted myself with wakefulness;
I filled my joints with aches.
I had not reached the ale-wife's house
When my clothing was used up.
I slew bear, hyena, lion, panther,
Tiger, stag, (and) ibex-
The wild beasts and the creeping things of the steppe.
[The remainder of the tablet is fragmentary and broken, except for the conclusion to Utnapishtim's response.]

'Do we build houses for ever?
Do we seal (contracts) for ever?

Do brothers divide shares for ever?
 Does hatred persist for ever in the land?
 Does the river for ever rise (and) bring on floods?
 The dragon-fly leave (its) shell
 That its face might (but) glance on the face of the sun?
 Since the days of yore there has been no performance;
 The resting and the dead, how alike they are!
 Do they not compose a picture of death,
 The commoner and the noble,
 Once they are near to their fate?
 The Anunnaki, the great gods, foregather,
 Mammetum. maker of fate, with them the fate decrees,
 Death and life they determine.
 (But) of death its days are not revealed.'
 Gilgamesh said to him, to Utnapishtim the Faraway:
 'As I look upon thee, Utnapishtim,
 Thy features are -not strange; even as I art thou.
 My heart had regarded thee as resolved to do battle,
 Yet thou liest indolent upon my back!
 Tell me, how joinedst thou the Assembly of the gods.
 In thy quest of life?'
 Utnapishtim said to him, to Gilgamesh:
 'I will reveal to thee, Gilgamesh, a hidden matter
 And a secret of the gods will I tell thee: . . . '

[Utnapishtim's revelation is the flood narrative .He was made immortal, he says, through the intervention of the gods after he managed to survive the great flood which destroyed Shurippak.)

'But now, who will for thy sake call the gods to Assembly
 That the life which thou seekest thou mayest find?
 Up, lie down to sleep
 For six days and seven nights.'
 As he sits there on his haunches,
 Sleep fans him like a mist.
 Utnapishtim says to her, to his spouse:
 'Behold this hero who seeks life!
 Sleep fans him like a mist.'
 His spouse says to him, to Utnapishtim the Faraway:
 'Touch him that the man may awake,
 That We may return safe on the way back whence he came,
 That through the gate he left he may return to his land.'
 Utnapishtim says to her, to his spouse:
 'Since to deceive is human, he will seek to deceive thee.⁸
 Up, bake for him wafers, put (them) at his head,
 And mark on the walls the days he sleeps.'
 She baked for him wafers, put (them) at his head,
 And marked on the wall the days he slept.
 His first wafer is dried out,
 The second is leathery, the third is soggy;
 The crust of the fourth has turned white;
 The fifth has a mouldy cast,
 The sixth (still) is fresh coloured;

And just as he touched the seventh, the man awoke.
 Gilgamesh says to him, to Utnapishtim the Faraway:

'Scarcely had sleep surged Over me,
When straightway thou dost touch and rouse me'
Utnapishtim says to him, to Gilgamesh:
'Go, Gilgamesh, count thy wafers,
That the days thou hast slept may become known to thee:
Thy first wafer is dried out
The second is leathery, the third is soggy;
The crust of the fourth has turned white; The fifth has a mouldy cast,
The sixth (still) is fresh coloured.
As for the seventh, at this instant thou hast awakened.'
Gilgamesh says to him, to Utnapishtim the Faraway:
'What then 'shall I do, Utnapishtim,
Whither shall I go,
Now that the Bereaver has laid hold on my members?
In my bedchamber lurks death,
And wherever I set my foot, there is death!'
Utnapishtim says to him, to Urshanabi, the boatman:
'Urshanabi, may the landing-place not rejoice in thee.
May the place of the crossing despise thee!
To him who wanders on its shore, deny thou its shore!
The man thou hast led (hither), whose body is covered with grime,
The grace of whose members skins have distorted,
Take him, Urshanabi, and bring him to the washing-place.
Let him wash off his grime in water clean as snow,
Let him cast off his skins, let the sea carry (them) away,
That the fairness of his body may be seen.
Let him renew the band round his head,
Let him put on a cloak to clothe his nakedness,
That he may arrive in his city,
That he may achieve his journey.
Let not (his) cloak have a mouldy cast,
Let it be wholly new.'
Urshanabi took him and brought him to the washing-place.
He washed off his grime in water clean as snow.
He cast off his skins, the sea carried (them) away,
That the fairness of his body might be seen.
He renewed the band round his head,
He put on a cloak to clothe his nakedness,
That he might arrive in his city,
That he might achieve his journey.
The cloak had not a mouldy cast, but was wholly new.
Gilgamesh and Urshanabi boarded the boat,
They launched the boat on the waves (and) they sailed away.
His spouse says to him, to Utnapishtim the Faraway:
'Gilgamesh has come hither, toiling and straining.
What wilt thou give him that he may return to his land?'
At that he, Gilgamesh, raised up (his) pole,
To bring the boat nigh to the shore.
Utnapishtim says to him, to Gilgamesh: ,
Gilgamesh, thou hast come hither, toiling and straining.
What shall I give thee that thou mayest return to thy land?
I will disclose, O Gilgamesh, a hidden thing,
And . . . about a plant I will tell thee:
This plant, like the buckthorn is its . . .
Its thorns will prick thy hands just as does the rose,
If thy hands obtain the plant, thou wilt attain life.'

No sooner had Gilgamesh heard this,
 Than he opened the water-pipe,
 He tied heavy stones to his feet.
 They pulled him down into the deep and there he saw the plant.
 He took the plant, though it pricked his hands.
 He cut the heavy stones from his feet.
 The sea cast him up upon its shore.
 Gilgamesh says to him, to Urshanabi, the boatman:
 'Urshanabi, this plant is a plant apart,
 Whereby a man may regain his life's breath.
 I will take it to ramparted Uruk,
 Will cause . . . to eat the plant !
 Its name shall be "Man Becomes Young in Old Age."
 I myself shall eat (it)
 And thus return to the state of my youth.'
 After twenty leagues they broke off a morsel,
 After thirty (further) leagues they prepared for the night.
 Gilgamesh saw a well whose water was cool.
 He went down into it to bathe in the water.
 A serpent snuffed the fragrance of the plant;
 It came up from the water and carried off the plant.
 Going back it shed its slough.
 Thereupon Gilgamesh sits down and weeps,
 His tears running down over his face.
 He took the hand of Urshanabi, the boatman:
 'For whom, Urshanabi, have my hands toiled?
 For whom is being spent the blood of any heart?
 I have not obtained a boon for myself.
 For the earth-lion I have effected a boon!
 And now the tide will bear (it) twenty leagues away!
 When I opened the water-pipe and spilled the gear,
 I found that which had been placed as a sign for me:
 I shall withdraw,
 And leave the boat on the shore!'
 After twenty leagues they broke off a morsel,
 After thirty (further) leagues they prepared. for the night.
 When they arrived in ramparted Uruk,
 Gilgamesh says to him, to Urshanabi, the boatman:
 'Go up, Urshanabi, walk on the ramparts of Uruk.
 Inspect the base terrace, examine its brickwork,
 If its brickwork is not of burnt brick,
 And if the Seven Wise Ones laid not its foundation.
 One "sar 10 is city, one sar orchards,
 One sar margin land; (further) the precinct of the Temple of Ishtar.
 Three sar and the precinct comprise Uruk.'

Notes

- 1 The Babylonian hero of the Flood, in Sumerian his name is Ziusudra.
- 2 The moon-god.
- 3 Apparently from east to west.
- 4 The divine barmaid.

5 Apparently stone figures of unusual properties.

6 Meaning not dear. Perhaps some magic symbols possessing properties on par with those of the Stone Things.

7 To the Stone Things.

8 By asserting that he had not slept at all.

9 An allusion to the serpent?

10 One sar is about 8,000 gallons.

Translation by E. A. Speiser, in *Ancient Near East Texts* (Princeton, 1950), pp. 72-99, reprinted in Isaac Mendelsohn (ed.), *Religions of the Ancient Near East Library of Religion paperbook series* (New York, 1955) pp. 47-115; notes by Mendelsohn

DEATH AND THE INTERMEDIATE STATE

THE MOMENT OF DEATH

AS DESCRIBED BY THE UPANISHADS

When this self gets to weakness, gets to confusedness, as it were, then the breaths gather round him. He takes to himself those particles of light and descends into the heart. When the person in the eye turns away, then he becomes non-knowing of forms.

[When his body grows weak and he becomes apparently unconscious, the dying man gathers his senses about him, completely withdraws their powers and descends into the heart. Radhakrishnan.]

He is becoming one, he does not see, they say; he is becoming one, he does not smell, they say; he is becoming one, he does not taste, they say; he is becoming one, he does not speak, they say; he is becoming one, he does not hear, they say; he is becoming one, he does not think, they say; he is becoming one, he does not touch, they say; he is becoming one, he does not know, they say. The point of his heart becomes lighted up and by that light the self departs either through the eye or through the head or through other apertures of the body. And when he thus departs, life departs after him. And when life thus departs, all the vital breaths depart after him. He becomes one with intelligence. What has intelligence departs with him. His knowledge and his work take hold of him as also his past experience. (Brihad-aranyaka Upanishad, IV, 4, 1-2.)

Verily, when a person departs from this world, he goes to the air. It opens out there for him like the hole of a chariot wheel. Through that he goes upwards. He goes to the sun. It opens out there for him like the hole of a lambara. Through that he goes upwards. He reaches the moon. It opens out there for him like the hole of a drum. Through that he goes upwards. He goes to the world free from grief, free from snow. There he dwells eternal years. (ibid., V, II, I.)

S. Radhakrishnan (editor and translator), *The Principal Upanishads* (New York: Harper & Row, 1951) pp. 269-70, 296

THE BUDDHIST CONCEPTION OF THE INTERMEDIATE STATE

('Saddharma-smṛityupasthāna Sūtra,' from chapter XXXIV)

The Chinese translation of this material (from which the present English translation was made) dates from

ca. A.D. 542.

When a human being dies and is going to be reincarnated as a human being . . . when the time of his death is approaching he sees these signs: he sees a great rocky mountain lowering above him like a shadow. He thinks to himself, 'The mountain might fall down on top of me,' and he makes a gesture with his hand as though to ward off this mountain. His brothers and kinsmen and neighbours see him do this; but to them it seems that he is simply pushing out his hand into space. Presently the mountain seems to be made of white cloth and he clammers up this cloth. Then it seems to be made of red cloth. Finally, as the time of his death approaches he sees a bright light, and being unaccustomed to it at the time of his death he is perplexed and confused. He sees all sorts of things such as are seen in dreams, because his mind is confused. He sees his (future) father and mother making love, and seeing them a thought crosses his mind, a perversity (viparyasa) arises in him. If he is going to be reborn as a man he sees himself making love with his mother and being hindered by his father; or if he is going to be reborn as a woman, he sees himself making love with his father and being hindered by his mother. It is at that moment that the Intermediate Existence is destroyed and life and consciousness arise and causality begins once more to work. It is like the imprint made by a die; the die is then destroyed but the pattern has been imprinted.

Translation by Arthur Waley, in Conze et al, *Buddhist Texts through the Ages* (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer (Publishers) Ltd., 1954)

THE TIBETAN BOOK OF THE DEAD

DEATH AND INTERMEDIATE STATES

Bardo Thodol, 'The Tibetan Book of the Dead,' is a guide for the dead and dying. The first part, called Chikhai Bardo, describes the moment of death. The second part, Chonyid Bardo, deals with the states which supervene immediately after death. The third part, Sidpa Bardo, concerns the onset of the birth instinct and of prenatal events.

When the expiration hath ceased, the vital-force will have sunk into the nerve-centre of Wisdom 1 and the Knower 2 will be experiencing the Clear Light of the natural condition 3. Then the vital force, being thrown backwards and flying downwards through the right and left nerves 4 the Intermediate State (Bardo) momentarily dawns.

The above [directions] should be applied before [the vital force hath] rushed into the left nerve [after first having traversed the navel nerve-centre].

The time [ordinarily necessary for this motion of the vital-force] is as long as the inspiration is still present, or about the time required for eating a meal.

Then the manner of application [of the instructions] is:

When the breathing is about to cease, it is best if the Transference hath been applied efficiently; if [the application] hath been ineffectual, then [address the deceased] thus:

O nobly-born [so and so by name], the time hath now come for thee to seek the Path [in reality]. Thy breathing is about to cease. Thy guru hath set thee face to face before with the Clear Light; and now thou art about to experience in its Reality in the Bardo state, wherein all things are like the void and cloudless sky, and the naked, spotless intellect is like unto a transparent vacuum without circumference or centre. At this moment, know thou thyself-, and abide in that state. I, too, at this time, am setting thee face to face.

Having read this, repeat it many times in the ear of the person dying, even before the expiration hath ceased, so as to impress it on the mind [of the dying one].

If the expiration is about to cease, turn the dying one over on the right side, which posture is called the 'Lying Posture of a Lion.' The throbbing of the arteries [on the right and left side of the throat] is to be

pressed.

If the person dying be disposed to sleep, or if the sleeping state advances, that should be arrested, and the arteries pressed gently but firmly. Thereby the vital-force will not be able to return from the median-nerve and will be sure to pass out through the Brahmanic aperture.⁵ Now the real setting-face-to-face is to be applied.

At this moment, the first glimpsing of the Bardo of the Clear Light of Reality, which is the Infallible Mind of the Dharma-Kaya, is experienced by all sentient beings.

After the expiration hath completely ceased, press the nerves of sleep firmly; and, a lama, or a person higher or more learned than thyself, impress in these words, thus:

Reverend Sir, now that thou art experiencing the Fundamental Clear Light, try to abide in that state which now thou art experiencing.

And also in the case of any other person the reader shall set him face-to-face thus:

O nobly-born [so-and-so], listen. Now thou art experiencing the Radiance of the Clear Light of Pure Reality. Recognize it. O nobly-born, thy present intellect, in real nature void, not formed into anything as regards characteristics or colour, naturally void, is the very Reality, the All-Good.

Thine own intellect, which is now voidness, yet not to be regarded as of the voidness of nothingness, but as being the intellect itself, unobstructed, shining, thrilling, and blissful, is the very consciousness, the All-good Buddha.

Thine own consciousness, not formed into anything, in reality void, and the intellect, shining and blissful, -these two, -are inseparable. The union of them is the Dharma-Kaya state of Perfect Enlightenment.⁶

Thine own consciousness, shining, void, and inseparable from the Great Body of Radiance, hath no birth, nor death, and is the Immutable Light-Buddha Amitabha.

Knowing this is sufficient. Recognizing the voidness of thine own intellect to be Buddhahood, and looking upon it as being thine own consciousness, is to keep thyself in the [state of the] divine mind of the Buddha.

Repeat this distinctly and dearly three or [even] seven times. That will recall to the mind [of the dying one] the former [i.e. when living] setting-face-to-face by the guru. Secondly, it will cause the naked consciousness to be recognized as the Clear Light; and, thirdly, recognizing one's own self [thus], one becometh permanently united with the Dharma-Kaya and liberation will be certain.

[if when dying, one is familiar with this state, the wheel of rebirth is stopped and liberation is instantaneously achieved. But such spiritual efficiency is so very rare that the normal mental condition of the dying person is unequal to the supreme feat of holding on to the state in which the Clear Light shines. There follows a progressive descent into lower and lower states of the Bardo existence, and finally rebirth. immediately after the first state of Chikhai Bardo comes the second stage, when the consciousness-principle leaves the body and says to itself. 'Am I dead, or am I not dead?' without being able to determine.]

But even though the Primary Clear Light be not recognized, the Clear Light of the second Bardo being recognized, Liberation will be attained. If not liberated even by that, then that called the third Bardo or the Chonyid Bardo dawneth.

In this third stage of the Bardo, the karmic illusions come to shine. It is very important that this Great setting-face-to-face of the Chonyid Bardo be read: it hath much power and can do much good.

About this time [the deceased] can see that the share of food is being set aside, that the body is being stripped of its garments, that the place of the sleeping-rug is being swept; 7 can hear all the weeping and wailing of his friends and relatives, and, although he can see them and can hear them calling upon him, they cannot hear him calling upon them, so he goeth away displeased.

At that time, sounds, lights, and rays-all three-are experienced. These awe, frighten, and terrify, and cause much fatigue. At this moment, this setting-face-to-face with the Bardo [during the experiencing] of Reality is to be applied. Call the deceased by name, and correctly and distinctly explain to him, as follows:

O nobly-born, listen with full attention, without being distracted: There are six states of Bardo, namely: the natural state of Bardo while in the womb; the Bardo of the dream-state; the Bardo of ecstatic equilibrium, while in deep meditation; the Bardo of the moment of death; the Bardo [during the experiencing] of Reality, the Bardo of the inverse process of samsaric existence. These are the six.

O nobly-born, thou wilt experience three Bardos, the Bardo of the moment of death, the Bardo [during the experiencing] of Reality, and the Bardo while seeking rebirth. Of these three, up to yesterday, thou hadst experienced the Bardo of the moment of death. Although the Clear Light of Reality dawned upon thee, thou wert unable to hold on, and so thou hast to wander here. Now henceforth thou art going to experience the [other] two, the Chonyid Bardo and the Sidpa Bardo.⁸ Thou wilt pay undistracted attention to that with which I am about to set thee face to face, and hold on;

O nobly-born, that which is called death hath now come. Thou art departing from this world, but thou art not the only one; [death] cometh to all. Do not cling, in fondness and weakness, to this life. Even though thou clingest out of weakness, thou hast not the power to remain here. Thou wilt gain nothing more than wandering in this Samsara. 9 Be not attached [to this world]; be not weak. Remember the Precious Trinity.¹⁰

O nobly-born, whatever fear and terror may come to thee in the Chonyid Bardo, forget not these words; and, bearing their meaning at heart, go forwards: in them lieth the vital secret of recognition:

Alas! when the Uncertain Experiencing of Reality is dawning upon me here,

With every thought of fear or terror or awe for all [apparitional appearances] set aside,

May I recognize whatever [visions] appear, as the reflections of mine own consciousness;

May I know them to be of the nature of apparitions in the Bardo: When at this all-important moment [of opportunity] of achieving a great end.

May I not fear the bands of Peaceful and Wrathful [Deities], mine own thought-forms.

Repeat thou these [verses] dearly, and remembering their significance as thou repeatest them, go forwards, [O nobly-born]. Thereby, whatever visions of awe or terror appear, recognition is certain; and forget not this vital secret art lying therein.

O nobly-born, when thy body and mind were separating, thou must have experienced a glimpse Of the Pure Truth, subtle, sparkling, bright dazzling, glorious, and radiantly awesome, in appearance like a mirage moving across a landscape in spring-time in one continuous stream of vibrations. Be not daunted thereby, nor terrified, nor awed. That is the radiance of thine own true nature. Recognize it.

From the midst of that radiance, the natural sound of Reality, reverberating like a thousand thunders simultaneously sounding, will come. That is the natural sound of thine own real self. Be not daunted thereby, nor terrified, nor awed.

The body, which thou hast now is called the thought-body of propensities.¹¹ Since thou hast not a

material body of flesh and blood, whatever may come, -sounds, lights, or rays, -are, all three, unable to harm thee: thou art incapable of dying. It is quite sufficient for thee to know that these apparitions are thine own thought-forms. Recognize this to be the Bardo.

O nobly-born, if thou dost not now recognize thine own thoughtforms, whatever of meditation or of devotion thou mayest have performed while in the human world-if thou hast not met with this present teaching-the lights will daunt thee, the sounds will awe thee, and the rays will terrify thee. Shouldst thou not know this an important key to the teachings, -not being able to recognize the sounds, lights, and rays, -thou wilt have to wander in the Samsara.

Notes

1 The 'nerve-centres' are the 'psychic centres' (cakra). The 'nerve-centre of wisdom' is located in the heart-centre (anahata-cakra).

2 'Knower,' i.e. the mind in its knowing functions.

3 The mind in its natural, or primal, state.

4 That is, the 'psychic nerves,' pingala-nadi and ida-nadi.

5 Brahmarandhra, the fissure on the top of the cranium identified with sutura frontalis.

6 From the union of the two states of mind, or consciousness, is born the state of Perfect Enlightenment, Buddhahood. The Dharma-Kaya ('Body of Truth') symbolizes the purest and the highest state of being, a state of supramundane consciousness.

7 The references are (1) to the share of food being set aside for the deceased during the funeral rites; (2) to his corpse being prepared for the shroud; (3) to his bed or sleeping-place.

8 The Chonyid Bardo is the intermediate state during the experiencing of Reality. The Sidpa Bardo represents the state wherein the deceased is seeking rebirth.

9 Samsara, the universal becoming.

10 That is, the Buddha, the Dharma (=the Law, the Doctrine), the Samgha (the entire community of monks and hermits).

11 'Thought-body' or 'mind-body' born of the past worldly existence.

W.Y. Evans-Wentz (translator and editor), *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* (Oxford, 3rd ed.; 1957), pp. 90-2, 95-7, 101-4

FUNERARY RITUALS

AFFORD HIM EASY ACCESS, EARTH'

A VEDIC FUNERARY HYMN

('Rig Veda,' X, I 8)

1. Go hence, O Death, I pursue thy special pathway
apart from that which gods are wont to travel. To thee I say it who hast eyes and hearest: touch not our
offspring, injure not our heroes.

2. As ye have come effacing Mrityu's footstep, 2 to

farther times prolonging your existence,
May ye be rich in children and possessions, cleansed, purified, and meet for sacrificing.

3. Divided from the dead are- these, the living: now
is our calling on the gods successful
We have come forth for dancing and for laughter,
to farther times prolonging our existence.

4. Here I erect this rampart for the living, let none
of these, none other reach this limit.
May they survive a hundred lengthened autumns,
and may they bury Death beneath this mountain. 3

5. As the days follow days in close succession, as with
the seasons duly come the seasons,
As each successor fails not his foregoer, so form the lives of these,
O great Ordainer 4

6. Live your full lives and find old age delightful, all of
you striving one behind the other. 5
May Tvashtar, 6 maker of fair things, be gracious,
and lengthen out the days of your existence.

7. Let these unwidowed dames with noble husbands
adorn themselves with fragrant faint and unguent.
Decked with fair jewels, tearless, free from sorrow,
first let the wives ascend unto the place .7

8. Rise, come unto the world of life, O woman: come
he is lifeless by whose side thou liest.
Wifehood with this thy husband was thy portion,
who took thy hand and wooed thee as a lover. 8

9. From his dead hand I take the bow he carried , that
it may be our power and might and glory
There art thou, there; and here with noble heroes
may we o'ercome all hosts that fight against us.

10. Betake thee 9 to the lap of the earth the mother,
of earth far-spreading, very kind and gracious.
Young dame, wool-soft unto the guerdon-giver,
may she preserve thee from Destruction's bosom.

11. Heave thyself, Earth, nor press thee downward
heavily: afford him easy access, gently tending him.
Earth, as a mother wraps her shirt about her child,
so cover him.

12. Now let the heaving earth be free from motion: yea,
let a thousand clods remain above him.
Be they to him a home distilling fatness, here let
them ever be his place of refuge.

13. 1 stay the earth from thee, while over thee I place
this piece of earth. May I be free from injury.
Here let the Fathers keep this pillar firm for thee,

and there let Yama make thee an abiding place 10

14. Even as an arrow's feathers, they have laid me down
at day's decline.

My parting speech have I drawn back as 'twere a
courser with the rein.

Notes

1 Mrityu, a personification of death, while Yama (see stanza 13 below) is the god who rules the spirits of the departed.

2 i.e., losing' Death by erasing his tracks and frustrating his approach. The stanza is addressed to those assembled for the funeral rites.

3 Having absolved the living from impurity (stanza 2), the adhvaryu priest now raises a stone or earth mound, likened to a 'mountain,' to further bar the Path of Death and to limit his domain.

4 Dhitar, a divine being who is creator, arranger and maintainer of all things, and who is particularly associated with matrimony and fertility.

5 Human lives should succeed one another, with their ideal 'hundred autumns' each, in as orderly a fashion as the seasons.

6 The divine artisan, shaper of forms; a god celebrated for his generative powers.

7 At this point the women now go up to the raised 'place' (yoni, a word which also means 'womb,' 'Place of origin'), where the corpse lies with his widow beside him.

8 This stanza is addressed to the widow, either by the priest or by the husband's brother, as she is summoned to return to the realm of the living. (The levirate marriage is mentioned elsewhere in Rig Veda, X, e.g. 40-2).

9 The deceased.

10 After the committal of the body to the earth the priest has perhaps placed a beam or lid across the grave to 'stay the earth' and make the bodily resting place as secure as that which Yama provides for the spirit in the other world. This priestly act is cautious, nonetheless, as 'injury' may accrue from contact with the impurity of death. Stanza 14 is obviously a later addition.

Translation by Ralph T. H. Griffith, in his *The Hymns of the Rigveda*, IV (Benares, 1892), PP. 137-9; adapted by M. Eliade

THE AZTEC FUNERARY RITUAL

When among the Aztecs a mortal died the 'straw death,' before the corpse the priest uttered these words: 'Our son, thou art finished with the sufferings and fatigues of this life. It hath pleased our Lord to take thee hence, for thou hast not eternal life in this world; our existence is as a ray of the sun. He hath given thee the grace of knowing us and of associating in our common life. Now the god Mictlancutli and the goddess Mictecaciuatl [Lord and Lady of Hell] have made thee to share their abode. We shall all follow thee, for it is our destiny, and the abode is broad enough to receive the whole world. Thou wilt be heard of no longer among us. Behold, thou art gone to the domain of darkness, where there is neither light nor window. Neither shalt thou come hither again, nor needst thou concern thyself for thy return, for thine absence is eternal. Thou dost leave thy children poor and orphaned, not knowing what will be their end nor how they will support the fatigues of this life. As for us, we shall not delay to go to join thee there where thou wilt be.' Then upon the head of the body, like another baptism, the priest let fall a few drops of water and beside it

placed a bowl of water: 'Lo, the water of which in this life thou hast made use; this for thy journey.' And like another Book of the Dead, in due order certain papers were laid upon the mummy-form corpse: 'Lo, with this thou shalt pass the two dashing mountains. . . . With this thou shalt pass the road where the serpent awaiteth thee. . . . With this thou shalt pass the lair of the green lizard. Lo, wherewith thou shalt cross the eight deserts.... And the eight hills..... And behold with what thou canst traverse the place of the winds that drive with obsidian knives.' Thus the perils of the Underworld Way were to be passed, and the soul to arrive before Mictlantecutli, whence after four years he should fare onward until, by the aid of his dog, sacrificed at his grave, he should pass over the Ninefold Stream, and thence, hound with master, enter into the eternal house of the dead, Chicomemictlan, the Ninth Hell.

H.B. Alexander, *The World's Rim* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1953), PP. 201-2; translating and summarizing Bernardino de Sahagun, *Historia de las Cosas de la Nueva Espana* bk.III, App. I

EGYPTIAN CONCEPTIONS OF DEATH

THE DEAD PHARAOH ASCENDS TO HEAVEN

(From the 'Pyramid Texts')

The so-called Pyramid Texts are religious texts inscribed on the interior walls of the pyramids of certain pharaohs of the fifth and sixth dynasties (Ca. 2425-2300 B.C.).-The Pyramid Texts contain the oldest references to Egyptian cosmology and theology, but they are primarily concerned with the victorious passage of the dead pharaoh to his new, celestial abode.

Thy two wings are spread out like a falcon with thick plumage, like the hawk seen in the evening traversing the sky (Pyr. 1048).

He flies who flies; this king Pepi flies away from you, ye mortals. He is not of the earth, he is of the sky. . . . This king Pepi flies as a cloud to the sky, like a masthead bird; this king Pepi kisses the sky like a falcon, this king Pepi reaches the sky like Horizon-god (Harakhte) (Pyr. 890-1).

Thou ascendest to the sky as a falcon, thy feathers are (those of) geese (Pyr. 913).

King Unis goes to the sky, king Unis goes to the sky! On the wind! On the wind ! (Pyr. 309)-

Stairs to the sky are laid for him that he may ascend thereon to the sky (Pyr. 365).

King Unis ascends upon the ladder which his father Re (the Sun-god) made for him (Pyr. 390)

Atum has done that which he said he would do for this king Pepi II, binding for him the rope-ladder, joining together the (wooden) ladder for this king Pepi II; (thus) this king is far from the abomination of men (Pyr. 2083)-

'How beautiful to see, how satisfying to behold,' say the gods, when this god (meaning the king) ascends to the sky. His fearfulness is on his head, his terror is at his side, his magical charms are before him.' Geb has done for him as was done for himself (Geb). The gods and souls of Buto, the gods and souls of Hierakonpolis, the gods in the sky and the gods on earth come to him. They make supports for king Unis on their arms. Thou ascendest, O King Unis, to the sky, Ascend upon it in this its name 'Ladder' (Pyr. 476-9).

[Over and over again we find the assurance that the double doors of the sky are opened before the pharaoh.]

Opened are the double doors of the horizon; unlocked are its bolts (Pyr. 194; -n.b. this is a constant refrain in the Pyramid Texts; cf. 603, 604, 408, etc).

[The King's heralds hasten to announce his advent to the Sun god.]

Thy messengers go, thy swift messengers run, thy heralds make haste. They announce to Re that thou hast come, (even) this king Pepi (1539-40)-

This king Pepi found the gods sanding, wrapped in their garments, their white sandals on their feet. They cast off their white sandals to the earth, they throw off their garments. 'Our heart was not glad until thy coming,' say they (Pyr. 1197).

[More often the gods themselves proclaim the pharaoh's coming.]

O Re-Atum! This king Unis comes to thee, an imperishable gloriousom, lord of the affairs of the place of the four pillars (the sky). Thy son comes to thee. This king Unis comes to thee (Pyr. . 217)-

[The dead pharaoh boldly approaches the Sun god with the words:]

1, O Re, am this one of whom thou didst say . . . 'My son!' , father are thou, O Re. . . . Behold king Pepi, O Re. This king Pepi is thy son. . . . This king Pepi shines in the east like Re, he goes in the west like Kheprer. This king Pepi lives on what whereon Horus (son of Re) lord of the sky lives, by command of Horus lord of the sky' (Pyr. 886-8).

The king ascends to the sky among the gods dwelling in the sky. He stands on the great [dais], he hears (in judicial session) the (legal) affairs of men. Re finds thee upon the shores of the sky in this lake that is in Nut (the Sky-goddess). 'The arriver comes !' say the gods. He (Re) gives thee his arm on the stairway to the sky. 'He who knows his place comes,' say the gods. O Pure One, assume thy throne in the barque of Re and sail thou the sky. . . . Sail thou with the Imperishable Stars, sad thou with the Unwearing Stars. Receive thou the tribute' of the Evening Barque, become thou a spirit dwelling in Dewat. Live thou this pleasant life which the lord of the horizon lives (Pyr. 1169-72)-

Translation by J. H. Breasted, in his Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt (Chicago, 1912), pp. 109-15, 118-20, 122, 136

THE DEAD PHARAOH BECOMES OSIRIS

(From the 'Pyramid Texts')

A great number of Pyramid Texts present the different phases of the ritual assimilation of the dead pharaoh with Osiris.

As he (Osiris) lives, this king Unis lives; as he dies not, this king Unis dies not; as he perishes not, this king Unis perishes not (Pyr. Ut. 219).

[The dead pharaoh receives the throne of Osiris, and becomes, like him, king of the dead.]

Ho! king Neferkere (Pepi II)! How beautiful is this! How beautiful is this, which thy father Osiris has done for thee ! He has given thee his throne, thou rulest those of the hidden places (the dead), thou leadest their august ones, all the glorious ones follow thee (Pyr. 2022-3).

Translation by J. H. Breasted in his Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt (Chicago, 1912), PP. 145-6

OSIRIS

THE PROTOTYPE OF EVERY SOUL WHO HOPES TO CONQUER DEATH

('Coffin Texts,' I, 197)

The so-called Coffin Texts, inscribed on the interior of coffins, belong to the Middle Kingdom (2250-1580 B.C.). They attest a marked

'democratization' of the ancient funerary ritual of the pharaoh. just as the pharaoh of earlier times had claimed to participate in the fate of Osiris, so each soul now hoped to achieve a ritual assimilation to the god.

Now are you a king's son, a prince,

as long as your soul exists, so long will your heart be with you.

Anubis is mindful of you in Busiris,

your soul rejoices in Abydos where your body is happy on the High Hill

Your embalmer rejoices in every place.

Ah, truly, you are the chosen one!

you are made whole in this your dignity which is before me,

Anubis' heart is happy over the work of his hands

and the heart of the Lord of the Divine Hall is thrilled

when he beholds this good god,

Master of those that have been and Ruler over those that are to come.

Translation by R. T. Rundle Clark, in his *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1960), P. 134

SURVIVAL AS BA

AND SURVIVAL IN THE TOMB ARE COMPLEMENTARY

Thou shalt come in and go out, thy heart rejoicing, in the favour of the Lord of the Gods, a good burial [being thine] after a venerable old age, when age has come, thou assuming thy place in the coffin, and joining earth on the high ground of the west.

Thou shalt change into a living Ba(1) and surely he will have power to obtain bread and water and air; and thou shalt take shape as a heron or swallow, as a falcon or a bittern, whichever thou pleasest.

Thou shalt cross in the ferryboat and shalt not turn back, thou shalt sail on the waters of the flood, and thy life shall start afresh. Thy Ba shall not depart from thy corpse and thy Ba shall become divine with the blessed dead. The perfect Ba's shall speak to thee, and thou shalt be an equal amongst them in receiving what is given on earth. Thou shalt have power over water, shalt inhale air, and shalt be surfeited with the desires of thy heart. Thine eyes shall be given to thee so as to see, and thine ears so as to hear, thy mouth speaking, and thy feet walking. Thy arms and thy shoulders shall move for thee, thy flesh shall be firm, thy muscles shall be easy and thou shalt exult in all thy limbs. Thou shalt examine thy body and find it whole and sound, no ill whatever adhering to thee. Thine own true heart shall be with thee, yea, thou shalt have thy former heart. Thou shalt go up to the sky, and shalt penetrate the Netherworld in all forms

that thou likes.

Note

1 The dead man conceived as having an animated existence after death was called Ba.... The word Ba means 'animation, manifestation.'

Translation by A. Gardiner, *The Attitude of the Ancient Egyptians to Death and the Dead* (Cambridge, Eng., 1935), PP. 29-30, as quoted in Henri Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948)

THE EGYPTIAN LAND

OF SILENCE AND DARKNESS

In this song a woman laments the death of her husband.

How sad is the descent in the Land of Silence. The wakeful sleeps, he who did not slumber at night lies still forever. The scornors say: The dwelling-place of the inhabitants of the West is deep and dark. It has no door, no window, no light to illuminate it, no north wind to refresh the heart. The sun does not rise there, but they lie every day in darkness. . . . The guardian has been taken away to the land of Infinity.

Those who are in the West are cut off, and their existence is misery, one is loathe to go to join them. One cannot recount one's experiences but one rests in one place of eternity in darkness.

Translation by Henri Frankfort (after Kees), in Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948)

THE ROADS TO THE NETHER WORLD

THE INITIATES IN THE ORPHIC-PYTHAGOREAN BROTHERHOOD

TAUGHT THE ROAD TO THE LOWER WORLD

(The Funerary Gold Plates)

[Plate from Petelia, South Italy, fourth-third century B.C.]

Thou shalt find to the left of the House of Hades a spring,

And by the side thereof standing a white cypress.

To this spring approach not near.

But thou shalt find another, from the Lake of Memory

Cold water flowing forth, and there are guardians before it.

Say, 'I am a child of Earth and starry Heaven;

But my race is of Heaven (alone). This ye know yourselves.

But I am parched with thirst and I perish. Give me quickly

The cold water flowing forth from the Lake of Memory.'

And of themselves they will give thee to drink of the holy spring-

And thereafter among the other heroes thou shalt have lordship.

[Plate from Eleuthernai in Crete, second century B.C.]

I am parched with thirst and I perish-Nay, drink of me (or, But give me to drink of)

The ever-flowing spring on the right, where the cypress is.

Who art thou?.....

Whence art thou?-I am the son of Earth and starry Heaven.

[Plate from Thurii, South Italy, fourth-third century B.C.]

But so soon as the spirit hath left the light of the sun,

Go to the right as far as one should go, being right wary in all things.

Hail, thou who hast suffered the suffering. This thou hadst never suffered before.

Thou art become god from man.

A kid thou art fallen into milk.

Hail, hail to thee journeying the right hand road

By holy meadows and groves of Persephone.

[Three more tablets from Thurii, of roughly the same date as the previous One.]

I come from the pure, pure Queen of those below,

And Eukles and Eubuleus, and other Gods and Daemons.

For I also avow that I am of your blessed race.

And I have paid the- penalty for deeds unrighteous,

Whether it be that Fate laid me low or the gods immortal

Or . . . with star-flung thunderbolt.

I have flown out of the sorrowful, weary circle.

I have passed with swift feet to the diadem desired.

I have sunk beneath the bosom of the Mistress, the Queen of the
underworld.

And now I come a suppliant to holy Persephoneia,

That of her grace she send men to the seats of the Hallowed.

Happy and blessed one, thou shalt be god instead of mortal.

A kid I have fallen into milk.

Translation by W. Y. C. Guthrie, in his *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London, 1935). PP. 172-3

THE IRANIAN AFTERLIFE

THE CROSSING OF THE CINVAT BRIDGE AND THE ROADS TO HEAVEN AND HELL

('Menok I Khrat,' I, 71-122)

According to Zoroastrian belief, the soul of the departed hovers near the body for three days. On the fourth day he faces a judgement on the 'Bridge of the Requirer' (Cinvat Bridge), where Rashn 'the righteous' impartially weighs his good and evil deeds. If the good actions preponderate over the evil ones, the soul is permitted to ascend to Heaven; if, on the contrary, there is a predominance of evil acts, it is dragged off to Hell. But for the Zoroastrians, Hell is not eternal. At the Last Judgement, at the end of time, the bodies are resurrected and reunited with their souls. Then there is a final and universal purgation, from which all men without exception emerge spotless, and enter into Paradise.

(71) Put not your trust in life, for at the last death must overtake you;

(72) and dog and bird will rend your corpse and your bones will be tumbled on the earth.

(73) For three days and nights the soul sits beside the pillow of the body.

(74) And on the fourth day at dawn (the soul) accompanied by the blessed Srosh, the good Vay, and the mighty Vahram, and opposed by Astvihāt (the demon of death), the evil Vay, the demon Frehzišt and the demon Vizīšt, and pursued by the active ill-will of Wrath, the evil-doer who bears a bloody spear, (will reach) the lofty and awful Bridge of the Requirer to which every man whose soul is saved and every man whose soul is damned must come. Here does many an enemy lie in wait.

(75) Here (the soul will suffer) from the ill-will of Wrath who wields a bloody spear and from Astvihāt who swallows all creation yet knows no sating,

(76) and it will (benefit by) the mediation of Hīhr, Srosh, and Rashn, and will (needs submit) to the weighing (of his deeds) by the righteous Rashn who lets the scales of the spiritual gods incline to neither side, neither for the saved nor yet for the damned, nor yet for kings and princes:

(77) not so much as a hair's breadth does he allow (the scales) to tip, and he is no respecter (of persons),

(78) for he deals out impartial justice both to kings and princes and to the humblest of men.

(79) And when the soul of the saved passes over that bridge, the breadth of the bridge appears to be one parasang broad.

(80) And the soul of the saved passes on accompanied by the blessed Srosh.

(81) And his own good deeds come to meet him in the form of a young girl, more beautiful and fair than any girl on earth.

(82) And the soul of the saved says, 'Who art thou, for I have never seen a young girl on earth more beautiful or fair than thee.'

(83) In answer the form of the young girl replies, 'I am no girl but thy own good deeds, O young man whose thoughts and words, deeds and religion were good:

(84) for when on earth thou didst see one who offered sacrifice to the demons, then didst thou sit (apart) and offer sacrifice to the gods.

(85) And when thou didst see a man do violence and rapine, afflict good men and treat them with contumely, and hoard up goods wrongfully obtained, then didst thou refrain from visiting creatures with violence and rapine of thine own;

(86) (nay rather,) thou wast considerate to good men, didst entertain them and offer them hospitality, and give alms both to the man who came from near and to him who came from afar;

(87) and thou didst amass thy wealth in righteousness.

(88) And when thou didst see one who passed a false judgement or took bribes or bore false witness, thou didst sit thee down and speak witness right and true.

(89) I am thy good thoughts, good words, and good deeds which thou didst think and say and do. . . .'

(91) And when the soul departs from thence, then is a fragrant breeze wafted towards him, (a breeze) more fragrant than any perfume.

(92) Then does the soul of the saved ask Srosh saying, 'What breeze is this, the like of which in fragrance I never smelt on earth?'

(93) Then does the blessed Srosh make answer to the soul of the saved, saying, 'This is a wind (wafted) from Heaven; hence is it so fragrant.'

(94) Then with his first step he bestrides (the heaven of) good thoughts, with his second (the heaven of) good words, and with his third (the heaven of) good deeds, and with his fourth step he reaches the Endless Light where is all bliss.

(95) And all the gods and Amahraspands come to greet him and ask him how he has fared, saying, 'How was thy passage from those transient, fearful worlds where there is much evil to these worlds which do not pass away and in which there is no adversary, O young man whose thoughts and words, deeds and religion are good?'

(96) Then Ohrmazd, the Lord, speaks, saying, 'Do not ask him how he has fared, for he has been separated from his beloved body and has travelled on a fearsome road.'

(97) And they served him with the sweetest of all foods even with the butter of early spring so that his soul may take its ease after the three nights terror of the Bridge inflicted on him by Astvihāt and the other demons,

(98) and he is sat upon a throne everywhere bejeweled. . . .

(100) And for ever and ever he dwells with the spiritual gods in all bliss for evermore.

(101) But when the man who is damned dies, for three days and nights does his soul hover near his head and weeps, saying, 'Whither shall I go and in whom shall I now take refuge?'

(102) And during those three days and nights he sees with his eyes all the sins and wickedness that he committed on earth.

(103) On the fourth day the demon Vizarsh comes and binds the soul of the damned in most shameful wise, and despite the opposition of the blessed Srosh drags it off to the Bridge of the Requiter.

(104) Then the righteous Rashn makes clear to the soul of the damned that it is damned (indeed).

(105) Then the demon Vizarsh seizes upon the soul of the damned, smites it and ill-treats it without pity, urged on by Wrath.

(106) And the soul of the damned cries out with a loud voice, makes moan, and in supplication makes many a piteous plea; much does he struggle though his life-breath endures no more.

(107) When all his struggling and his lamentations have proved of no avail, no help is proffered him by any of the gods nor yet by any of the demons, the demon Vizarsh drags him off against his will into nether Hell.

(108) Then a young girl who yet has no semblance of a young girl, comes to meet him.

(109) And the soul of the damned says to that ill-favoured wench, 'Who art thou? for I have never seen all ill-favoured wench on earth more ill-favoured and hideous than thee.

(110) And in reply that ill-favoured wench says to him, 'I am no wench, but I am thy deeds,-hideous deeds,-evil thoughts, evil words, evil deeds, and an evil religion.

(111) For when on earth thou didst see one who offered sacrifice to the gods, then didst thou sit (apart) and offer sacrifice to the demons.

(112) And when thou didst see one who entertained good men and offered them hospitality, and gave alms, both to those who came from near and to those who came from afar, then didst thou treat good men with contumely and show them dis. honour, thou gavest them no alms and didst shut thy door (upon them).

(113) And when thou didst see one who passed a just judgement or took no bribes or bore true witness or spoke up in righteousness, then didst thou sit down and pass false judgement, bear false witness, and speak unrighteously. . . .

(116) Then with his first step he goes to (the hell of) evil thoughts, with his second to (the hell of) evil words, and with his third to (the hell of) evil deeds. And with his fourth step he lurches into the presence of the accursed Destructive Spirit and the other demons.

(117) And the demons mock at him and hold him up to scorn, saying, 'What grieved thee in Ohrmazd, the Lord, and the Amahraspands and in fragrant and delightful Heaven, and what grudge or complaint hadst thou of them that thou shouldst come to see Ahriman and the demons and murky Hell? for we will torment thee nor shall we have any mercy on thee, and for a long time shalt thou suffer torment.'

(118) And the Destructive Spirit cries out to the demons, saying, 'Ask not concerning him, for he has been separated from his beloved body, and has come through that most evil passage-way;

(119) but serve him (rather) with the filthiest and most foul food that Hell can produce.'

(120) Then they bring him poison and venom, snakes and scorpions and other noxious reptiles (that flourish) in Hell, and they serve him with these to eat.

(121) And until the Resurrection and the Final Body he must remain in Hell, suffering much torment and many kinds of chastisement.

(122) And the food that he must for the most part eat there is all, as it were, putrid and like unto blood.

Menok I Khrat, edited by Anklesaria. Translation by R. C. Zaehner, in his *The Teachings of the Magi* (London, 1956), pp. 133-8

FUNERARY CEREMONY

THE SHAMAN GUIDES THE SOUL TO THE UNDERWORLD

The Goldi have two funerary ceremonies: the nimgan, which takes place seven days or even longer (two months) after the death, and the kazatauri, the great ceremony celebrated some time after the former and at the end of which the soul is conducted to the underworld. During the nimgan the shaman enters the dead person's house with his drum, searches for the soul, captures it, and makes it enter a sort of cushion (fanya). The banquet follows, participated in by all the relatives and friends of the dead person present in the fanya; the shaman offers the latter brandy. The kazatauri begins in the same way. The shaman dons his costume, takes his drum, and goes to search for the soul in the vicinity of the yurt. During all this time he dances and recounts the difficulties of the road to the underworld. Finally he captures the soul and brings it into the house, where he makes it enter the fanya. The banquet continues late into the night, and the food that is left over is thrown into the fire by the shaman. The women bring a bed into the yurt, the shaman puts the fanya in it, covers it with a blanket, and tells the dead person to sleep. He then lies down in the yurt and goes to sleep himself.

The following day he again dons his costume and wakes the deceased by drumming. Another banquet follows and at night (for the ceremony may continue for several days) he puts the fanya to bed again and covers it up. Finally one morning the shaman begins his song and, addressing the deceased, advises him to eat well but to drink sparingly, for the journey to the underworld is extremely difficult for the drunken person. At sunset preparations for the departure are made. The shaman sings, dances, and daubs his face with soot. He invokes his helping spirits and begs them to guide him and the dead man in the beyond. He leaves the yurt for a few minutes and climbs a notched tree that has been set up in readiness; from here he sees the road to the underworld. (He has, in fact, climbed the World Tree and is at the summit of the world.) At the same time he sees many other things: plentiful snow, successful hunting and fishing, and so on.

Returning to the yurt, he summons two powerful tutelary spirits to help him; butchu, a kind of one-legged monster with a human face and feathers, and hoori, a long-necked bird. Without the help of these two spirits, the shaman could not come back from the underworld; he makes the most difficult part of the return journey sitting on the hoori's back.

After shamanizing until he is exhausted, he sits down, facing the west, on a board that represents a Siberian sled. The fanya, containing the dead person's soul, and a basket of food are set beside him. The shaman asks the spirits to harness the dogs to the sled and for a 'servant' to keep him company during the journey. A few moments later he 'sets off' for the land of the dead.

The songs he intones and the words he exchanges with the 'servant' make it possible to follow his route. At first the road is easy, but the difficulties increase as the land of the dead is approached. A great river bars the way, and only a good shaman can get his team and sled across to the other bank. Some time later, he sees signs of human activity, footprints, ashes, bits of wood—the village of the dead is not far away. Now, indeed, dogs are heard barking at no great distance, the smoke from the yurts is seen, the first reindeer appear. The shaman and the deceased have reached the underworld. At once the dead gather and ask the shaman to tell them his name and that of the newcomer. The shaman is careful not to give his real name; he searches through the crowd of spirits for the dose relatives of the soul he is conducting, so that he may entrust it to them. Having done so, he hastens to return to earth and, arriving, gives a long account of all that he has seen in the land of the dead and the impressions of the dead man whom he escorted. He brings each of the audience greetings from their dead relatives and even distributes little gifts from them. At the close of the ceremony the shaman throws the fanya into the fire. The strict obligations of the living to the dead are now terminated.

M. Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, trans. Willard Trask (New York: Bollingen Series LXXVI), Pp. 210-12, being a summary of Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker* (Helsinki, 1938), PP. 334-45

THE WINNEBAGO INDIAN ROAD

TO THE LAND OF THE DEAD

Before the spirit of the departed starts his Journey to the nether world, he is carefully informed of the surprises and dangers of the voyage and is duly instructed how to overcome them.

I suppose you are not far away, that indeed you are right behind me. Here is the tobacco and here is the pipe which you must keep in front of you as you go along. Here also are the fire and the food which your relatives have prepared for your journey.

In the morning when the sun rises you are to start. You will not have gone very far before you come to a wide road. That is the road you must take. As you go along you will notice something on your road. Take your war club and strike it and throw it behind you. Then go on without looking back. As you go farther you will again come across some obstacle. Strike it and throw it behind you and do not look back. Farther on you will come across some animals, and these also you must strike and throw behind you. Then go on and do not look back. The objects you throw behind you will come to those relatives whom you have left behind you on earth. They will represent victory in war, riches, and animals for food.

When you have gone but a short distance from the last place where you threw the objects behind, you will come to a round lodge and there you will find an old woman. She is the one who is to give you further information. She will ask you, 'Grandson, what is your name?' This you must tell her. Then you must say, 'Grandmother, when I was about to start from the earth I was given the following objects with which I was to act as mediator between you and the human beings [i.e., the pipe, tobacco, and food].' Then you must put the stem of the pipe in the old woman's mouth and say, 'Grandmother, I have made all my relatives lonesome, my parents, my brothers, and all the others. I would therefore like to have them obtain victory in war, and honours. That was my desire as I left them downhearted upon the earth. I would that they could have all that life which I left behind me on earth. This is what they asked. This, likewise, they asked me, that they should not have to travel on this road for some time to come. They also asked to be blessed with those things that people are accustomed to have on earth. All this they wanted me to ask of you when I started from, the earth. They told me to follow the four steps that would be imprinted with blue marks, grandmother.' 'Well, grandson, you are young but you are wise. It is good. I will now boil some food for you,,

Thus she will speak to you and then put a kettle on the fire and boil some rice for you. If you eat it you will have a headache. Then she will say, 'Grandson, you have a headache, let me cup it for you.' The,, she will break open your skull and take out your brains and you will forget all about your people on earth and where you came from. You will not worry about your relatives. You will become like a holy spirit. Your thoughts will not go as far as the earth, as there will be nothing carnal about you.

Now the rice that the old woman will boil will really be lice. For that reason you will be finished with everything evil. Then you will go on stepping in the four footsteps Mentioned before and that were imprinted with blue earth. You are to take the four steps because the road will fork there. All your relatives who died before you will be there. As you journey on you will come to a fire running across the earth from one end to the other. There will be a bridge across it but it will be difficult to cross because it is continually swinging. However, you will be able to cross it safely, for you have all the guides about whom the warriors spoke to you. They will take you over and take care of you.

Well, we have told you a good road to take. If anyone tells a falsehood in speaking of the spirit-road, you will fall off the bridge and be burned. However you need not worry for you will pass over safely. As you proceed from that place the spirits will come to meet you and take you to the village where the chief lives. There you will give him the tobacco and ask for those objects of which we spoke to you, the same you asked of the old woman. There you will meet all the relatives that died before you. They will be living in a large lodge. This you must enter.

Paul Radin, *The Winnebago Tribe*, in *Thirty-eighth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, D.C., 1923), pp. 143-4

THE ROAD TO THE SOUL'S WORLD

AS CONCEIVED BY THE THOMPSON RIVER TRIBES

The country of the souls is underneath us, toward the sunset; the trail leads through a dim twilight. Tracks of the people who last went over it, and of their dogs, are visible. The path winds along until it meets another road which is a short cut used by the shamans when trying to intercept a departed soul. The trail now becomes much straighter and smoother, and is painted red with ochre. After a while it winds to the westward, descends a long gentle slope, and terminates at a wide shallow stream of very dear water. This is spanned by a long slender log, on which the tracks of the souls may be seen. After crossing, the traveller finds himself again on the trail, which now ascends to a height heaped with an immense pile of clothes—the belongings which the souls have brought from the land of the living and which they must leave here. From this point the trail is level and gradually grows lighter. Three guardians are stationed along this road, one on either side of the river and the third at the end of the path; it is their duty to send back those souls whose time is not yet come to enter the land of the dead. Some souls pass the first two of these, only to be turned back by the third, who is their chief and is an orator who sometimes sends messages to the living by the returning souls. All of these men are very old, grey-headed, wise, and venerable. At the end of the trail is a great lodge, moundlike in form, with doors at the eastern and the western sides, and with a double row of fires extending through it. When the deceased friends of a person expect his soul to arrive, they assemble here and talk about his death. As the deceased reaches the entrance, he hears people on the other side talking, laughing, singing, and beating drums. Some stand at the door to welcome him and call his name. On entering, a wide country of diversified aspect spreads out before him. There is a sweet smell of flowers and an abundance of grass, and all around are berry-bushes laden with ripe fruit. The air is pleasant and still, and it is always light and warm. More than half the people are dancing and singing to the accompaniment of drums. All are naked but do not seem to notice it. The people are delighted to see the new comer, take him up on their shoulders, run around with him, and make a great noise.

H.B. Alexander, *North American Mythology* (Boston, 1916), pp. 147-9; adapted from James Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia* (Boston and New York, 1898)

JOURNEY TO THE LAND OF THE GRANDFATHER

A GUARAYU BELIEF (EASTERN BOLIVIA)

Soon after burial the liberated soul of the deceased started on a long and dangerous journey to the land of the mythical ancestor, Tamoi, or Grandfather, who lived somewhere in the west. It had to choose first between two paths. One was wide and easy. The other was narrow and obstructed with weeds and tobacco plants, but it followed this if it was wide and courageous. Soon the soul came to a large river which it had to cross on the back of a ferocious alligator. The alligator ferried the soul over only if it knew how to accompany the alligator's chant by rhythmically stamping its bamboo tube. It then came to another river which it could pass only by jumping on a tree trunk that floated at great speed to and fro between the two banks. If the soul fell, palometa fish would tear it to pieces. Shortly after this it neared the abode of Izotamoi, Grandfather of Worms, who looked enormous from a distance but became smaller and smaller as he was approached. If the deceased had been a bad man, however, the process was reversed; the Grandfather of Worms grew to gigantic proportions and cleaved the sinner in two. Next, the soul had to travel through a dark region where it lit its way by burning a bunch of straw which relatives had put in the grave. However, it had to carry its torch behind its back lest the light be put out by huge bats. When the soul arrived near a beautiful ceiba tree full of humming birds, it washed itself in a brook and shot a few of these birds, without hurting them, and plucked their feathers for Tamoi's headdress. Then the soul kicked the ceiba trunk to notify its relatives that it had reached that place. The next obstacle was the Itacaru, two rocks which clashed and recoiled on its path. The stones allowed the soul a short interval to pass through

if it knew how to address them.

At a crossroad the soul was examined by a gallinazo bird, who made sure that, like all good Guarayu, it had perforated lips and ears. If it did not possess these mutilations, it was misled by the bird. Two further ordeals awaited the journeying soul; it had to endure being tickled by a monkey without laughing, and to walk past a magic tree without listening to the voices which issued from it and without even looking at it. The tree was endowed with complete knowledge of the soul's past life. To resist these temptations, the soul pounded its stamping tube on the ground. A further danger took the form of coloured grasses which blinded the soul and caused it to lose its way. Finally the soul arrived at a large avenue lined with blossoming trees full of harmonious birds and knew then that it had reached the land of the Grandfather. It announced its arrival by stamping the ground with its bamboo tube. The Grandfather welcomed the soul with friendly words and washed it with a magic water which restored its youth and good looks. From then on, the soul lived happily, drinking chicha and carrying on the routine activities of its former life.

Alfred Metraux, *The Native Tribes of Eastern Bolivia and Western Matto Grosso*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 134 (Washington, D.C., 1942), PP. 105-6

A POLYNESIAN JOURNEY INTO THE NETHER WORLD

This story . . . was told to Mr. Shortland [Edward Shortland, on whose account this summary is based] by a servant of his named Te Wharewera. An aunt of this man died in a solitary hut near the banks of Lake Rotorua. Being a lady of rank she was left in her hut, the door and windows were made fast, and the dwelling was abandoned, as her death had made it tapu. But a day or two after, Te Wharewera with some others paddling in a canoe near the place at early morning saw a figure on the shore beckoning to them. It was the aunt come to life again, but weak and cold and famished. When sufficiently restored by their timely help, she told her story. Leaving her body, her spirit had taken the flight toward the North Cape, and arrived at the entrance of Reigna. There, holding on by the stem of the creeping akeake-plant, she descended the precipice, and found herself on the sandy beach of a river. Looking around, she espied in the distance an enormous bird, taller than a man, coming towards her with rapid strides. This terrible object so frightened her, that her first thought was to try to return up the steep cliff; but seeing an old man paddling a small canoe towards her she ran to meet him, and so escaped the bird. When she had been safely ferried across she asked the old Charon, mentioning the name of her family, where the spirits of her kindred dwelt. Following the path the old man pointed out, she was surprised to find it just such a path as she had been used to on earth; the aspect of the country, the trees, shrubs, and plants were all familiar to her. She reached the village and among the crowd assembled there she found her father and many near relations; they saluted her, and welcomed her with the wailing chant which Maoris always address to people met after long absence. But when her father had asked about his living relatives, and especially about her own child, he told her she must go back to earth, for no one was left to take care of his grandchild. By his orders she refused to touch the food that the dead people offered her, and in spite of their efforts to detain her, her father got her safely into the canoe, crossed with her, and parting gave her from under his cloak two enormous sweet potatoes to plant at home for his grandchild's especial eating. But as she began to climb the precipice again, two pursuing infant spirits pulled her back, and she only escaped by flinging the roots at them, which they stopped to eat, while she scaled the rock by help of the akeake-stem, till she reached the earth and flew back to where she had left her body. On returning to life she found herself in darkness, and what had passed seemed as a dream, till she perceived that she was deserted and the door fast, and concluded that she had really died and come to life again. When morning dawned, a faint light entered by the crevices of the shut-up house, and she saw on the floor near her a calabash partly full of red ochre mixed with water; this she eagerly drained to the dregs, and then feeling a little stronger, succeeded in opening the door and crawling down to the beach, where her friends soon after found her. Those who listened to her tale firmly believed the reality of her adventures, but it was much regretted that she had not brought back at least one of the huge sweet-potatoes, as evidence of her visit to the land of spirits.

Sir Edward Burnett Tylor, *Religion in Primitive Culture* (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1958), PP. 130-8, summarizing Edward Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* (London, 1854), PP. 150 ff. Tylor's book first published as *Primitive Culture*

GREEK-ROMAN CONCEPTIONS OF DEATH AND IMMORTALITY

'EVEN IN THE HOUSE OF HADES THERE IS LEFT SOMETHING'

(Homer, 'Iliad,' XXIII, 61-81, 99-108)

The ghost of Patroklos appears to Achilleus.

And at that time sleep caught him and was drifted sweetly about him,
washing

the sorrows out of his mind, for his shining limbs were grown weary
indeed, from running in chase of Hektor toward windy Ilion;
and there appeared to him the ghost of unhappy Patroklos
all in his likeness for stature, and the lovely eyes, and voice,
and wore such clothing as Patroklos had worn on his body.

The ghost came and stood over his head and spoke a word to him:

'You sleep, Achilleus; you have forgotten me; but you were not
careless of me when I lived, but only in death. Bury me
as quickly as may be, let me pass through the gates of Hades.

The souls, the images of dead men, hold me at a distance,
and will not let me cross the river and mingle among them,
but I wander as I am by Hades' house of the -wide gates.

And I call upon you in sorrow, give me your hand; no longer
shall I come back from death, once you give me my rite of burning.

No longer shall you and I, alive, sit apart from our other
beloved companions to make our plans, since the bitter destiny
that was given me when I was born has opened its jaws to take me.

And you, Achilleus like the gods, have your own destiny;
to be killed under the wall of the prospering Trojans. . . .

So he spoke, and with his own arms reached for him, but could not
take him, but the spirit went underground, like vapour,

with a thin cry, and Achilles started awake, staring,
and drove his hands together, and spoke, and his words were sorrowful:

'Oh, wonder! Even in the house of Hades there is left something,
a soul and an image, but there is no real heart of life in it.

For all night long the phantom of unhappy Patroklos
stood over me in lamentation and mourning, and the likeness
to him was wonderful, and it told me each thing I should do.'

Translation by Richmond Lattimore. Homer's Iliad (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951) PP- 136.7

THE MEAD OF ASPHODEL, WHERE THE SPIRITS DWELL

THE HOMERIC OTHER WORLD

(Homer, 'Odyssey,' XXIV, 1-18)

Meanwhile Cyllenian Hermes called forth the spirits of the wooers. He held in his hands his wand, a fair wand of gold, wherewith he lulls to sleep the eyes of whom he will, while others again he wakens even out of slumber; with this he roused and led the spirits, and they followed gibbering. And as in the innermost recess of a wondrous cave bats flit about gibbering, when one has fallen from off the rock from the chain in which they cling to one another, so these went with him gibbering, and Hermes, the Helper, led them down the dank ways. Past the streams of Oceanus they went, past the rock Leucus, past the gates of the sun and the land of dreams, and quickly came to the mead of the asphodel, where the spirits dwell, phantoms of men who have done with toils. Here they found the spirit of Achilles, son of Peleus, and those of Patroclus, of peerless Antilochus, and of Aias, who in comeliness and form was the goodliest of all the Danaans after the peerless son of Peleus.

Translation by A. T. Murray in the Loeb Classical Library, vol. II (New York, 1919), P. 403

A ROMAN VIEW OF THE AFTER LIFE

THE DREAM OF SCIPIO

(Cicero, 'On the Republic,' VI, 14-26)

'The Dream of Scipio' is the conclusion of Cicero's treatise On the Republic, probably written in 54 B.C. The dialogue is assumed to have taken place during the Latin holidays in 129 B.C., in the garden Of Scipio Africanus the Younger. Scipio relates-a dream in which he saw his grandfather, Scipio Africanus the Elder. 'When I recognized him, I trembled with terror, but he said: "Courage, Scipio, do not be afraid, but remember carefully what I am to tell you.'"

(14) By this time I was thoroughly terrified, not so much fearing death as the treachery of my own kind. Nevertheless, I [went on and] inquired of Africanus whether he himself was still alive, and also whether my father Paulus was, and also the others whom we think of as having ceased to be.

'Of course they are alive,' he replied. 'They have taken their flight from the bonds of the body as from a prison. Your so-called life [on earth] is really. death. Do you not see your father Paulus coming to meet you?'

At the sight of my father I broke down and cried. But he embraced me and kissed me and told me not to

weep.

(15) As soon as I had controlled my grief and could speak, I began - 'Why, O best and saintliest of fathers, since here [only] is life worthy of the name, as I have just heard from Africanus, why must I live a dying life on earth? Why may I not hasten to join you here?'

'No indeed,' he replied. 'Unless that God whose temple is the whole visible universe releases you from the prison of the body, you cannot gain entrance here. For men were given life for the purpose of cultivating that globe, called Earth, which you see at the centre of this temple. Each has been given a soul, [a spark] from these eternal fires which you call stars and planets, which are globular and rotund and are animated by divine intelligence, and which with marvellous Velocity revolve in their established orbits. Like all god-fearing men, therefore, Publius, you must leave the soul in the custody of the body, and must not quit the life on Earth unless you are summoned by the one Who gave it to you; otherwise you will be seen to shirk the duty assigned by God to man.

(16) 'But Scipio, like your grandfather here, like myself, who was Your father, cultivate justice and the sense of duty [pietas], which are of great importance in relation to parents and kindred but even more in relation to one's country. Such a life [spent in the service of one's country] is a highway to the skies, to the fellowship of those who have completed their earthly lives and have been released from the body and now dwell in that place which you see yonder' (it was the circle of dazzling brilliance which blazed among the stars), 'which you, using a term borrowed from the Greeks, call the Milky Way.' Looking about from this high vantage point, everything appeared to me to be marvellous and beautiful. There were stars which we never see from the Earth, and the dimensions of all of them were greater than we have ever suspected. The smallest among them was the one which, being farthest from Heaven and nearest the Earth, shone with a borrowed light [the Moon]. The size of the stars, however, far exceeded that of the Earth. Indeed, the later seemed so small that I was humiliated with our empire, which is only a point where 'we touch the surface of the globe. . . .'

(18) When I had recovered from my astonishment over this great panorama, and had come to myself, I asked: 'Tell me what is this loud, sweet harmony that fills my ears?'

He replied, 'This music is produced by the impulse and motion of these spheres themselves. The unequal intervals between them are arranged according to a strict proportion, and so the high notes blend agreeably with the low, and thus various sweet harmonies are produced. Such immense revolutions cannot, of course, be so swiftly carried out in silence, and it is only natural that one extreme should produce deep tones and the other high ones. Accordingly, this highest sphere of Heaven, which bears the stars, and whose revolution is swifter, produces a high shrill sound, whereas the lowest sphere, that of the Moon, rotates with the deepest sound. The Earth, of course, the ninth sphere, remains fixed and immovable in the centre of the universe. But the other eight spheres, two of which move with the same speed, produce seven different sounds-a number, by the way, which is the key to almost everything. Skilful men reproducing this celestial music on stringed instruments have thus opened the way for their own return to this heavenly region, as other men of outstanding genius have done by spending their lives on Earth in the study of things divine. . . .'

(26) 'Yes, you must use you best efforts,' he replied, 'and be sure that it is not you who are mortal, but only your body, nor is it you whom your outward form represents. Your spirit is your true self, not that bodily form that can be pointed out with the finger. Know yourself, therefore, to be a god-if indeed a god is a being that lives, feels, remembers, and foresees, that rules, governs, and moves the body over which it is set, just as the supreme God above us rules this world. And just as that eternal God moves the universe, which is partly mortal, so an eternal spirit moves the fragile body. . . .'

Translation by Frederick C. Grant, in his Ancient Roman Religion, Library of Religion paperback series (New York, 1957), PP. 147-56

EMPEDOCLES

ON THE TRANSMIGRATION OF THE SOUL

('Fragments' 115, 117, 118)

There is an oracle of Necessity, ancient decree of the gods, eternal and sealed with broad oaths: whenever one of those demi-gods, whose lot is long-lasting life, has sinfully defiled his dear limbs ' with bloodshed, or following strife has sworn a false oath, thrice ten thousand seasons does he wander far from the blessed, being born throughout that time in the forms of all manner of mortal things and changing one baleful path of life for another. The might of the air pursues him into the sea, the sea spews him forth on to the dry land, the earth casts him into the rays of the burning sun, and the sun into the eddies of air. one takes him from the other, but all alike abhor him. Of these I too am now one, a fugitive from the gods and a wanderer, who put my trust in raving strife. (Frag. II 5)

I wept and wailed when I saw the unfamiliar place. (Frag. 118)

For already have I once been a boy and a girl, a fish and a bird and a dumb sea fish. (Frag. 117)

Empedocles texts in G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven, translators, *The Presocratic Philosophers* Cambridge, Eng., 1957)

PLATO ON TRANSMIGRATION

THE MYTH OF ER

('Republic,'X, 614 b)

It is not, let me tell you, said I, the tale to Alcinous told that I shall unfold, but the tale of a warrior bold, Er, the son of Armenius, by race a Pamphylian. He once upon a time was slain in battle, and when the corpses were taken up on the tenth day already decayed, was found intact, and having been brought home, at the moment of his funeral, on the twelfth day as he lay upon the pyre, revived, and after coming to life related what, he said, he had seen in the world beyond. He said that when his soul went forth from his body he journeyed with a great company and that they came to a mysterious region where there were two openings side by side in the earth, and above and over against them in the heaven two others, and that judges were sitting between these, and that after every judgement they bade the righteous journey to the right and upward through the heaven with tokens attached to them in front of the judgement passed upon them, and the unjust to take the road to the left and downward, they too wearing behind signs of all that had befallen them, and that when he himself drew near they told him that he must be the messenger to mankind to tell them of that other world, and they charged him to give ear and to observe everything in the place. And so he said that here he saw, by each opening of heaven and earth, the souls departing after judgement had been passed upon them, while, by the other pair of openings, there came up from the one in the earth souls full of squalor and dust, and from the second there came down from heaven a second procession of souls dean and pure, and that those which arrived from time to time appeared to have come as it were from a long journey and gladly departed to the meadow and encamped there as at a festival, and acquaintances greeted one another, and those which came from the earth questioned the others about conditions up yonder, and those from heaven asked how it fared with those others. And they told their stories to one another, the one lamenting and wailing as they recalled how many and how dreadful things they had suffered and seen in their journey beneath the earth-it lasted a thousand years-while those from heaven related their delights and visions of a beauty beyond words. To tell it all, Glaucon, would take all our time, but the sum, he said, was this. For all the wrongs they had ever done to anyone and all whom they had severally wronged they had paid the penalty in turn tenfold each, and the measure of this was by periods of a hundred years each, so that on the assumption that this was the length of human life the punishment might be ten times the crime-as for example that if anyone had been the cause of many deaths or had betrayed cities and armies and reduced them to slavery, or had been participant in any other iniquity, they might receive in requital pains tenfold for each of these wrongs, and again if any had done deeds of kindness and had been just and holy men they might receive their due reward in the same measure. And other things not worthy of record he said of those who had just been

born and lived but a short time, and he had still greater requitals to tell of piety and impiety towards the gods and parents and of self-slaughter.

Translation by Paul Shorey, in Hamilton and Cairns (ed.), Plato: The Collected Dialogues (New York Bollingen Series LXXI, 1961), PP. 838-40

PLATO

ON THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL

('Meno,' 81, b)

MENO: What was it, and who were they?

SOCRATES: Those who tell it are priests and priestesses of the sort who make it their business to be able to account for the functions which they perform. Pindar speaks of it too, and many another of the poets who are divinely inspired. What they say is this-see whether you think they are speaking the truth. They say that the soul of man is immortal. At one time it comes to an end-that which is called death-and at another is born again, but is never finally exterminated. On these grounds a man must live all his days as righteously as possible. For those from whom

Persephone receives requital for ancient doom,

In the ninth year she restores again

Their souls to the sun above.

From whom rise noble kings

And the swift in strength and greatest in wisdom,

And for the rest of time

They are called heroes and sanctified by men.(1)

Thus the soul, since it is immortal and has been born many times, and has seen all things both here and in the other world, has learned everything that is.

Note

1 Pindar, Fragment 133.

Translated by W. K. C. Guthrie, in Hamilton and Cairns (ed.), Plato.- The Collected Dialogues (New York: Bollingen Series LXXI, 1961), P. 364

ORPHEUS MYTHS

A POLYNESIAN ORPHEUS

A Maori hero, Hutu, went down to the underworld in search of the soul of the princess, Pare, who had committed suicide after being humiliated by him. This story is reminiscent of Orpheus' descent to Hades to bring back the soul of his wife, Eurydice.

Once, when the lance which he had thrown, led Hutu to Pare's door, the young noble-woman, whose heart had been won by the youth's skill and presence, revealed to him her admiration and love and invited him to enter her house. But he refused her and departed. Overwhelmed with shame, she 'ordered her

attendants to arrange everything in the house and put it in order. When this was done she sat alone and wept, and rose and hung herself.' Hutu, remorseful, fearful of the people's anger, determined to save her soul in the world below. First he sat down and chanted the priestly incantations having to do with death and the abode of the dead; then he rose and proceeded on his journey. He met Hine-nui-te-po (Great-lady-of-the-night), who presides over the Land of Shades. Ill-humoured as usual, when Hutu asked the way, she pointed out the path taken by the spirits of dogs to the lower regions; but her favour was eventually won by the presentation of the seeker's precious greenstone hand club. Mollified by the gift, the goddess pointed out the true route, cooked some fern root for him and put it into a basket, at the same time admonishing him to eat sparingly of it, for it must suffice him throughout the journey. Should he eat the food of the lower world, it would mean that, instead of his being able to bring back the spirit of Pare to the world of light, his own soul would be condemned to remain forever in the lower regions. The goddess advised him further, 'When you fly from this world, bow your head as you descend to the dark world; but when you are near the world below a wind from beneath will blow on you, and will raise your head up again, and you will be in a right position to alight on your feet. . . .' Hutu arrived safely in the world below, and so, inquiring the whereabouts of Pare, was told that she was in the village.' Although the girl knew that Hutu had come and was seeking her, her shame led her to conceal herself. In the hope of luring her from her house, he organized contests in top spinning and javelin throwing, games which he knew she loved to watch. But never did she appear. At last Hutu, sore at heart, said to the others, 'Bring a very long tree and let us cut the branches off it.' This done, ropes were plaited and tied to the top, and the crown of the tree was bent down to the earth by the people's tugging at the ropes. Hutu climbed into the top, and another man sat on his back. Then Hutu shouted, 'Let go.' And the tree flung the young adventurer and his companion high into the air. Delighted at this exhibition, all the people shouted with glee. This was too much for Pare and she came to watch the new game. Finally she said, 'Let me also swing, but let me sit on your shoulders.' Exuberant, Hutu answered, 'Keep hold of my neck, O Pare !' The top of the tree being again drawn down, it was released on the signal and flew skyward with such a rush as to fling the ropes against the under side of the upper world where they became entangled in the grass at the entrance to the realm of the shades. Climbing up the ropes with Pare on his back, Hutu emerged into the world of light. He went straightway to the settlement where the dead body of Pare was lying, and the spirit of the young chiefess reentered her body and it became alive.

John White, *The Ancient History of the Maori* (Wellington, 1887-90), vol. II, pp. 164-7, as condensed by E. S. Craighill Handy, *Polynesian Religion*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 34 (Honolulu, 1927), pp. 81 ff. (CF.. M. Eliade, *Shamanism. Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, trans. Willard Trask [New York, 1964], P. 368)

A CALIFORNIAN ORPHEUS

A TACHI YOKUT MYTH

The Orpheus myth is also popular among North American Indian tribes, especially in the western and eastern parts of the continent.

A Tachi had a fine wife who died and was buried. Her husband went to her grave and dug a hole near it. There he stayed watching, not eating, using only tobacco. After two nights he saw that she came up, brushed the earth off herself, and started to go to the island of the dead. The man tried to seize her but could not hold her. She went southeast and he followed her. Whenever he tried to hold her she escaped. He kept trying to seize her, however, and delayed her. At daybreak she stopped. He stayed there, but could not see her. When it began to be dark the woman got up again and went on. She turned westward and crossed Tulare Lake (or its inlet). At daybreak the man again tried to seize her but could not hold her. She stayed in the place during the day. The man remained in the same place, but again he could not see her. There was a good trail there, and he could see the footprints of his dead friend and relatives. In the evening his wife got up again and went on. They came to a river which flows westward towards San Luis Obispo, the river of the Tulamni (the description fits the Santa Maria, but the Tulamni are in the Tulare drainage, on and about Buena Vista lake). There the man caught up with his wife and there they stayed all day. He still had nothing to eat. In the evening she went on again, now northward. Then somewhere to the west of the Tachi country he caught up with her once more and they spent the day there. In the evening

the woman got up and they went on northward, across the San Joaquin river, to the north or east of it. Again he overtook his wife. Then she said: 'What are you going to do? I am nothing now. How can you get my body back? Do you think you shall be able to do it?' He said: 'I think so.' She said: 'I think not. I am going to a different kind of a place now.' From daybreak on that man stayed there. In the evening the woman started once more and went down along the river; but he overtook her again. She did not talk to him. Then they stayed all day, and at night went on again. Now they were close to the island of the dead. It was joined to the land by a rising and falling bridge called ch'eleli. Under this bridge a river ran swiftly. The dead passed over this. When they were on the bridge, a bird suddenly fluttered up beside them and frightened them. Many fell off into the river, where they turned into fish. Now the chief of the dead said: 'Somebody has come.' They told him: 'There are two. One of them is alive; he stinks.' The chief said: 'Do not let him cross.' When the woman came on the island, he asked her: 'You have a companion?' and she told him: 'Yes, my husband.' He asked her: 'Is he coming here?' She said, 'I do not know. He is alive.' They asked the man: 'Do you want to come to this country?' He said: 'Yes,' Then they told him: 'Wait, I will see the chief.' They told the chief: 'He says that he wants to come to this country. We think he does not tell the truth.' 'Well, let him come across.' Now they intended to frighten him off the bridge. They said: 'Come on. The chief says you can cross.' Then the bird (kacha) flew up and tried to scare him', but did not make him fall off the bridge into the water. So they brought him before the chief. The chief said: 'This is a bad country. You should not have come. We have only your wife's soul (itit). She has left her bones with her body. I do not think we can give her back to you.' In the evening they danced. It was a round dance and they shouted. The chief said to the man: 'Look at your wife in the middle of the crowd. Tomorrow you will see no one.' Now the man stayed there three days. Then the chief said to some of the people: 'Bring that woman. Her husband wants to talk to her.' They brought the woman to him. He asked her: 'Is this your husband?' She said.- 'Yes.' He asked her: 'Do you think you will go back to him?' She said: 'I do not think so. What do you wish?' The chief said: 'I think not. You must stay here. You cannot go back. You are worthless now.' Then he said to the man: 'Do you want to sleep with your wife?' He said: 'Yes, for a while. I want to sleep with her and talk to her.' Then he was allowed to sleep with her that night and they talked together. At daybreak the woman was vanished and he was sleeping next to a fallen oak. The chief said to him: 'Get up. It is late.' He opened his eyes and saw an oak instead of his wife. The chief said: 'You see that we cannot make your wife as she was. She is no good now. It is best that you go back. You have a good country there.' But the man said: 'No, I will stay.' The chief told him: 'No, do not. Come back here whenever you like, but go back now.' Nevertheless he man stayed there six days. Then he said: 'I am going back.' Then in the morning he started to go home. The chief told him: 'When you arrive, hide yourself. Then after six days emerge and make a dance.' Now the man returned. He told his parents: 'Make me a small house. In six days I will come out and dance.' Now he stayed there five days. Then his friends began to know that he had come back. 'Our relative has come back,' they all said. Now the man was in too much of a hurry. After five days he went out. In the evening he began to dance and danced all night, telling what he saw. In the morning when he had stopped dancing, he went to bathe. Then a rattlesnake bit him. He died. So he went back to island, He is there now. It is through him that the people know it is there. Every two days the island becomes fall. Then the chief gathers the people. 'You must swim,' he says. The people stop dancing and bathe. Then the bird frightens them, and some turn to fish, and some to ducks; only a few come out of the water again as people. In this way room is made when the island is too full. The name of the chief there is Kandjidji.

A. L. Kroeber, Indian Myths of South Central California, University of California Publications, American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. IV, no. 4 (1906-7), PP. 216-18

THE END OF THE WORLD

AHURA MAZDA TEACHES YIMA

HOW TO SAVE THE ALL THE BEST AND FAIREST IN THE WORLD

('Vivavdat,' Fargard II)

A terrible winter is approaching, a winter which is to destroy every living creature. Yima, the first man and first king, is advised to build a well-defended enclosure (vara) in which he is to keep the finest

representatives of every kind of animal and plant. They live for a life of perfect happiness there.

(46) And Ahura Mazda spake unto Yima, saying,

'O fair Yima, son of Vivanghat! Upon the material world the evil winters are about to fall, that shall bring the fierce, deadly frost; upon the material world the evil winters are about to fall, that shall make snowflakes fall thick, even in aredvi deep on the highest tops of the mountains.

(52) 'And the beasts that live in the wilderness, and those that live on the tops of the mountains, and those that live in the bosom of the dale shall take shelter in underground abodes.

(57) 'Before that winter, the country would bear plenty of grass for cattle, before the waters had flooded it. Now after the melting of the snow, O Yima, a place wherein the footprint of a sheep may be seen will be a wonder in the world.

(61) 'Therefore make thee a Vara (enclosure), long as a riding-ground on every side of the square, and thither bring the seeds of sheep and oxen, of men, of dogs, of birds, and of red blazing fires.

Therefore make thee a Vara, long as a riding-ground on every side Of the square, to be an abode for men; a Vara, long as a riding-ground, on every side of the square, for oxen and sheep.

(65) 'There thou shalt make waters flow in a bed a hathra long; there thou shalt settle birds, on the green that never fades, with food that never fails. There thou shalt establish dwelling-places consisting of a house with a balcony, a courtyard, and a gallery.

(70) 'Thither thou shalt bring the seeds of men and women, of the greatest, best, and finest on this earth; thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of cattle, of the greatest, best, and finest on this earth.

(74) 'Thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of tree, Of the highest of size and sweetest of odour on this earth; thither thou shalt bring the seeds of every kind of fruit, the best of savour and sweetest of odour. All those seeds shalt thou bring, two of every kind, to be kept inexhaustible there, so long as those men shall stay in the Vara.

(80) 'There shall be no humpbacked, none bulged forward there; no impotent, no lunatic; no one malicious, no liar; no one spiteful, none jealous; no one with decayed tooth, no leprous to be pent up, nor any of the brands wherewith Angra Mainyu stamps the bodies of mortals.

(87) 'In the largest part of the place thou shalt make nine streets, six in the middle part, three in the smallest. To the streets of largest part thou shalt bring a thousand seeds of men and women to the streets of the middle part, six hundred; to the streets of smallest part, three hundred. That Vara thou shalt seal up with golden seal, and thou shalt make a door, and a window self-shining within.'

(93) Then, Yima said within himself: 'How shall I manage to make that Vara which Ahura Mazda has commanded me to make?

And Ahura Mazda said unto Yima: 'O fair Yima, son of Vivanghat! Crush the earth with a stamp of thy heel, and then knead hands, as the potter does when kneading the potter's clay.'

Translation by James Darmesteter, The Zend-Avesta part 1, in Sacred Books of the East, IV (2nd ed.; Oxford 1895), pp. 15-18

THE BUDDHA FORETELLS THE GRADUAL DECLINE OF RELIGION

('Anagatavamsa')

Praise to that Lord, Arahant, perfect Buddha.

Thus have I heard: At one time the Lord was staying near Kapilvatthu in the Banyan monastery on the bank of the river Rohani

Then the venerable Sariputta questioned the Lord about the future

Conqueror:

'The Hero that shall follow you,

The Buddha-of what sort will he be?

I want to hear of him in full.

Let the Visioned One describe him.'

When he had heard the Elder's speech

The Lord spoke thus:

'I will tell you, Sariputta,

Listen to my speech.

In this auspicious aeon

Three leaders have there been:

Kakusandha, Konagamana

And the leader Kassapa too.

'I am now the perfect Buddha,

And there will be Metteyya [i.e., Maitreya] too

Before this same auspicious aeon

Runs to the end of its years.

'The perfect Buddha, Metteyya

By name, supreme of men.'

(Then follows a history of the previous existence of Metteyya . . . and then the description of the gradual decline of the religion:)

'How will it occur? After my decease there will first be five disappearances. What five? The disappearance of attainment (in the Dispensation), the disappearance of proper conduct, the disappearance of learning, the disappearance of the outward form, the disappearance of the relics. There will be these five disappearances.

'Here attainment means that for a thousand years only after the lord's complete Nirvana will monks be able to practice analytical insights. As time goes on and on these disciples of mine are nonreturners and once-returners and stream-winners. There will be no disappearance of attainment for these. But with the extinction of the last stream-winner's life, attainment will have disappeared.

'This, Sariputta, is the disappearance of attainment.

'The disappearance of proper conduct means that, being unable to Practice jhana, insight, the Ways and the fruits, they will guard no more the four entire purities of moral habit. As time goes on and on they will only guard the four offences entailing defeat. While there are even a hundred or a thousand monks who guard and bear in mind the four offences entailing defeat, there will be no disappearance of proper conduct. With the breaking of moral habit by the last monk- or on the extinction of his life, proper conduct will have disappeared.

'This, Sariputta, is the disappearance of proper conduct.

'The disappearance -of learning means that as long as there stand firm the texts with the commentaries pertaining to the word of the Buddha in the three Pitakas, for so long there will be no disappearance of learning. As time goes on and on there will be base-born kings, not Dhamma-men; (dharma) their ministers and so on will not be Dhamma-men, and consequently the inhabitants of the kingdom and so on will not be Dhamma-men. Because they are not Dhamma-men it will not rain properly. Therefore the crops will not flourish well, and in consequence the donors of requisites to the community of monks will not be able to give them the requisites. Not receiving the requisites the monks will not receive pupils. As time goes on and on learning will decay. In this decay the Great Patthana itself will decay first. In this decay also (there will be) Yamaka, Kathavatthu, Puggalapannati, Dhatukatha, Vibhanga and Dhammasangani. When the Abhidhamma Pitaka decays the Suttanta Pitaka will decay. When the Suttantas decay the Anguttara will decay first. When it decays the Samyutta Nikaya, the Majjhima Nikaya, the Digha Nikaya and the Khuddaka-Nikaya will decay. They will simply remember the jataka together with the Vinaya Pitaka. But only the conscientious (monks) will remember the Vinaya Pitaka. As time goes on and on, being unable to remember even the jataka, the Vessantara-jataka will decay first. When that decays the Apannaka-jataka will decay. When the jatakas decay they will remember only the Vinaya-Pitaka. As time goes on and on the Vinaya-Pitaka will decay. While a four-line stanza still continues to exist among men, there will not be a disappearance of learning. When a king who has faith has had a purse containing a thousand (coins) placed in a golden' casket on an elephant's back, and has had the drum (of proclamation) sounded in the city up to the second or third time, to the effect that: "Whoever knows a stanza uttered by the Buddhas, let him take these thousand coins together with the royal elephant"-but yet finding no one knowing a four-line stanza, the purse containing the thousand (coins) must be taken back into the palace again-then will be the disappearance of learning.

'This, Sariputta, is the disappearance of learning.

'As time goes on and on each of the last monks, carrying his robe, bowl, and tooth-pick like Jain recluses, having taken a bottle-gourd and turned it into a bowl for almsfood, will wander about with it in his forearms or hands or hanging from a piece of string. As time goes on and on, thinking: "What's the good of this yellow robe?" and cutting off a small piece of one and sticking it on his nose or ear or ill his hair, he will wander about supporting wife and children by agriculture, trade and the like. Then he will give a gift to the Southern community for those (of bad moral habit). I say that he will then acquire an incalculable fruit of the gift. As time goes on and on, thinking: "What's the good of this to us?", having thrown away the piece Of yellow robe, he will harry beasts and birds in the forest. At this time the outward form will have disappeared.

'This, Sariputta, is called the disappearance of the outward form.

'Then when the Dispensation of the Perfect Buddha is 5,000 years old, the relics, not receiving reverence and honour, will go to places where they can receive them. As time goes on and on there will not be reverence and honour for them in every place. At the time when the Dispensation is falling into (oblivion), all the relics, coming from every place: from the abode of serpents and the deva-world and the Brahma-world, having gathered together in the space round the great Bo-tree, having made a Buddha-image, and having performed a "miracle" like the Twin-miracle, will teach Dhamma. No human being will be found at that place. All the devas of the ten-thousand world system, gathered together, will

hear Dhamma and many thousands of them will attain to Dhamma. And these will cry aloud, saying: "Behold, devatas, a week from today our One of the Ten Powers will attain complete Nirvana." They will weep, saying: "Henceforth there will be darkness for us." Then the relics, producing the condition of heat, will burn up that image leaving no remainder.

'This, Sariputta, is called the disappearance of the relics.'

Translation and explanatory material by Edward Conze, in Conze et al., *Buddhist Texts through the Ages* (Oxford: Bruno Cassirer (Publishers) Ltd., 1954).

MUHAMMAD SPEAKS OF THE DAY OF DOOM

('Qur'an,' LVI, 1-55; LXIX, 14-39)

in the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

When the Terror descends

(and none denies its descending)

abasing, exalting,

when the earth shall be rocked

and the mountains crumbled

and become a dust scattered,

and you shall be three bands-

Companions of the Right (O Companions of the Right!)

Companions of the Left (O Companions of the Left!)

and the Outstrippers: the Outstrippers

those are they brought nigh the Throne,

in the Gardens of Delight

(a throng of the ancients

and how few of the later folk)

upon close-wrought couches

reclining upon them, set face to face,

immortal youths going round about them

with goblets, and ewers, and a cup from a spring

(no brows throbbing, no intoxication)

and such fruits as then, shall choose,

and such flesh of fowl as they desire,

and wide-eyed houris

as the likeness of hidden pearls,

a recompense for that they laboured.

Therein they shall hear no idle talk, no cause of sin,

only the saying 'Peace, Peace!'

The companions of the Right (O Companions of the Right!)

mid thornless lote-trees and serried acacias,

and spreading shade and outpoured waters,

and fruits abounding

unfailing, unforbidden,

and upraised couches.

Perfectly We formed them, perfect,

and We made them spotless virgins,

chastely amorous, like of age

for the Companions of the Right.

A throng of the ancients

and a throng of the later folk.

The Companions of the Left (O Companions of the Left!)

mid burning winds and boiling waters

and the shadow of a smoking blaze

neither cool, -neither goodly;

and before that they lived at ease,

and persisted in the Great Sin,

ever saying,

'What, when we are dead and become

dust and bones, shall we indeed

be raised up?

What, and our fathers, the ancients?'

Say: 'The ancients, and the later folk
shall be gathered to the appointed time
of a known day.

Then you erring ones, you that cried lies,
you shall eat of a tree called Zakkoum,
and you shall fill therewith your bellies
and drink on top of that boiling water
lapping it down like thirsty camels.

This shall be their hospitality on the
Day of Doom. (LVI, 1-55.)

So, when the Trumpet is blown with a single blast
and the earth and the mountains are lifted up and
crushed with a single blow,
then, on that day, the Terror shall come to pass,
and heaven shall be split, for upon that day it
shall be very frail,
and the angels shall stand upon its borders, and
upon that day eight shall carry above them the
Throne of thy Lord.

On that day you shall be exposed, not one secret
of yours concealed.

Then as for him who is given his book in his right hand,
he shall say, 'Here, take and read my book! Certainly
I thought that I should encounter thy reckoning.' So he
shall be in a pleasing life
in a lofty Garden,
its clusters nigh to gather.

'Eat and drink with wholesome appetite for that you did
long ago, in the days gone by.'

But as for him who is given his book in his left hand,
he shall say, 'Would that I had not been given my book
and not known my reckoning! Would it had been the end!

My wealth has not availed me,
my authority is gone from me.'

Take him, and fetter him, and then roast him in Hell,
then in a chain of seventy cubits' length insert him!
Behold, he never believed in God the All-mighty, and
he never urged the feeding of the needy; therefore he
today has not here one loyal friend, neither any food
saving foul pus, that none excepting the sinners eat.

(LXIX, 41-39.)

Translation by A. J. Arberry

MESSIANIC PROPHECIES AND MILLENARIAN MOVEMENTS

THE PROPHECY CONCERNING MAITREYA

THE FUTURE BUDDHA

('Maitreyavyakarana')

Maitreya will appear in the future, some thirty thousand years hence. At present Maitreya is believed to reside in the Tutshita. heaven, awaiting his last rebirth when the time is ripe. His name is derived from mitra, 'friend,' friendliness being a basic Buddhist virtue, akin to Christian love.

Sariputra, the great general of the doctrine, most wise and resplendent, from compassion for the world asked the Lord: 'Some time ago you have spoken to us of the future Buddha, who will lead the world at a future period, and who will bear the name of Maitreya. I would now wish to hear more about his powers and miraculous gifts. Tell me, O best of men, about them !'

The Lord replied: 'At that time, the ocean 'will lose much of its water, and there will be much less of it than now. In consequence a world-ruler will have no difficulties in passing across it. India, this island of Jambu, will be quite flat everywhere, it will measure ten thousand leagues, and all men will have the privilege of living on it. It will have innumerable inhabitants, who will commit no crimes or evil deeds, but will take pleasure in doing good. The soil will then be free from thorns, even, and covered with a fresh green growth of grass; when one jumps on it, it gives way, and becomes soft like the leaves of the cotton tree. It

has a delicious scent, and tasty rice grows on it, without any work. Rich silken, and other, fabrics of various colours shoot forth from the trees. The trees will bear leaves, flowers, and fruits simultaneously; they are as high as the voice can reach and they last for eight myriads of years. Human beings are then without any blemishes, moral offences are unknown among them, and they are full of zest and joy. Their bodies are very large and their skin has a fine hue. Their strength is quite extraordinary. Three kinds of illness only are known-people must relieve their bowels, they must eat, they must get old. Only when five hundred years old do the women marry.

'The city of Ketumati will at that time be the capital. In it will reside the world-ruler, Shankha by name, who will rule over the earth up to the confines of the ocean; and he will make the Dharma prevail. He will be a great hero, raised to his station by the force of hundreds of meritorious deeds. His spiritual adviser will be a Brahmin, Subrahinana by name, a very learned man, well versed in the four Vedas, and steeped in all the lore of the Brahmans. And that Brahman will have a wife, called Brahmavati, beautiful, attractive, handsome, and renowned.

'Maitreya, the best of men, will then leave the Tushita heavens, and go for his last rebirth into the womb of that woman. For ten whole months she will carry about his radiant body. Then she will go to a grove full of beautiful flowers, and there, neither seated nor lying down, but standing up, holding on to the branch of a tree, she will give birth to Maitreya. He, supreme among men, will emerge from her right side, as the sun shines forth when it has prevailed over a bank of clouds. No more polluted by the impurities of the womb than a lotus by drops of water, he will fill this entire Triple world with his splendour. As soon as he is born he will walk seven steps forward, and where he puts down his feet a jewel or a lotus will spring up. He will raise his eyes to the ten directions, and will speak these words: "This is my last birth. There will be no rebirth after this one. Never will I come back here, but, all pure, I shall win Nirvana!"

'And when his father sees that his son has the thirty-two marks of a superman, and considers their implications in the light of the holy mantras, he will be filled with joy, for he will know that, as the mantras show, two ways are open to his son: he will either be a universal monarch, or a supreme Buddha. But as Maitreya grows up, the Dharma will increasingly take possession of him, and he will reflect that all that lives is bound to suffer. He will have a heavenly voice which reaches far; his skin will have a golden hue, a great splendour will radiate from his body, his chest will be broad, his limbs well developed, and his eyes will be like lotus petals. His body is eighty cubits high, and twenty cubits broad. He will have a retinue of 84,000 persons, whom he will instruct in the mantras. With this retinue he will one day go forth into the homeless life. A Dragon tree will then be the tree under which he will win enlightenment; its branches rise up to fifty leagues, and its foliage spreads far and wide over six Kos. Underneath it Maitreya, the best of men, will attain enlightenment- there can be no doubt on that. And he will win his enlightenment the very same day that he has gone forth into the homeless life.

'And then, a supreme sage, he will with a perfect voice preach the true Dharma, which is auspicious and removes all ill, i.e. the fact of ill, the origination of ill, the transcending of ill, and the holy eightfold path which brings security and leads to Nirvana. He will explain the four Truths, because he has seen that generation, in faith, ready for them, and those who have listened to his Dharma will thereupon make progress in the religion. They will be assembled in a park full of beautiful flowers, and his assembly will extend over a hundred leagues. Under Maitreya's guidance, hundreds of thousands of living beings shall enter upon a religious life.

'And thereupon Maitreya, the compassionate teacher, surveys those who have gathered around him, and speaks to them as follows: "Shakyamuni has seen all of you, he, the best of sages, the saviour, the world's true protector, the repository of the true Dharma. It was he who has set you on the path to deliverance, but before you could finally win it you have had to wait for my teaching. It is because you have worshipped Shakyamuni with parasols, banners, flags, perfumes, garlands, and unguents that you have arrived here to hear my teaching. It is because you have offered to the shrines of Shakyamuni unguents of sandalwood, or powdered saffron, that you have arrived here to hear my teaching. It is because you have always gone for refuge to the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Samgha, that you have arrived here to hear my teaching. It is because, in Shakyamuni's dispensation, you have undertaken to observe the moral precepts, and have actually done so, that you have arrived here to hear my teaching. It

is because you have given gifts to the monks-robles, drink, food, and many kinds of medicines-that you have arrived here to hear my teaching. It is because you have always observed the sabbath days that you have arrived here to hear my teaching." . . .

'For 60,000 years Maitreya, the best of men, will preach the true Dharma, which is compassionate towards all living beings. And when he has disciplined in his true Dharma hundreds and hundreds of millions of living beings, then that leader will at last enter Nirvana. And after the great sage has entered Nirvana, his true Dharma still endures for another ten thousand years.

'Raise therefore your thoughts in faith to Shakyamuni, the Conqueror! For then you shall see Maitreya, the perfect Buddha, the best of men! Whose soul could be so dark that it would not be lit up with a serene faith when he hears these wonderful things, so potent of future good! Those therefore who long for spiritual greatness, let then, show respect to the true Dharma, let them be mindful of the religion of the Buddhas!'

Translation by Edward Conze, in his *Buddhist Scriptures* (Penguin Books, 1959), pp. 238-42

NICHIREN SEES JAPAN AS THE CENTRE OF BUDDHISM'S REGENERATION

Nichiren (1222-82) was a Japanese religious teacher who established a Buddhist sect.

When, at a certain future time, the union of the state law and the Buddhist Truth shall be established, and the harmony between the two completed, both sovereign and subjects will faithfully adhere to the Great Mysteries. Then the golden age, such as were the ages under the reign of the sage kings of old, will be realized in these days of degeneration and corruption, in the time of the Latter Law. Then the establishment of the Holy See will be completed, by imperial grant and the edict of the Dictator, at a spot comparable in its excellence with the Paradise of Vulture Peak. We have only to wait for the coming of the time. Then the moral law (kaiho) will be achieved in the actual life of mankind. The Holy See will be the seat where all men of the three countries [India, China and Japan] and the whole jambudvipa [world] will be initiated into the mysteries of confession and expiation; and even the great deities, Brahma and Indra, will come down into the sanctuary and participate in the initiation.

Masahara Anesaki, *Nichiren, the Buddhist Prophet* (Cambridge, Mass., 1916), p. 110, as quoted in Wm. Theodore de Bary (ed.), *Sources of Japanese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), P. 230

A SIOUX NATIVISTIC MOVEMENT

THE GHOST DANCE RELIGION

The great underlying principle of the Ghost dance doctrine is that the time will come when the whole Indian race, living and dead, will be reunited upon a regenerated earth, to live a life of aboriginal happiness, forever free from death, disease, and misery. On this foundation each tribe has built a structure from its own mythology, and each apostle and believer has filled in the details according to his own mental capacity or ideas of happiness, with such additions as come to him from the trance. Some changes, also, have undoubtedly resulted from the transmission of the doctrine through the imperfect medium of the sign language. . . .

All this is to be brought about by overruling spiritual power that needs no assistance from human creatures; and though certain medicine-men were disposed to anticipate the Indian millennium by preaching resistance to the further encroachments of the whites, such teachings form no part of the true doctrine, and it was only where chronic dissatisfaction was aggravated by recent grievances, as among the Sioux, that the movement assumed a hostile expression. On the contrary, all believers were exhorted to make themselves worthy of the predicted happiness by discarding all things warlike and practicing honesty, peace, and good will, not only among themselves, but also toward the whites, so long as they were together. Some apostles have even thought that all race distinctions are to be obliterated, and that

the whites are to participate with the Indians in the coming felicity; but it seems unquestionable that this is equally contrary to the doctrine as originally preached.

Different dates have been assigned at various times for the fulfillment of the prophecy. Whatever the year, it has generally been held, for very natural reasons, that the regeneration of the earth and the renewal of all life would occur in the early spring. In some cases July, and particularly the 4th of July, was the expected time. This, it may be noted, was about the season when the great annual ceremony of the sun dances formerly took place among the prairie tribes. The messiah himself has set several dates from time to time, as one prediction after another failed to materialize, and in his message to the Cheyenne and Arapaho, in August, 1891, he leaves the whole matter an open question. The date universally recognized among all the tribes immediately prior to the Sioux outbreak was the spring of 1891. As springtime came and passed, and summer grew and waned, and autumn faded again into winter without the realization of their hopes and longings, the doctrine gradually assumed its present form-that some time in the unknown future the Indian will be united with his friends who have gone before, to be forever supremely happy, and that this happiness may be anticipated in dreams, if not actually hastened in reality, by earnest and frequent attendance on the sacred dance. . . .

As I had always shown a sympathy for their ideas and feelings, and had now accomplished a long journey to the messiah himself at the cost of considerable difficulty and hardship, the Indians were at last fully satisfied that I was really desirous of learning the truth concerning their new religion. A few days after my visit to Left Hand, several of the delegates who had been sent out in the preceding August came down to see me, headed by Black Short Nose, a Cheyenne. After preliminary greetings, he stated that the Cheyenne and Arapaho were now convinced that I would tell the truth about their religion, and as they loved their religion and were anxious to have the whites know that it was all good and contained nothing bad or hostile they would now give me the message which the messiah himself had given to them, that I might take it back to show to Washington. He then took from a beaded pouch and gave to me a letter, which proved to be the message or statement of the doctrine delivered by Wovoka to the Cheyenne and Arapaho delegates, of whom Black Short Nose was one, on the occasion of their last visit to Nevada, in August, 1891, and written down on the spot, in broken English, by one of the Arapaho delegates, Caspar Edson, a young man who had acquired some English education by several years' attendance at the government Indian school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. On the reverse page of the paper was a duplicate in somewhat better English, written out by a daughter of Black Short Nose, a school girl, as dictated by her father on his return. These letters contained the message to be delivered to the two tribes, and as is expressly stated in the text were not intended to be seen by a white man. The daughter of Black Short Nose had attempted to erase this clause before her father brought the letter down to me, but the lines were still plainly visible. It is the genuine official statement of the Ghost-dance doctrine as given by the messiah himself to his disciples. . . .

The Messiah Letter (free rendering)

When you get home you must make a dance to continue five days. Dance four successive nights, and the last night keep up the dance until the morning of the fifth day, when all must bathe in the river ;and then disperse to their homes. You must all do in the same way.

I, Jack Wilson, love you all, and my heart is full of gladness for the gifts you have brought me. When you get home I shall give you a good cloud [rain?] which will make you feel good. I give you a good spirit and give you all good paint. I want you to come again in three months, some from each tribe there [the Indian Territory].

There will be a good deal of snow this year and some rain. In the fall there will be such a rain as I have never given you before.

Grandfather [a universal title or reverence among Indians and here meaning the messiah] says, when your friends die you must not cry. You must not hurt anybody or do harm to anyone. You must not fight. Do right always. It will give you satisfaction in life. This young man has a good father and mother. [Possibly this refers to Casper Edson, the young Arapaho who wrote down this message of Wovoka for

the delegation].

Do not tell the white people about this. Jesus is now upon the earth. He appears like a cloud. The dead are alive all again. I do not know when they will be here; maybe this fall or in the spring. When the time comes there will be no more sickness and everyone will be young again.

Do not refuse to work for the whites and do not make any trouble with them until you leave them. When the earth shakes [at the coming of the new world] do not be afraid. It will not hurt you.

I want you to dance every six weeks. Make a feast at the dance and have food that everybody may eat. Then bathe in the water. That is all. You will receive good words again from me some time. Do not tell lies.

The mythology of the doctrine is only briefly indicated, but the principal articles are given. The dead are all risen and the spirit hosts are advancing and have already arrived at the boundaries of this earth, led forward by the regenerator in shape of cloud-like indistinctness. The spirit captain of the dead is always represented under this shadowy semblance. The great change will be ushered in by a trembling of the earth, at which the faithful are exhorted to feel no alarm. The hope held out is the same that has inspired the Christian for nineteen centuries—a happy immortality in perpetual youth. As to fixing a date, the messiah is as cautious as his predecessor in prophecy, who declares that 'no man knoweth the time, not even the angels of God.' His weather predictions also are about as definite as the inspired utterances of the Delphian oracle. . . .

We may now consider details of the doctrine as held by different tribes, beginning with the Paiute, among whom it originated. The best account of the Paiute belief is contained in a report to the War Department by Captain J. M. Lee, who was sent out in the autumn of 1890 to investigate the temper and fighting strength of the Paiute and other Indians in the vicinity of Fort Bidwell in northeastern California. We give the statement obtained by him from Captain Dick, a Paiute, as delivered one day in a conversational way and apparently without reserve, after nearly all the Indians had left the room:

'Long time, twenty years ago, Indian medicine-man in Mason's valley at Walker lake talk same way, same as you hear now. In one year, maybe, after he begin talk he die. Three years, ago another medicine-man begin same talk. Heap talk all time. Indians hear about it everywhere. Indians come from long way off to hear him. They come from the east; they make signs. Two years ago me go to Winnemucca and Pyramid lake, me see Indian Sam, a head man, and Johnson Sides. Sam he tell me he just been to see Indian medicine-man to hear him talk. Sam say medicine-man talk this way:

"All Indians must dance, everywhere, keep on dancing. Pretty soon in next spring Big Man [Great Spirit] come. He bring back all game of every kind. The game be thick everywhere. All dead Indians come back and live again. They all be strong just like young man, be young again. Old blind Indian see again and get young and have fine time. When Old Man [God] comes this way, then all the Indians go to mountains, high up away from whites. Whites can't hurt Indians then. Then while Indians way up high, big flood comes like water and all white people die, get drowned. After that water go way and then nobody but Indians everywhere and game all kinds thick. Then medicine-man tell Indians to send word to all Indians to keep up dancing and the good time will come. Indians who don't dance, who don't believe in this word, will grow little, just about a foot high, and stay that way. Some of them will be turned into wood and be burned in fire." That's the way Sam tell me the medicine-man talk.'

Lieutenant N. P. Phister, who gathered a part of the material embodied in Captain Lee's report, confirms this general statement and gives a few additional particulars. The flood is to consist of mingled mud and water, and when the faithful go up into the mountains, the sceptics will be left behind and will be turned to stone. The prophet claims to receive these revelations directly from God and the spirits of the dead Indians during his trances. He asserts also that he is invulnerable, and that if soldiers should attempt to kill him they would fall down as if they had no bones and die, while he would still live, even though cut into little pieces.

One of the first and most prominent of those who brought the doctrine to the prairie tribes was Porcupine, a Cheyenne, who crossed the mountains with several companions in the fall of 1889, visited Wovoka, and

attended the dance near Walker Lake, Nevada. In his report of his experiences, made some months later to a military officer, he states that Wovoka claimed to be Christ himself, who had come back again, many centuries after his first rejection, in pity to teach his children. He quoted the prophet as saying:

'I found my children were bad, so I went back to heaven and left them. I told them that in so many hundred years I would come back to see my children. At the end of this time I was sent back to try to teach them. My father told me the earth was getting old and worn out and the people getting bad, and that I was to renew everything as it used to be and make it better.'

'He also told us that all our dead were to be resurrected; that they were all to come back to earth, and that, as the earth was too small for them and us, he would do away with heaven and make the earth itself large enough to contain us all; that we must tell all the people we met about these things. He spoke to us about fighting; and said that was bad and we must keep from it; that the earth was to be all good hereafter, and we must all be friends with one another. He said that in the fall of the year the youth of all good people would be renewed, so that nobody would be more than forty years old, and that if they behaved themselves well after this the youth of everyone would be renewed in the spring. He said if we were all good he would send people among us who could heal all our wounds and sickness by mere touch and that we would live forever. He told us not to quarrel or fight or strike each other, or shoot one another; that the whites and Indians were to be all one people. He said if any man disobeyed what he ordered his tribe would be wiped from the face of the earth; that we must believe everything he said, and we must not doubt him or say he lied; that if we did, he would know it; that he would know our thoughts and actions in no matter what part of the world we might be.

Here we have the statement that both races are to live together as one. We have also the doctrine of healing by touch. Whether or not this is an essential part of the system is questionable, but it is certain that the faithful believe that great physical good comes to them, to their children, and to the sick from the imposition of hands by the priests of the dance, apart from the ability thus conferred to see the things of the spiritual world.

Another idea here presented, namely, that the earth becomes old and decrepit, and requires that its youth be renewed at the end of certain great cycles, is common to a number of tribes, and has an important place in the oldest religions of the world. As an Arapaho who spoke English expressed it, 'This earth too old, grass too old, trees too old, our lives too old. Then all be new again.' Captain H. L. Scott also found among the southern plains tribes the same belief that the rivers, the mountains, and the earth itself are worn out and must be renewed, together with an indefinite idea that both races alike must die at the same time, to be resurrected in new but separate worlds. . . .

The manner of the final change and the destruction of the whites has been variously interpreted as the doctrine was carried from its original centre. East of the mountains it is commonly held that a deep sleep will come on the believers, during which the great catastrophe will be accomplished, and the faithful will awake to immortality on a new earth. The Shoshoni of Wyoming say this sleep will continue four nights and days, and that on the morning of the fifth day all will open their eyes in a new world where both races will dwell together forever. The Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, and others, of Oklahoma, say that the new earth, with all the resurrected dead from the beginning, and with the buffalo, the elk, and other game upon it, will come from the west and slide over the surface of the present earth, as the right hand might slide over the left. As it approaches, the Indians will be carried upward and alight on it by the aid of the sacred dance feather which they wear in their hair and which will act as wings to bear them up. They will then become unconscious for four days, and on waking out of their trance will find themselves with their former friends in the midst of all the old time surroundings. By Sitting Bull, the Arapaho apostle, it is thought that this new earth as it advances will be preceded by a wall of fire which will drive the whites across the water to their original and proper country, while the Indians will be enabled by means of the sacred feathers to surmount the flames and reach the promised land. When the expulsion of the whites has been accomplished, the fire will be extinguished by a rain continuing twelve days. By a few it is believed that a hurricane with thunder and lightning will come to destroy the whites alone. This last idea is said to be held also by the Walapai of Arizona, who extend its provisions to include the unbelieving Indians as well. The doctrine held by the Caddo, Wichita, and Delaware, of Oklahoma, is practically the same as is held by the

Arapaho and Cheyenne from whom they obtained it. All these tribes believe that the destruction or removal of the whites is to be accomplished entirely by supernatural means, and they severely blame the Sioux for having provoked a physical conflict by their impatience instead of waiting for their God to deliver them in his own good time.

Among all the tribes which have accepted the new faith it is held that frequent devout attendance on the dance conduces to ward off disease and restore the sick to health, this applying not only to the actual participants, but also to their children and friends. The idea of obtaining temporal blessings as the reward of a faithful performance of religious duties is too natural and universal to require comment. The purification by the sweat-bath, which forms an important preliminary to the dance among the Sioux, while devotional in its purpose, is probably also sanitary in its effect.

Among the powerful and warlike Sioux of the Dakotas, already restless under both old and recent grievances, and more lately brought to the edge of starvation by a reduction of rations, the doctrine speedily assumed a hostile meaning and developed some peculiar features, for which reason it deserves particular notice as concerns this tribe. The earliest rumours of the new messiah came to the Sioux from the more western tribes in the winter of 1888-89, but the first definite account was brought by a delegation which crossed the mountains to visit the messiah in the fall of 1889, returning in the spring of 1890. On the report of these delegates the dance was at once inaugurated and spread so rapidly that in a few months the new religion had been accepted by the majority of the tribe.

Perhaps the best statement of the Sioux version is given by the veteran agent, James McLaughlin, of Standing Rock Agency. In an official letter of October 17, 1890, he writes that the Sioux, under the influence of Sitting Bull, were greatly excited over the near approach of a predicted Indian millennium or 'return of the ghosts,' when the white man would be annihilated and the Indian again supreme, and which the medicine-men had promised was to occur as soon as the grass was green in the spring. They were told that the Great Spirit had sent upon them the dominant race to punish them for their sins, and that their sins were now expiated and the time of deliverance was at hand. Their decimated ranks were to be reinforced by all the Indians who had ever died, and these spirits were already on their way to inhabit the earth, which had originally belonged to the Indians, and were driving before them, as they advanced, immense herds of buffalo and fine ponies. The Great Spirit, who had so long deserted his red children, was now once more with them and against the whites, and the white man's gunpowder would no longer have power to drive a bullet through the skin of an Indian. The whites themselves would soon be overwhelmed and smothered under a deep landslide, held down by sod and timber, and the few who might escape would become small fishes in the rivers. In order to bring about this happy result, the Indians must believe and organize the Ghost dance.

James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*, Fourteenth Annual Report, part 7., Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, D.C., 1896), pp. 641-1110; quotation from PP. 777-87

JOHN FRUM

A MILLENARIAN MOVEMENT IN TANNA, NEW HEBRIDES

Millenarian tendencies had been noted just before the turn of the century, when there had been rumours that Jesus would descend and lead the Christians to Heaven while Tanna and the pagans were consumed by fire. But the first important signs of native unrest did not become apparent until much later. In early 1940, there were signs of disturbance, exacerbated no doubt by a fall in copra prices. Meetings were held from which Whites were excluded, as were women. These meetings were to receive the message of one John Frum (spelt sometimes Jonfrum), described as a 'mysterious little man with bleached hair, high-pitched voice and clad in a coat with shining buttons.' He used 'ingenious stage-management . . . appearing at night, in the faint light of a fire, before men under the influence of kava.' John Frum issued pacific moral injunctions against idleness, encouraged communal gardening and co-operation, and advocated dancing and kava-drinking. He had no anti-White message at first and prophesied on traditional lines.

The prophet was regarded as the representative or earthly manifestation of Karaperamun, god of the island's highest mountain, Mount Tukosmeru. Karaperamun now appeared as John Frum, who was to be hidden from the Whites and from women.

John Frum prophesied the occurrence of a cataclysm in which Tanna would become flat, the volcanic mountains would fall and fill the river-beds to form fertile plains, and Tanna would be joined to the neighbouring islands of Eromanga and Aneityum to form a new island. Then John Frum would reveal himself, bringing in a reign of bliss, the natives would get back their youth, and there would be no sickness; there would be no need to care for gardens, trees or pigs. The Whites would go; John Frum would set up schools to replace mission schools, and would pay chiefs and teachers.

Only one difficulty prevented the immediate attainment of this happy state—the presence of the Whites, who had to be expelled first. The use of European money was also to cease. A corollary was the restoration of many ancient customs prohibited by the missionaries; kava-drinking above all, and also dancing, polygyny, etc. Immigrants from other islands were to be sent home.

This was not simply a programme of 'regression.' Only some of the ancient customs were to be revived, and they were customs banned by the missions. And the future envisaged was not the restoration of primitive tribalism and hand-agriculture, but a new life with 'all the material riches of the Europeans' accruing to the natives. John Frum would provide all the money needed.

Natives now started a veritable orgy of spending in European stores in order to get rid of the Europeans' money, which was to be replaced by John Frum's with a coconut stamped on it. Some even hurled their long-hoarded savings into the sea, believing that 'when there would be no money left on the island the White traders would have to depart, as no possible outlet would be found for their activity.' Lavish feasts were also held to use up food. There was thus no puritan or medieval-European 'asceticism' in these general joyful expectations of plenty. Rather, solidarity between rich and poor alike was expressed in this orgy of consumption, since, existing wealth was meaningless in the light of the prodigious riches to come. Friday, the day on which the millenium was expected, became a holy day, whilst on Saturday dances and kava-drinking took place. 'A certain licence accompanied the festivals,' Guiart remarks. We may be sure that this represents some socially-recognized breaking of existing conventions.

The movement was organized through messengers known as 'ropes of John Frum.' The enthusiasts broke away from the existing Christian villages which the missions had set up under Christian chiefs, and broke up into small family units living in 'primitive shelters,' or else joined pagan groups in the interior. This development, though formally the opposite of Santoese domestic communism, symbolizes the same basic social fact: a break with the mission-controlled villages and the old pattern of group life.

The first John Frum wave in April 1940 occasioned little alarm, but the revival of the movement in May 1941 created considerable perturbation. Large amounts of money were suddenly brought in by natives. Even gold sovereigns, which had not been seen since 1912 when they were paid to the chiefs who accepted the authority of the Government, appeared; this perhaps symbolized renunciation of the agreement. Some natives came in with over 100 B.Pounds in cash; cows and pigs were killed, kava drunk, and there was all-night dancing at the Green Point villages on the west coast where the movement had its centre. The Presbyterian missions, on Sunday the eleventh of May, found their services unattended. One of the most influential chiefs had given the order to abandon the mission and their schools. Dominican services were equally neglected.

After a lapse of a week, Nicol [the British Agent] visited Green Point, only to find it empty except for a few women and children. He summoned twenty police reinforcements from Vila and, with the aid of one of the chiefs, arrested the John Frum leaders. A menacing crowd followed him shouting 'Hold firm for John Frum !'

In the trial, it transpired that John Frum was a native named Manehivi in his mid-thirties. He was illiterate (though he pretended to read), and refused to say where he had obtained his gold-buttoned coat. Manehivi was sentenced to three years' internment, and five years' exile from Tanna; nine others received

a year's imprisonment, Nicol had Manehivi tied to a tree and exposed as an imposter for a day, and made five chiefs sign a statement asserting that they renounced John Frum, and fined him 100 Sterling.

The movement still flourished in spite of repression. December 1941 was the significant date of the next major outbreak. News of Pearl Harbour had percolated through even to the natives of Tanna, though the defeat was credited to the Germans, who were going to win. Because of growing anti-British feeling, Nicol had twenty men arrested and sent to Vila, and recommended the establishment of a permanent police force.

Meanwhile the John Frum leaders in Vila were active. Manehivi was not the real John Frum, people said; the latter was still at large. Missionaries intercepted messages written from Vila by a second John Frum, a Tama police-boy, Joe Nalpin, and addressed to a west coast chief and two other men. They contained a new theme: John Frum was King of America, or would send his son to America to seek the King, or his son was coming from America, or his sons were to seek John Frum in America. Mount Tukosmeru would be covered by invisible planes belonging to John Frum.' Nalpin actually helped to direct the new phase from gaol, where he was serving a nine months' sentence.

In January, Australian Cataline flying boats on patrol were the probable origin of the rumour that three sons of John Frum-Isaac, Jacob and Lastuan (Last-One?- had landed by plane on the other side of the island from Green Point. 'Junketings' were going on night and day, as it was believed that John Frum's advent was imminent. The appearance of the first Americans and of numerous planes added fuel to the flames. . . .

As the Americans moved in to meet the Japanese threat, the news of their arrival swept the islands. A man was arrested for saying that Mount Tukomeru was 'full of soldiers'; it would open on the Day, and the soldiers would fight for John Frum. But the most astounding piece of information was the news that many of these U.S. troops were black! It was prophesied that large numbers of black Americans were coming to rule over the natives. Their dollars would become the new money; they would release the prisoners, and pay wages.

Consequently, the Americans met with a splendid response when they set out to hire native labour. The movement now revived on Tanna, and kava-drinking and dancing were the order of the day, especially on the east coast; the missions were still boycotted. More arrests were made, and the prisoners sent to Vila, where many were allowed to work for the U.S. Air Force. . . .

In October, Nicol returned. His arrival precipitated a new John Frum demonstration which was broken up by the police. Natives armed with guns and clubs resisted arrest and reinforcements were summoned. A new leader in the north of the island, Neloig (Nelawihang), proclaimed himself John Frum, King of America and of Tanna. He organized an armed force which conscripted labour for the construction of an aerodrome which the Americans had told him to build for American Liberator planes bringing goods from John Frum's father. Those who refused to work would be bombed by planes. This pressed labour was resisted by a few natives who were wounded. The District Agent, under the pretense of demanding a ship to evacuate him from the island, radioed for help. He arrested Neloig when the latter visited him at his office.

The arrest of Neloig produced demands for his release. The supporters of John Frum, undaunted, went on feverishly building the airstrip, and a band of Neloig's followers even attempted to liberate their leader from gaol. The police reinforcements, with two U.S. officers, were quickly despatched to the John Frum airstrip. There they found 200 men at work, surrounded by others with guns. After the latter was disarmed, an American officer spoke to the natives, trying to persuade them of their folly. This was backed up by a demonstration of the power of a tommy-gun turned on a John Frum poster pinned to a nearby tree. Many fled in panic; the police then burned down a John Frum hut and took forty-six prisoners. Neloig received two years, ten others one year, and the rest three months. Later Neloig escaped from gaol and hid in the bush on Efate for three years before he gave himself up. In April 1948 he was committed to a lunatic asylum. His wife was detained at Vila, but the people of north Tanna still paid homage to her.

Though illiterate, Neloig had pretended to read and had started his own schools. When the missionaries at Lenakel tried to restart classes in 1943, only fifty children out of a total population of 2,500 attended. Dances and kava-drinking still flourished, and villages were allowed to fall into untidiness. John Frumism still flourished. Pagans, too, provided recruits; pagan leaders had long attempted to play off Government against mission, Neloig's father among them.

Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of 'Cargo' Cults in Melanesia* (London- MacGibbon & Kee, 1957), PP. 153-9

SHAMANS AND MEDICINE MEN

THE MAKING OF A MEDICINE MAN

WIRADJURI TRIBE- SOUTHEAST AUSTRALIA

My father is Yibai-dthulin. When I was a small boy he took me into the bush to train me to be a Wulla-mullung. He placed two large quartz crystals against my breast, and they vanished into me. I do not know how they went, but I felt them going through me like warmth. This was to make me clever and able to bring things up. He also gave me some things like quartz crystals in water. They looked like ice and the water tasted sweet. After that I used to see things that my mother could not see. When out with her I would say, 'What is out there like men walking?' She used to say, 'Child, there is nothing.' These were the air (ghosts) which I began to see.

When I was about ten years old, I was taken to the Burbung and saw what the old men could bring out of themselves; and when my tooth was out the old men chased me with the wallungs' in their mouths, shouting, 'Ngai, Ngai,' and moving their hands towards me. I went into the bush for a time, and while there my old father came out to me. He said, 'Come here to me'; and he then showed me a piece of quartz crystal in his hand, and when I looked at it he went down into the ground and I saw him come up all covered with red dust. It made me very frightened. He then said, 'Come to me,' and I went to him, and he said, 'Try and bring up a Wallung.' I did try, and brought one up. He then said, 'Come with me to this place.' I saw him standing by a hole in the ground, leading to a grave. I went inside and saw a dead man, who rubbed me all over to make me clever, and who gave me some Wallung. When we came out, my father pointed to a Gunr (tiger-snake) saying 'That is your budian; it is mine also.' There was a string tied to the tail of the snake, and extending to us. It was one of those strings which the doctors bring up out of themselves, rolled up together.

He took hold of it, saying, 'Let us follow him.' The tiger-snake went through several tree trunks, and let us through. Then we came to a great Currajong tree, and went through it, and after that to a tree with a great swelling round its roots. It is in such places that Daramulun lives. Here the Gunr went down into the ground, and we followed him, and came up inside the tree, which was hollow. There I saw a lot of little Daramuluns, the sons of Baiame. After we came out again the snake took us into a great hole in the ground in which were a number of snakes, which rubbed themselves against me, but did not hurt me, being my Budjan. They did this to make me a clever man, and to make me a Wulla-mullung. My father then said to me, 'We will go up to Baiame's camp.' He got astride of a Mauir (thread) and put me on another, and we held by each other's arms.

At the end of the thread was Wombu, the bird of Baiame. We went through the clouds, and on the other side was the sky. We went through the place where the Doctors go through, and it kept opening and shutting very quickly. My father said that, if it touched a Doctor when he was going through, it would hurt his spirit, and when he returned home he would sicken and die. On the other side we saw Baiame sitting in his camp. He was a very great old man with a long beard. He sat with his legs under him and from his shoulders extended two great quartz crystals to the sky above him. There were also numbers of the boys of Baiame and of his people, who are birds and beasts.

A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), pp. 406-8

THE INITIATION

BINBINGA MEDICINE MAN- CENTRAL AUSTRALIA

The Binbinga hold that medicine men are consecrated by the spirits Mundaji and Munkaningi (father and son). The magician Kurkutji told how, entering a cave one day, he came upon the old Mutidaji, who caught him by the neck and killed him.

Mundadji cut him [kurkutji] open, right down the middle line, took out all of his insides and exchanged them for those of himself, which he placed in the body of Kurkutji. At the same time he put a number of sacred stones in his body. After it was all over the younger spirit, Munkaningi, came up and restored him to life, told him that he was, now a medicine man, and showed him how to extract bones and other forms of evil magic out of men. Then he took him away up into the sky and brought him down to earth close to his own camp, where he heard the natives mourning for him, thinking that he was dead. For a long time he remained in a more or less dazed condition, but gradually he recovered and the natives knew that he had been made into a medicine man. When he operates the spirit Munkaningi is supposed to be near at hand watching him, unseen of course by ordinary people. When taking a bone out, an operation usually conducted under the cover of darkness, Kurkutji first of all sucks very hard at the stomach of the patient and removes a certain amount of blood. Then he makes passes over the body, punches, pounds and sucks, until at last the bone comes out and is then immediately, before it can be seen by the onlookers, thrown in the direction of the spot at which Munkaningi is sitting down quietly watching. Kurkutji then tells the natives that he must go and ask Munkaningi if he will be so kind as to allow him, Kurkutji, to show the bone to them, and permission having been granted, he goes to the spot at which he has, presumably, previously deposited one, and returns with it.

B. Spencer and F. I. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1904), pp. 487-8

THE INITIATION OF AN AUSTRALIAN MEDICINE MAN

UNMATIERA TRIBE- CENTRAL AUSTRALIA

Just as in the case of northern Asiatic or American Shamanism, in Australia too one become a shaman in three ways: by inheriting the profession, by call or election, or by personal quest. But whatever way he has taken, a candidate is not recognized as a medicine man until he has been accepted by a certain number of medicine men or been taught by some of them, and, above all, after a more or less laborious initiation. In the majority of instances, the initiation consists in an ecstatic experience, during which the candidate undergoes certain operations performed by mythical Beings, and undertakes ascents to Heaven or descents to the subterranean World. (cf.. M. Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* [New York: Bollingen Series LXXVI. 1964, PP- 45 9.]

Following are the words of Ipailurkna, a famous magician of the Unmatjera tribe, as reported by Spencer and Gillen.

When he was made into a medicine man, a very old doctor came one day and threw some of his atnongara stones¹ at him with a spearthrower. Some hit him on the chest, others went right through his head, from ear to ear, killing him. The old man then cut out all his insides, intestines, liver, heart, lungs-everything in fact, and left him lying all night long on the ground. In the morning the old man came and looked at him and placed some atnongara stones inside his body and in his arms and legs, and covered his face with leaves. Then he sang over him until his body was all swollen up. When this was so he provided him with a complete set of new inside parts, placed a lot more atnongara stones in him, and patted him on the head, which caused him to jump up alive. The old medicine man then made him drink water and eat meat containing atnongara stones. When he awoke he had no idea as to where he was, and said, 'Tju, tju, tju'-I think I am lost.' But when he looked round he saw the old medicine man standing beside him, and the old man said, 'No, you are not lost; I killed you a long time ago.' Ipailurkna had completely forgotten who he was and all about his past life. After a time the old man led him back to his camp and showed it to him, and told him that the woman there was his lubra, for he had forgotten all about

her. His coming back this way and his strange behaviour at once showed the other natives that he had been made into a medicine man.

Note

1 These atnongara stones are small crystalline structures which every medicine man is supposed to be able to produce at will from his body, through which it is believed that they are distributed. In fact it is the possession of these stones which gives his virtue to the medicine man.

B. Spencer and J. Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1904), PP. 480-1

HOW LEBID BECAME A SHAMAN

KWAKIUTL INDIAN

'Lebid had been sick for a long time,' said the one who told the tale. 'For three winters he had been sick abed and he was just bones. It was real mid-winter and it was very cold.....'

[After Lebid had died, his body was wrapped in blankets and laid at the far end of the village site. It was too cold to bury him.]

Night came. When all the Gwasila lay down, a wolf began to howl behind Gwekelis. It was not long that one wolf was howling, when many wolves began to howl. They gathered at the place where Lebid was wrapped up on the rock. Then the Gwasila guessed that the wolves were going to eat him. Probably the wolves were sitting around the dead one, for they were all howling together. -The Gwasila did not sleep for they were afraid. When it was near daylight the wolves were still howling, many. Then all the Gwasila heard Lebid singing his sacred song among the howling wolves and they knew that Lebid had now become a shaman. When day came in the morning the many howling wolves went back into the woods, and Lebid went also into the woods, singing his sacred song. He kept together with the wolves. Now the sisters of Lebid and his late wife, Maxmaklodalaogwa were running about in vain, looking at the place where he had been wrapped up on the rocks. They saw the tracks of Lebid who had been walking among the wolves. Now the Gwasila were asked by the shamans of the Nakwaxdax that they should all go and wash, with the women and children in the morning and in the evening, so that they should all purify themselves. Then they did so. Now he had been away for two days, then he was heard singing his sacred song inland from the village of Gwekelis. . . . When day came in the morning the Gwasila went to get fire wood. Lebid's wife and daughters and sisters cleared Lebid's house so as to make it clean. . . . All the Gwasila were purified. When it got dark in the evening he came singing his sacred song. They could hardly hear him in the woods. Now at once the Gwasila started a fire in the middle of the house. All the men and the women who were not menstruating and the children went in. Now the shaman of Nakwaxdax told all those who went into the house to carry batons. When they were all holding the batons the shaman of the Nakwaxdax, whose name was Making-alive (Qwequlagila) told the Gwasila to beat fast time together. They all beat time together. For a long time they were beating time. Then they stopped beating time and the sound of Lebid came nearer as he was singing his sacred song behind the village. Three times the Gwasila beat fast time. Then the sound of the sacred song came to the front of the house. Again they beat fast time; the fourth time Lebid came into the door, really naked, only hemlock was wound around his head and hemlock was wound around his neck. He was really lean. The Gwasila beat fast time. He went around the fire in the middle of the house still singing his sacred song. These are the words of his sacred song:

1. I was taken away far inland to the edge of the world by the magical power of heaven, the treasure, ha, wo, ho.

2. Only then was I cured by it, when it was really thrown into me, the past life bringer of Nualakume, the treasure, ha, wo, ho.

3. I come to cure with this means of healing of Nualakume, the treasure. Therefore I shall be a life bringer, ha, wo, ho.

4. I come with the water of life given into my hand by Nualakume, the means of bringing to life, the treasures, ha, wo, ho.

Then Lebid sang his other sacred song:

1. He turns to the right side, poor one, this supernatural one, so as to obtain the supernatural one, ha, wo, ho.

2. Let the supernatural one be the life bringer, the supernatural one, ha, wo, ho.

3. That the poor one may come to life with the lifebringer of Nualakume, ha, wo, ho.

4. The poor one comes, this supernatural one, to give protection with the means of giving protection of Nualakume, ha, wo, ho.

After he had danced, all those went out of the house who were not shamans. Then the real shamans of the Gwasila sat down in the house. Lebid sat down on a new mat in the rear of the house. All had their faces blackened, the old shamans, and all had on their heads the shamans' head rings of red cedar bark. All had around their necks shamans' neck rings of red cedar bark. Then they all lay on their backs and there was no talking. Only Lebid, the new shaman who had come back to life was sitting on his new mat. . . . They were waiting for all the men and women who were not shamans to go to sleep. When they thought they were all asleep they sent four real shamans to go and look into the doors of all the houses of the Gwasila to see whether they were not barred. Then they found that all the doors of the houses were barred. They came into the meeting house of the shamans and they barred the door of the house. Then they sat down. They were sitting quite a while in silence, then arose one of the shamans, whose name was Bringing-Life-out-of-the-Woods (Qulamoltelsila). He spoke and said, 'Indeed, friends, indeed, this is the way it is done, for we came here to this house, that Lebid, who is newly added to us, our friend, may tell us how it was brought right down to this shaman. Now he will tell us why he came to life again. He will keep nothing hidden from his friends.' Thus he said and sat down.

Then Lebid spoke and said, 'Indeed, friends, you fellow-shamans, thus you must do to a new shaman. Now I will tell you, friends. I was very sick, and a man came into the place where I was lying in another house and invited me to follow him. Immediately I arose and followed him. Then I saw that my body was still lying here groaning. We had not gone far into the woods before we arrived at a house and we entered the house. I was asked by the other man to go and sit down in the rear of the house. When I had seated myself, then spoke the man who was sitting on the right hand side of the doorway of the house. He said, "Go on, speak, Nualakume, he who is the great shaman, of what we shall do to him who has come and is sitting among us," said he. Then a man came who had tied around his head a thick ring of red cedar bark and a thin neck ring of cedar bark. He spoke and said, "Our friend will not stay away, for I wish him to go back to his tribe so that he may become a great shaman and that he may cure the sick in his tribe. And he shall have my name for his name. Now he shall have the name Nualakume. And I shall take out the breath from his body so that I may keep it," said he as he went out of the door of the house. It was not long before he came back. He spoke and said, "Now his body is dead on the ground, for I am holding his breath, which is the owner of the soul of our friend. Now I shall give him my shamanistic power," said he and he vomited a quartz crystal. Then all the men beat fast time on the boards. He sang his sacred song as he threw the quartz crystal into the lower part of my sternum, and now I had become a shaman after this as it was getting daylight. Then Nualakume said, "Again we shall beat time for our friend tonight," said he. Then all the wolves who were now men, went to sleep. In the evening they all went into the house, for Lebid was still sitting there. And when the men were all in, Nualakume came singing his sacred song outside the house. Then he came in. There was a wolf carved out of yew wood on the back of his rattle. He went around the fire in the middle of the house. After he had gone around four times he sat down near me and pressed (on top) with his right hand on the top of my head, and he put down his rattle and pressed with his left hand the top of my head; then he sang his sacred song. Then he pressed down with both his hands on both sides of my head, down to the lower end of my trunk.' And so he

brought his hands together, put his hands flat together, and raised his hands throwing up the sickness of Lebid. After he had done this four times he finished. . . . Then all the men put on their wolf masks and when they were all dressed, they all went out of the door of the house, and also Lebid. As soon as all had come out, all the wolves howled. Lebid walked among them, and also Naualakume kept the breath of the body of Lebid, for only his soul had been taken by the wolves. Now they went to where the body of Lepid was wrapped on the rocks. As soon as they had arrived there, Naualakume asked the other wolves to take off the mat that had been spread over the body and the wrapping of two pairs of blankets. As soon as all had been taken off, Naualakume went there. He called Lebid to sit by his side. He took his breath and drew it into his mouth. Then he blew it into the mouth of Lebid's body. He asked the many wolves that they all should lick the body of the dead one. 'Now my soul was sitting on the ground and was just watching the wolves as they were licking the body. They had not been licking it long when it began to breathe. Then Naualakume pressed both his hands on the head of the soul of Lebid and he pressed down with both his hands on his head. Then the soul began to get small and it was of the size of a large fly. He took it and put it on top of the head of Lebid and blew it in. Immediately Lebid arose and sang his sacred song. Now he was singing among the wolves who were howling and they went back into the woods and went home to their house. Lebid also followed them. Again the wolves beat time at night. And now they really taught Lebid who had now the name Naualakume how to treat the sick. He said that he could not throw (sickness), and other Gwasila say that he could throw (sickness), he who had now the name Naualakume. Then said the great shaman of the wolves [i.e. Lebid] that he would always make him dream "about what I should do when curing really sick ones, as he was giving instructions to me." Now I came into this house where we are sitting now.'

Franz Boas, *The Religion of the Kwakiutl Indians*, vol.II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), PP. 46-50

THE 'ENLIGHTENMENT' OF THE ESKIMO SHAMANS

THE IGLULIK

During the shaman's initiation, the master helps the disciple to obtain 'lighting' or 'enlightenment,' *angakok*, also called *quamanek*.

The *angakoq* consists 'of a mysterious light which the shaman suddenly feels in his body, inside his head, within the brain, an inexplicable searchlight, a luminous fire, which enables him to see in the dark, both literally and metaphorically speaking, for he can now, even with closed eyes, see through darkness and perceive things and coming events which are hidden from others: thus they look into the future and into the secrets of others.'

The candidate obtains this mystical light after long hours of waiting, sitting on a bench in his hut and invoking the spirits. When he experiences it for the first time 'it is as if the house in which he is suddenly rises; he sees far ahead of him, through mountains, exactly as if the earth were one great plain, and his eyes could reach to the end of the earth. Nothing is hidden from him any longer; not only can he see things far, far away, but he can also discover souls, stolen souls, which are either kept concealed in far, strange lands or have been taken up or down to the Land of the Dead.'

M. Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (New York: Bollingen Series LXXVI, 1964), pp. 60-1, based on and quoted from Knud Rasmussen. *Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos* (Copenhagen, 1930) pp.112-13

AN INITIATORY DREAM OF A SAMOYED SHAMAN

A. A. Popov gives the following account concerning a shaman of the Avam Samoyed. Sick with smallpox, the future shaman remained unconscious for three days and so nearly dead that on the third day he was almost buried. His initiation took place during the time. He remembered having been carried into the

middle of a sea. There he heard his Sickness (that is, smallpox) speak, saying to him: 'From the Lords of the Water you will receive the gift of shamanizing. Your name as a shaman will be Huottarie (Diver).' Then the Sickness troubled the water of the sea. The candidate came out and climbed a mountain. There he met a naked woman and began to suckle at her breast. The woman, who was probably the Lady of the Water, said to him: 'You are my child; that is why I let you suckle at my breast. You will meet many hardships and be greatly wearied.' The husband of the Lady of the Water, the Lord of the Underworld, then gave him two guides, an ermine and a mouse, to lead him to the underworld. When they came to a high place, the guides showed him seven tents with torn roofs. He entered the first and there found the inhabitants of the underworld and the men of the Great Sickness (syphilis). These men tore out his heart and threw it into a pot. In other tents he met the Lord of Madness and the Lords of all the nervous disorders, as well as the evil shamans. Thus he learned the various diseases that torment mankind.

Still preceded by his guides, the candidate then came to the Land of the Shamanesses, who strengthened his throat and his voice. He was then carried to the shores of the Nine Seas. In the middle of one of them was an island, and in the middle of the island a young birch tree rose to the sky. It was the Tree of the Lord of the Earth. Beside it grew nine herbs, the ancestors of all the plants on earth. The tree was surrounded by seas, and in each of these swam a species of bird with its young. There were several kinds of ducks, a swan, and a sparrow-hawk. The candidate visited all these seas; some of them were salt, others so hot he could not go near the shore. After visiting the seas, the candidate raised his head and, in the top of the tree, saw men of various nations: Tavgi Samoyed, Russians, Dolgan, Yakut, and Tungus. He heard voices: 'It has been decided that you shall have a drum (that is, the body of a drum) from the branches of this tree.' He began to fly with the birds of the seas. As he left the shore, the Lord of the Tree called to him: 'My branch has just fallen; take it and make a drum of it that will serve you all your life.' The branch had three forks, and the Lord of the Tree bade him make three drums from it, to be kept by three women, each drum being for a special ceremony the first for shamanizing women in childbirth, the second for curing the sick, the third for finding men lost in the snow.

The Lord of the Tree also gave branches to all the men who were in the top of the tree. But, appearing from the tree up to the chest in human form, he added: 'One branch only I give not to the Shamans, for I keep it for the rest of mankind. They can make dwellings from it and so use it for their needs. I am the Tree that gives life to all men.' Claspng the branch, the candidate was ready to resume his flight when again he heard a human voice, this time revealing to him the medicinal virtues of the seven plants and giving him certain instructions concerning the art of shamanizing. But, the voice added, he must marry three women (which, in fact, he later did by marrying three orphan girls whom he had cured of smallpox).

And after that he came to an endless sea and there he found trees and seven stones. The stones spoke to him one after the other. The first had teeth like bears' teeth and a basket-shaped cavity, and it revealed to him that it was the earth's holding stone; it pressed on the fields with its weight, so that they should not be carried away by the wind. The second served to melt iron. He remained with these stones for seven days and so learned how they could be of use to men.

Then his two guides, the ermine and the mouse, led him to a high, rounded mountain. He saw an opening before him and entered a bright cave, covered with mirrors, in the middle of which there was something like a fire. He saw two women, naked but covered with hair, like reindeer. Then he saw that there was no fire burning but that the light came from above, through an opening. One of the women told him that she was pregnant and would give birth to two reindeer; one would be the sacrificial animal of the Dolgan and Evenki, the other that of the Tavgi. She also gave him a hair, which was to be useful to him when he shamanized for reindeer. The other woman also gave birth to two reindeer, symbols of the animals that would aid man in all his works and also supply his food. The cave had two openings, toward the north and toward the south; through each of them the young women sent a reindeer to serve the forest people (Dolgan and Evenki). The second woman, too, gave him a hair. When he shamanizes, he mentally turns toward the cave.

Then the candidate came to a desert and saw a distant mountain. After three days' travel he reached it, entered an opening, and came upon a naked man working a bellows. On the fire was a cauldron 'as big as half the earth.' The naked man saw him and caught him with a huge pair of tongs. The novice had time to

think, 'I am dead !' The man cut off his head, chopped his body into bits, and put everything in the cauldron. There he boiled his body for three years. There were also three anvils, and the naked man forged the candidate's head on the third, which was the one on which the best shamans were forged. Then he threw the head into one of three pots that stood there, the one in which the water was the coldest. He now revealed to the candidate that, when he was called to cure someone, if the water in the ritual pot was very hot, it would be useless to shamanize, for the man was already lost; if the water was warm, he was sick but would recover; cold water denoted a healthy man.

The blacksmith then fished the candidate's bones out of a river, in which they were floating, put them together, and covered them with flesh again. He counted them and told him that he had three too many; he was therefore to procure three shaman's costumes. He forged his head and taught him how to read the letters that are inside it. He changed his eyes; and that is why, when he shamanizes, he does not see with his bodily eyes but with these mystical eyes. He pierced his ears, making him able to understand the language of plants. Then the candidate found himself on the summit of a mountain, and finally he woke in the yurt, among the family. Now he can sing and shamanize indefinitely, without ever growing tired.

M. Eliade, *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (New York: Bollingen Series, LXXVI, 1964), PP. 38-42; translating and summarizing A. A. Popov, Tavgytsy. *Materialy po etnografii avamskikh i vedeyevskikh tavgytsev* (Moscow and Leningrad), 1936, pp 84 9.

MYSTICAL MARRIAGE OF A SIBERIAN SHAMAN

The Goldi clearly distinguish between the tutelary spirit (ayami), which chooses the shaman, and the helping spirits (syven), which are subordinate to it and are granted to the shaman by the ayami itself. According to Sternberg the Goldi explain the relations between the shaman and his ayami by a complex sexual emotion. Here is the report of a Goldi shaman.

Once I was asleep on my sick-bed, when a spirit approached me. It was a very beautiful woman. Her figure was very slight, she was no more than half an arshin (71 cm.) tall. Her face and attire were quite as those of one of our Gold women. Her hair fell down to her shoulders in short black tresses. Other shamans say they have had the vision of a woman with one half of her face black, and the other half red. She said: 'I am the "ayami" of your ancestors, the Shamans. I taught them shamaning. Now I am going to teach you. The old shamans have died off, and there is no one to heal people. You are to become a shaman.'

Next she said: 'I love you, I have no husband now, you will be my husband and I shall be a wife unto you. I shall give you assistant spirits. You are to heal with their aid, and I shall teach and help you myself. Food will come to us from the people.'

I felt dismayed and tried to resist. Then she said, 'If you will not obey me, so much the worse for you. I shall kill you.'

She has been coming to me ever since, and I sleep with her as with my own wife, but we have no children. She lives quite by herself without any relatives in a hut, on a mountain, but she often changes her abode. . . . Sometimes she comes under the aspect of an old woman, and sometimes under that of a wolf, so she is terrible to look at. Sometimes she comes as a winged tiger. I mount it and she takes me to show me different countries. I have seen mountains, where only old men and women live, and Villages, where you see nothing but young people, men and women: they look like Golds and speak Goldish, sometimes those people are turned into tigers.

Now my ayami does not come to me as frequently as before. Formerly, when teaching me, she used to come every night. She has given me three assistants-the 'jarga' (the panther), the 'doonto' (the bear) and the 'amba' (the tiger). They come to me in my dreams, and appear whenever I summon them while shamaning. If one of them refuses to come, the 'ayami' makes them obey, but, they say, there are some who do not obey even the 'ayami.' When I am shamaning, the 'ayami' and the assistant spirits are possessing me; whether big or small, they penetrate me, as smoke or vapour would. When the 'ayami' is

within me, it is she who speaks through my mouth, and she does everything herself. When I am eating the 'sukdu' (the offerings) and drinking pig's blood (the blood of pigs is drunk by shamans alone, lay people are forbidden to touch it), it is not I who eat and drink, it is my 'ayami' alone.

M. Eliade, *Shamanism*, op. cit., PP. 72-3, quoting Leo Stenberg, 'Divine Election in Primitive Religion' (1924), PP. 476 ff. cf.. *Shamanism*, PP. 421 ff., for autobiographies of South-Indian Savara shamans and shamanesses, whose marriages to spirits are in striking parallel to the documents collected by Stenberg

A POWERFUL SHAMAN

THE APACHE

'My white brother,' an Apache shaman told Reagan, 'you probably will not believe it, but I am all powerful. I will never die. If you shoot me, the bullet will not enter my flesh, or if it enters it will not hurt me..... If you stick a knife in my throat, thrusting it upwards, it will come out through my skull at the top of my head. . . . I am all powerful. If I wish to kill any one, all I need to do is to thrust out my hand and touch him and he dies. My power is like that of a god.'

Albert B. Reagan, *Notes on the Indians of the Fort Apache Region*, American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, xxxv, part v (1930), P. 391

A YUKAGIR SHAMANISTIC SEANCE

FROM NORTHEASTERN SIBERIA

The shaman sits down on the ground and, after drumming for a long time, invokes his tutelary spirits, imitating the voices of animals. 'My fore-father, my ancestors, stand near by me. In order to help me, stand near me, my girl spirits. . . .' He begins drumming again and, rising with the help of his assistant, goes to the door and breathes deeply, in order to swallow the souls of his ancestors and other spirits that he has summoned. 'The soul of the patient, it seems, has travelled along the road to the Kingdom of Shadows,' the spirits of the ancestors announce through the shaman's voice. The patient's relatives encourage him: 'Be strong, strength do not spare!' The shaman drops his drum and lies face down on the reindeer skin; he remains motionless, the sign that he has left his body and is journeying in the beyond. He has descended into the Kingdom of Shadows 'through the drum as through a lake.' For a long time he does not stir and all those present patiently wait for him to wake. His return is indicated by a few motions. Two girls massage his legs, and, now completely restored to himself, he replaces the soul in the patient's body. He then goes to the door and dismisses his helping spirits.

At the end of such a seance the shaman gave Jochelson the particulars of his ecstatic journey. Accompanied by his helping spirits, he had followed the road that leads to the Kingdom of Shadows. He came to a little house and found a dog that began to bark. An old woman, who guarded the road, came out of the house and asked him if he had come for ever or for a short time. The shaman did not answer her; instead, he addressed his spirits: 'Do not listen to the old woman's words, walk on without stopping.' Soon they came to a stream. There was a boat, and on the other bank the shaman saw tents and men. Still accompanied by his spirits, he entered the boat and crossed the stream. He met the souls of the patient's dead relatives, and entering their tent, found the patient's soul there too. As the relatives refused to give it to him, he had to take it by force. To carry it safely back to the earth, he inhaled the patient's soul and stuffed his ears to prevent it from escaping.

-M. Eliade, *Shamanism*, op. Cit., Pp. 247-8; summarizing Waldemar Jochelson, *The Yukaghiri and the Yukaghirize Tungus* (Leiden and New York, 1924-6) pp. 196-9

AN ESKIMO SHAMAN

DESCENDS TO THE BOTTOM OF THE OCEAN

Descent to the abode of Takanakapsaluk, the Mother of the Sea Beasts, is undertaken at an individual's request, sometimes because of illness, sometimes because of bad luck in hunting; only in the latter case is the shaman paid. But it sometimes happens that no game at all is to be found and the village is threatened with famine; then all the villagers gather in the house where the seance is held, and the shaman's ecstatic journey is made in the name of the whole community. Those present must unfasten their belts and laces, and remain silent, their eyes closed. For a time the shaman breathes deeply, in silence, before summoning his helping spirits. When they come the shaman begins to murmur, 'The way is made ready for me; the way opens before me!' and the audience answer in chorus: 'Let it be so.' And now the earth opens, and the shaman struggles for a long time with unknown forces before he finally cries: 'Now the way is open.' And the audience exclaim in chorus: 'Let the way be open before him; let there be way for him.' Now, first under the bed, then farther away, under the passage, is heard the cry, 'Halala-he-he-he, Halala-he-he-he'; this is the sign that the shaman has set off. The cry grows more and more distant until it is no longer heard.

During this time the audience sing in chorus, their eyes closed, and sometimes the shaman's clothes-which he had taken off before the seance-come to life and start flying about the house, over the heads of the audience. The signs and deep breathing of people long dead are also heard; they are dead shamans come to help their colleague on his dangerous journey. And their signs and their breathing seem to come from very far under water, as if they were sea beasts.

Reaching the bottom of the ocean, the shaman finds himself facing three great stones in constant motion barring his road; he must pass between them at the risk of being crushed. (This is another image of the 'strait gate' that forbids access to the plane of higher being to anyone but an 'initiate,' that is, one who can act like a 'spirit.') Successfully passing this obstacle, the shaman follows a path and comes to a sort of bay; on a hill stands Takanakapsaluk's house, made of stone and with a narrow entrance. The shaman hears sea beasts blowing and panting, but does not see them. A dog with bared teeth defends the entrance; the dog is dangerous to anyone who is afraid of it, but the shaman passes over it, and it understands that he is a very powerful magician. (All these obstacles oppose the ordinary shaman, but the really powerful shamans reach the bottom of the sea and the presence of Takanakapsaluk directly, by diving beneath their tent or snow hut, as if slipping through a tube.)

If the goddess is angry with men, a great wall rises before her house. And the shaman has to knock it down with his shoulder. Others say that Takanakapsaluk's house has no roof, so that the goddess can better see men's acts from her place by the fire. All kinds of marine animals are gathered in a pool to the right of the fire, and their cries and breathings are heard. The goddess's hair hangs down over her face and she is dirty and slovenly; this is the effect of men's sins, which have almost made her ill. The shaman must approach her, take her by the shoulder, and comb her hair (for the goddess has no fingers with which to comb herself). Before he can do this, there is another obstacle to be overcome; Takanakapsaluk's father, taking him for a dead man on the way to the land of shades, tries to seize him, but the shaman cries, 'I am flesh and blood!' and succeeds in passing.

As he combs Takanakapsaluk's hair, the shaman tells her that men have no more seal. And the goddess answers in the spirit language: 'The secret miscarriages of the women and breaches of taboo in eating boiled meat bar the way for the animals.' The shaman now has to summon all his powers to appease her anger; finally she opens the pool and sets the animals free. The audience hears their movements at the bottom of the sea, and soon afterward the shaman's gasping breathing, as if he were emerging from the surface of the water. A long silence follows. Finally the shaman speaks: 'I have something to say.' All answer. 'Let us hear, let us hear.' And the shaman, in the spirit language, demands the confession of sins. One after another, all confess their miscarriages or their breaches of taboos and repent.

M. Eliade, *Shamanism*, Op. Cit., PP. 294-6; summarizing Knud Rasmussen, *Intellectual Culture of the Iglulik Eskimos* (Copenhagen, 1930), PP. 124 ff.

BLACK MAGIC: AN AUSTRALIAN SORCERER

OF ARNHEM LAND

One of the most noted killers in the southeastern Murngin country was Lajndjura, who had destroyed many victims by black magic. As an individual he was not very different from the ordinary man in the tribe, although possibly a bit more alert. He was a good hunter as well as an excellent wood carver, and had several wives and a number of children. There was nothing sinister, peculiar, or psychopathic about him; he was perfectly normal in all of his behaviour. Among his own people the attitudes were no different toward him than toward any other man in the clan. It was extremely difficult, however, to obtain Lajndjura's confidence to the point where he would talk about his activities as a sorcerer. Although he and I were on very friendly terms, it was not until my second field trip into the area that he gave me long accounts of his various killings.

It is impossible definitely to evaluate how far Lajndjura and other killers believed the case histories which they gave me. There was no doubt in my own thinking that Lajndjura believed a great part of them. Since he was constantly credited and blamed by friends and enemies for certain deaths, he may at first have taken an attitude, as if he had done these things and ultimately have come to believe that he had actually performed the operations he claimed he had. A black sorcerer who is credited with many killings has a rather difficult time among the people surrounding his own group, and under most circumstances it is more difficult and unpleasant to be so classed than as an ordinary man; hence a man would not practice such complete duplicity as these stories might indicate unless the setting were extraordinary from our point of view.

The Killing of Bom-li-tjir-i-li's wife-'All of us were camping at Marunga Island. We were looking for oysters. This woman I was about to kill was hunting for lilies that day, for the other women had gone another way to search for oysters. I carried a hatchet with me and watched her. The woman gathered her lily bulbs, then left the swamp, went back on to the sandy land and lay down in the shade. She covered herself with paper bark to keep warm because she had been in the lily pond and felt cold. Only her head came out from the bark. She could not see.

'I sneaked up and hit her between the eyes with the head of a tomahawk. She kicked and tried to raise up but she couldn't. Her eyes turned up like she was dead. I picked her up under the arms and dragged her to a mangrove jungle and laid her down. She was a young girl.

'I split a mangrove stick from off a tree and sharpened it. I took some djel-kurk (orchid bulb) first and got it ready. I did not have my spear-thrower with me, so I took the handle off my tomahawk and jabbed about the skin on her Mount of Venus which was attached to her vagina and pushed it back. I pushed the skin up to her navel.

'Her large intestine protruded as though it were red calico. I covered my arm with orchid juice. I covered the killing stick with it too. I put the stick in the palm of my hand so that I could push the point upward with my thumb. When she inhaled, I pushed my arm in a little. When she exhaled I stopped. Little by little I got my hand inside her. Finally I touched her heart. I pushed the killing stick with my thumb up over the palm, which pressed the stick against my fingers, into her heart. She had a very large heart and I had to push harder than usual.

'I pulled the stick out. I stood back of her and held her up with her breasts in my hands. She was in a squatting position.

'Her heart's blood ran out into the paper-bark basket I had left to catch it in. It ran slower and slower and then stopped. I laid her down and took the blood away. I hid it. I came back and broke a nest of green ants off a tree. I laid it near her. I put the live ants on her skin. I did not squeeze them, for I was in a hurry because I was afraid her relatives would come looking for her. The skin, when bitten by the ants, moved by itself downward from her navel and covered her bones over her Mount of Venus.

'I then took some dry mud from an old lily pond. I put my sweat on the mud and warmed it over the fire. I put it against her to heal the wound so that no trace would be left of what I had done. I was careful none of

her pubic hair would be left inside her vagina so that it would be felt by her husband or seen by the women. I kept up the mud applications until the vagina looked as it did before. I put blood and sweat in the mud and warmed it and put it inside the uterus. I did this again, using the mud, sweat, and blood. I did this six or eight times. The inside now was like it was before.

'I turned her over. Her large intestine stuck out several feet. I shook some green ants on it. It went in some little way. I shook some more on, and a little receded. I shook some more, and all of it went in. Everything was all right now. There was no trace of the wound.

'I took the tomahawk handle which had her heart's blood on it I whirled it around her head. Her head moved slowly. I whirled it again. She moved some more. The spirit that belonged to that dead woman went into my heart then. I felt it go in. I whirled the stick again and she gasped for breath. I jumped over her and straightened her toes and fingers. She blew some breath out of her mouth, and was all right. 'It was noontime. I said to her, "You go eat some lilies." The woman got up and walked away. She went round another way. I said to that woman "You will live two days. One day you will be happy, the next day you will be sick." The woman went to the place where I had found her. She went to sleep. I took her blood and went away. The other women came from where they had been gathering oysters. They were laughing and talking. They awakened the girl. She picked up her lily bulbs and went to the camp with the women.

'The next day she walked around and played, laughed, talked and made fun and gathered a lot of oysters and lilies. She came back to camp that night. She brought the things she had gathered into camp. She laid down and died that night.'

W. Lloyd Warner, *A Black Civilization* (New York, 1958), PP.188-90

HOLY PERSONAGES

AN AFRICAN DIVINE KING

OF NYASALAND

Mbande is a hill on the plain of north Nyasaland with a commanding view, of the surrounding country and well suited to defence. The west side is precipitous and below the scarp edge there used to be a marsh; to the north the hill is protected by a wide reach of the Lukulu river. It is a sacred place and for many generations was the home of the 'divine king,' the Kyungu. Like the Lwembe he was the living representative of a hero, and was selected by a group of hereditary nobles from one of two related lineages, the office alternating (if suitable candidates were available) between the two. They sought a big man, one who had begotten children and whose sons were already married, not a young man for, the nobles said, 'young men always want war, and destroy the country.' He must be a man of wisdom (gwa mahala) and generous in feeding his people.

The Kyungu's life was governed by taboos even more rigorous than those surrounding the Lwembe. He must not fall ill, or suffer a wound, or even scratch himself and bleed a little, for his ill health, or his blood falling on the earth would bring sickness to the whole country. 'Men feared when Kyungu's blood fell on the ground, they said, "It is his life." 'If he had a headache his wives (if they loved him) told him not to mention it, they hid his illness; but if the nobles entered and found him ill they dug the grave and put him in it, saying, "He is the ruler (ntemi), it's taboo for him to be ill." Then he thought: "Perhaps it is so" (with a gesture of resignation).'

Great precautions were taken to preserve his health. He lived in a separate house with his powerful medicines. His food was prepared by boys below the age of puberty lest a menstruating woman, or a youth who had laid with a woman, should touch it and so bring sickness upon him; and his numerous wives were immured in the royal enclosure-a great stockade-and jealously guarded, for any infidelity on their part was thought to make their husband ill, and with him the whole country.

When the Kyungu did fall ill he was smothered by the nobles who lived around him at Mbande, and buried

in great secrecy, with a score or more of living persons-slaves-in the grave beneath him, and one or two wives and the sons of commoners above. And in the midst of all this slaughter the nobles brought a sheep to look into the grave that the dead Kyungu might be gentle (mololo) like the sheep!

The living Kyungu was thought to create food and rain, and his breath and the growing parts of his body-his hair and nails and the constantly replaced mucus of his nose-were believed to be magically connected with the fertility of the Ngonde plain. When he was killed his nostrils were stopped so that he was buried 'with the breath in his body'; while portions of his hair and nails and of his nasal mucus were taken from him beforehand and buried by the nobles of Ngonde in the black mud near the river. This was 'to defend the country against hunger,' to close up the land, to keep it rich and heavy and fertile as it was when he himself lived in it.'

His death was kept secret-a relatively easy matter since he lived in seclusion-and one of the nobles (Ngosi) impersonated him wearing his clothes. After a month or two when the nobles had decided whom to choose as the new Kyungu, the luckless man was summoned to Mbande: 'Your father calls you.' Then he came with his companions and entered the house to make obeisance; they seized him and put the sacred cloth on him and set him on the stool 'Kisumbi,' saving, 'Thou Kyungu, thou art he,' and he became the Kyungu. Then they struck the drum, Mwenekelwa, and everyone knew that the Kyungu had died and another had been installed. Men feared greatly to be seized as the Kyungu, just as they feared to be seized as the Lwembe, because the life of a divine king was short. Ngonde historians quote a number of cases of sons of the Kyungu who fled to escape being set on the stool; once they had sat on it they dared not flee lest they die. . . .

In time of drought the nobles of Ngonde would go to a diviner to inquire who it was who was angry; they would mention all the names of the sacred groves of the Kyungus in turn and he would tell them that it was so and so. They would inform the living Kyungu and he would give them a bull or a sheep, together with some beer-they would take one of the pots of beer from his own house, brought by his people as tribute. And he would give them some flour and cloths also. Then they would go with them into the grove and build a miniature hut. Next they would kill the beast and hang some of the meat up on a tree-the rest they would eat later outside the grove. Then they would tear up the cloths and fasten some of the pieces onto the hut in the grove-an action they would explain as giving him cloths.' And finally, they would pour out some of the beer and the flour. Nearly always, in time of drought, they would thus build a hut and make an offering in the grove of the Kyungu whom the diviner had mentioned.

But occasionally, if one of the chiefs had recently insulted the Kyungu, they concluded that it was the living Kyungu himself who was angry. They would go to a diviner and mention all the names of the dead Kyungus, but he would refuse to accept any of them: 'No . . . no.' And at length he would tell them that it was the living Kyungu who was angry because so-and-so had insulted him. Then there would be no sacrifice at the grove at all, but the nobles of Ngonde would go to the one who had insulted the Kyungu and charge him with it, asking him what he meant by thus killing them all, would not the whole land starve? And so the wrongdoer would take a cow to the Kyungu who, thereupon, would address the nobles of Ngonde, saying: 'If it was my anger which brought the drought then it will rain (for I am no longer angry). But if the rain does not come then it cannot have been my anger, it must have been someone [of the dead Kyungus] whom you forgot to ask about it.' 'And if, after that, the rain came soon, then it was not likely that anyone would insult the Kyungu again.' . . .

Thus to insult Kyungu was not only treasonable, it was blasphemous, and the whole plain was believed to be cursed with drought or disease in reply. An 'insult' might mean any neglect of the obligations of the chiefs and nobles and commoners of the plain to their lord. . . .

The majesty (ubusisya) of the Kyungu was cultivated in a variety of ways. He smeared himself with ointment made from lion fat, and his bed was built up with elephant tusks and lion pelts. He was enthroned on the sacred iron stool called Kisumbi, he had a spear, Kamisa, and Mulima, a porous piece of iron 'like a mouth organ' used to make rain, all handed down from the first Kyungu. His zebra tails, set with medicines in horn handles, were waved in war and during prayer to the shades, and he also had the famous drum on which the blood of a child was poured.

But the majority of their subjects only worshipped from afar in fear and trembling. At Mbande no ordinary commoner was ever conducted into the sacred enclosure, but only the territorial nobles and the elder chiefs, and they only occasionally; while when the Kyungu travelled through his country all men save the very oldest fled from his approach. Even in speech fearful circumlocutions were used to refer to his journeying-'The country is on the move'-'the great hill is moving- 'the mystery is coming.' It was taboo both for the old men who-stayed to see him, and for those who entered the sacred enclosure, ever to greet him in the usual way. Falling down and clapping the hands was the only greeting for the Kyungu.

From the wives of the Kyungu also men fled in terror, fearing lest they be compromised and thrown over the cliff of Mbande, and this both added to the atmosphere of terror which surrounded him and was an expression of it.

Monica Wilson, *Communal Rituals of the Nyakyusa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), Pp. 40-6

EMPEDOCLES GOES AMONG MEN

AS AN IMMORTAL

Friends who dwell throughout the great town of golden Acragas, up by the citadel, men mindful of good deeds, unversed in wickedness, havens of respect for strangers, all hail. I go about among you all an immortal god, mortal no more, honoured as is my due and crowned with garlands and verdant wreaths. Whenever I enter the prosperous townships with these my followers, men and women both, I am revered; they follow me in countless numbers, asking where lies the path to gain, some seeking prophecies, while others, for many a day stabbed by grievous pains, beg to hear the word that heals all manner of illness. (Frag. 112.)

But at the end they come among men on earth as prophets, bards, doctors and princes; and thence they arise as gods mighty in honour, sharing with the other immortals their hearth and their table, without part in human sorrows or weariness. (Frag. 146, 147.)

Translation by G. S. Kirk and J. E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1957), P. 354

THE FLAMEN DIALIS AND HIS WIFE

A great many ceremonies are imposed upon the Flamen Dialis [the priest of Jupiter], and also many restraints [castus multiplices, taboos], about which we read in the books *On The Public Priesthoods* and also in Book I of Fabius Pictor's work. Among them I recall the following: it is forbidden [religio est] the Flamen Dialis to ride a horse; it is likewise forbidden him to view the 'classes arrayed' outside the pomerium [the sacred boundary of Rome], i.e., armed and in battle order; hence only rarely is the Flamen Dialis made a consul, since [the conduct of] wars is entrusted to the consuls; it is likewise unlawful [fas numquam est] for him ever to take an oath by Jupiter [jurare dialem]; it is likewise unlawful for him to wear a ring, unless it is cut through and empty [i.e., without a jewel?]. It is also unlawful to carry out fire from the flaminia, i.e., the Flamen Dialis' dwelling, except for a sacral purpose; if a prisoner in chains enters the house he must be released and the chains must be carried up through the impluvium [the opening in the roof above the atrium or living room] onto the roof tiles and dropped down from there into the street. He must have no knot in his head gear or in his girdle or in any other part of his attire. If anyone is being led away to be flogged and falls at his feet as a suppliant, it is unlawful [piaculum est] to flog him that day. The hair of the [Flamen] Dialis is not to be cut, except by a freeman. It is customary [mos est] for the Flamen neither to touch nor even to name a female goat, or raw (?) meat, ivy, or beans.

He must not walk under a trellis for vines. The feet of the bed on which he lies must have a thin coating of clay, and he must not be away from this bed for three successive nights, nor is it lawful for anyone else to sleep in this bed. At the foot of his bed there must be a box containing a little pile of sacrificial cakes. The nail trimmings and hair of the Dialis must be buried in the ground beneath a healthy tree. Every day is a holy day [feriatus est] for the Dialis. He must not go outdoors [sub divo] without a head-covering-this is

now allowed indoors, but only recently by decree of the pontiffs, as Masurius Sabinus has stated; it is also said that some of the other ceremonies have been remitted and cancelled.

It is not lawful for him to touch bread made of fermented meal [i.e., with yeast]. His underwear ['inner tunic'] he does not take off except in covered places, lest he appear nude under the open sky, which is the same as under the eye of Jove. No one else outranks him in the seating at a banquet except the Rex sacrificulus. If he loses his wife, he must resign his office. His marriage cannot be dissolved [dirimi ius non est] except by death. He never enters a burying ground, he never touches a corpse. He is, however, permitted [-non est religio] to attend a funeral.

Almost the same ceremonial rules belong to the Flaminica Dialis [i.e., his wife]. They say that she observes certain other and different ones, for example, that she wears a dyed gown, and that she has a twig from a fruitful tree tucked in her veil [which was worn over her head at a sacrifice], and that it is forbidden [religiosum est] for her to ascend more than three rungs of a ladder (except what the Greeks call 'ladders' [steps?]) and even that when she goes to the Argei [when twenty-four puppets were thrown into the Tiber] she must neither comb her head nor arrange her hair.

Translation by Frederick G. Grant, in his *Ancient Roman Religion*, Library of Religion paperback series (New York, 1957), PP. 30-2

AUGUSTUS- 'FATHER OF HIS OWN FATHERLAND'

HALICANUSSUS

Following is an inscription found at Halicarnassus, dating from some time after 2 B.C.

Since the eternal and deathless nature of the universe has perfected its immense benefits to mankind in granting us as a supreme benefit, for our happiness and welfare, Caesar Augustus, Father of his own Fatherland, divine Rome, Zeus Paternal, and Saviour of the whole human race, in whom Providence has not only fulfilled but even surpassed the prayers of all men: land and sea are at peace, cities flourish under the reign of law, in mutual harmony and prosperity; each is at the very acme of fortune and abounding in wealth; all mankind is filled with glad hopes for the future, and with contentment over the present; [it is fitting to honour the god] with public games and with statues, with sacrifices and with hymns.

Translation by Frederick C. Grant, *Ancient Roman Religion*, op. cit., pp. 174-5

NICHEREN PROCLAIMS HIMSELF

THE BODHISATTVA OF SUPERB ACTION

Nichiren (1222-82) was a Japanese religious teacher.

1, Nichiren, a man born in the ages of the Latter Law, have nearly achieved the task of pioneership in propagating the Perfect Truth, the task assigned to the Bodhisattva of Superb Action (Vishishtachiritra) The eternal Buddhahood of Shakyamuni, as he revealed himself in the chapter on Life-duration, in accordance with his primeval entity, the Buddha Prabhutaratna, who appeared in the Heavenly Shrine, in the chapter on its appearance, and who represents Buddhahood in the manifestation of its efficacy; the Saints [bodhisattvas] who sprang out of the earth, as made known in the chapter on the Issuing out of Earth -in revealing all these three, I have done the work of the pioneer [among those who perpetuate the Truth]; too high an honour, indeed, for me, a common mortal! . . .

I, Nichiren, am the one who takes the lead of the Saints-out-of-Earth. Then may I not be one of them? If I, Nichiren, am one of them, why may not all my disciples and followers be their kinsmen? The Scripture says 'If one preaches to anybody the Lotus of Truth, even just one clause of it, he is, know ye, the messenger of the Tathagata, the one commissioned by the Tathagata, and the one who does the work of the Tathagata.' How, then, can I be anybody else than this one? . . .

By all means, awaken faith by seizing this opportunity! Live your life through as the one who embodies the Truth, and go on without hesitation as a kinsman of Nichiren! If you are one in faith with Nichiren, you are one of the Saints-out-of-Earth; if you are destined to be such, how can you doubt that you are the disciple of the Lord Shakyamuni from all eternity? There is assurance of this in a word of Buddha, which says: 'I have always, from eternity, been instructing and quickening all these beings.' No attention should be paid to the difference between men and women among those who would propagate the Lotus of the Perfect Truth in the days of the Latter Law. To utter the Sacred Title is, indeed, the privilege of the Saints-out-of-Earth. . . .

When the Buddha Prabhutaratna sat in the Heavenly Shrine side by side with the Tathagata Shakyamuni, the two Buddhas lifted up the banner of the Lotus of the Perfect Truth, and declared themselves to be the Commanders [in the coming fight against vice and illusion]. How can this be a deception? Indeed, they have thereby agreed to raise us mortal beings to the rank of Buddha. I, Nichiren, was not present there in the congregation, and yet there is no reason to doubt the statements of the Scripture. Or, is it possible that I was there? Common mortal that I am, I am not well aware of the past, yet in the present I am unmistakably the one who is realizing the Lotus of Truth. Then in the future I am surely destined to participate in the communion of the Holy Place. Inferring the past from the present and the future, I should think that I must have been present at the Communion in the Sky. [The present assures the future destiny, and the future destiny is inconceivable without its cause in the past.] The present, future, and past cannot be isolated from one another. . . .

In this document, the truths most precious to me are written down. Read, and read again; read into the letters and fix them into your mind ! Thus put faith in the Supreme Being, represented in a way unique in the whole world! Ever more strongly I advise you to be firm in faith, and to be under the protection of the threefold Buddhahood. March strenuously on in the ways of practice and learning! Without practice and learning the Buddhist religion is nullified. Train yourself, and also instruct others ! Be convinced that practice and learning are fruits of faith ! So long as, and so far as, there is power in you, preach, if it be only a phrase or a word [of the Scripture] ! Namu Myoho-rence-kyo! Namu Myoho-rence-kyo! [Adoration to the Lotus of Perfect Truth.]

Masaharu Anesaki, Nichiren, the Buddhist Prophet (Cambridge, Mass., 1916), pp. 83-5; as quoted in Wm. Theodore de Bary (ed.), Sources of Japanese Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp.228-9

NICHEREN'S TRANSFIGURATION

WHILE LIVING IN RETIREMENT

This spot among the mountains is secluded from the worldly life, and there is no human habitation in the neighbourhood-east, west, north, or south. I am now living in such a lonely hermitage; but in my bosom, in Nichiren's fleshly body, is secretly deposited the great mystery which the Lord Shakyamuni revealed on Vulture Peak, and has entrusted to me. Therefore I know that my breast is the place where all Buddhas are immersed in contemplation; that they turn the Wheel of Truth upon my tongue; that my throat is giving birth to them; and that they are attaining the Supreme Enlightenment in my mouth. This place is the abode of such a man, who is mysteriously realizing the Lotus of Truth in his life; surely such a place is no less dignified than the Paradise of Vulture Peak. As the Truth is noble, so is the man who embodies it; as the man is noble, so is the place where he resides. We read in the chapter on the 'Mysterious Power of the Tathagata' as follows:

'Be it a forest, or at the foot of a tree, or in a monastery..... on that spot erect a stupa dedicated to the Tathagata. For such a spot is to be regarded as the place where all Tathagatas have arrived at the Supreme Perfect Enlightenment; on that spot all Tathagatas have turned the Wheel of Truth, on that spot all Tathagatas have entered the Great Decease.' Lo, whoever comes to this place will be purged of all sins and depravities which he has accumulated from eternity, and all his evil deeds will at once be transformed into merits and virtues.

Masaharu Anesaki, Nichiren, the Buddhist Prophet (Cambridge, Mass., 1916), p. 129, as quoted in Wm. Theodore de Bary (ed.), Sources of Japanese Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), P. 231

FORMS OF ASCETICISM

THE INDIAN ASCETIC

('The Laws of Manu,' VI, 33-65)

33. But having thus passed the third part of (a man's natural term of) life in the forest, he may live as an ascetic during the fourth part of his existence, after abandoning all attachments to worldly objects.¹

34. He who after passing from order to order, after offering sacrifices and subduing his senses, becomes, tired with (giving) alms and offerings of food, an ascetic, gains bliss after death.

35. When he has paid the three debts, let him apply his mind to, (the attainment of) final liberation; he who seeks it without having paid (his debts) sinks downwards.

36. Having studied the Vedas in accordance with the rule, having begat sons according to the sacred law, and having offered sacrifices according to his ability, he may direct his mind to (the attainment of) final liberation. . . .

41. Departing from his house fully provided with the means of purification (Pavitra),² let him wander about absolutely silent, and caring nothing for enjoyments that may be offered (to him).

42. Let him always wander alone, without any companion, in order to attain (final liberation), fully understanding that the solitary (man, who) neither forsakes nor is forsaken, gains his end.

43. He shall neither possess a fire, nor a dwelling, he may go to a village for his food, (he shall be) indifferent to everything, firm of purpose, mediating (and) concentrating his mind on Brahman. . . .

45. Let him not desire to die, let him not desire to live; let him wait for (his appointed) time, as a servant (waits) for the payment of his wages.

46. Let him put down his foot purified by his sight,³ let him drink water purified by (straining with) a cloth, let him utter speech purified by truth, let him keep his heart pure.

47. Let him patiently bear hard words, let him not insult anybody, and let him not become anybody's enemy for the sake of this (perishable) body.

48. Against an angry man let him not in return show anger, let him bless when he is cursed, and let him not utter speech, devoid of truth, scattered at the seven gates. 4

49. Delighting in what refers to the Soul,⁵ sitting (in the postures prescribed by the Yoga), independent (of external help), entirely abstaining from sensual enjoyments, with himself for his only companion, he shall live in this world, desiring the bliss (of final liberation). . . .

60. By the restraint of his senses, by the destruction of love, ⁶ and hatred, and by the abstention from injuring the creatures, ⁷ he becomes fit for immortality.

61. Let him reflect on the transmigrations of men, caused by their sinful deeds, on their falling into hell, and on the torments in the world of Yama,

62 On the separation from their dear ones, on their union with hated men, on their being overpowered by age and being tormented with diseases,

63. On the departure of the individual soul from this body and its new birth in (another) womb, and on its wanderings through ten thousand millions of existences,

64. On the infliction of pain on embodied (Limits), which is caused by demerit, and the gain of eternal bliss, which is caused by the attainment of their highest aim, (gained through) spiritual merit.

65. By deep meditations, let him recognize the subtle nature of the supreme Soul,¹ Reference here is to the ideal four stages (ashramas) of the Brahman's life: student (brahmacarin), householder (grihastha), hermit or forest-dweller (vanaprastha), and finally, ascetic or mendicant (yati, bhikshu, parivrajaka, samnyasin).

² Construed as either his capacities after having completed three states of life, or his 'equipment' such as staff and water-pot.

3 Lest he injure any small animal, or step on something impure.

4 The seven bodily orifices?

5 Atman.

6 Or, affection, passion (raga).

7 Ahimsa, non-injury.

8 Brahman.

Translation by G. Buhler in Sacred Books of the East, xxv (Oxford, 1886), pp. 204-10

GOTAMA BUDDHA

TALKS OF HIS ASCETIC PRACTICES

('Majjhima-nikaya,'XII ['Maha-sihanada-sutra'])

Gotama Buddha is speaking to Sariputta, one of his favourite disciples.

Aye, Sariputta, I have lived the fourfold higher life; I have been an ascetic of ascetics; loathly have I been, foremost in loathliness, scrupulous have I been, foremost in scrupulosity; solitary have I been, foremost in solitude.

(I) To such a pitch of asceticism have I gone that naked was I, flouting life's decencies, licking my hands after meals, never heeding when folk called to me to come or to stop, never accepting food brought to me before my rounds or cooked expressly for me, never accepting an invitation, never receiving food direct from pot or pan or within the threshold or among the faggots or pestles, never from (one only of) two people messing together, never from a pregnant woman or a nursing mother or a woman in coitu, never from gleanings (in time of famine) nor from where a dog is ready at hand or where (hungry) flies congregate, never touching flesh or spirits or strong drink or brews of grain. I have visited only one house a day and there taken only one morsel; or I have visited but two or (up to not more than) seven houses a day and taken at each only two or (up to not more than) seven morsels; I have lived on a single saucer of food a day, or on two, or (up to) seven saucers; I have had but one meal a day, or one every two days, or (so on, up to) every seven days, or only once a fortnight, on a rigid scale of rationing. My sole diet has been herbs gathered green, or the grain of wild millets and paddy, or snippets of hide, or water-plants, or the red powder round rice-grains within the husk, or the discarded scum of rice on the boil, or the flour of oil-seeds, or grass, or cow-dung. I have lived on wild roots and fruit, or on windfalls only. My raiment has

been of hemp or of hempen mixture, of cerements, of rags from the dust-heap, of bark, of the black antelope's pelt either whole or split down the middle, of grass, of strips of bark or wood, of hair of men or animals woven into a blanket or of owl's wings. in fulfilment of my vows, I have plucked out the hair of my head and the hair of my beard, have never quitted the upright for the sitting posture, have squatted and never risen up, moving only a-squat, have couched on thorns, have gone down to the water punctually thrice before nightfall to wash (away the evil within). After this wise, in divers fashions, have I lived to torment and to torture my body-to such a length in asceticism have I gone.

(ii) To such a length have I gone in loathliness that on my body I have accumulated the dirt and filth of years till it dropped off of itself-even as the rank growths of years fall away from the stump of a tinduka-tree. But never once came the thought to me to clean it off with my own hands or to get others to clean it off for me;-to such a length in loathliness have I gone.

(iii) To such a length in scrupulosity have I gone that my footsteps out and in were always attended by a mindfulness so vigilant as to awake compassion within me over even a drop of water lest I might harm tiny creatures in crevices;-to such a length have I gone in scrupulosity.

(iv) To such a length have I gone as a solitary that when my abode was in the depths of the forest, the mere glimpse of a cowherd or neatherd or grasscutter, or of a man gathering firewood or edible roots in the forest, was enough to make me dart from wood to wood, from thicket to thicket, from dale to dale, and from hill to hill,-in order that they might not see me or I them. As a deer at the sight of man darts away over hill and dale, even so did I dart away at the mere glimpse of cowherd, neatherd, or what not, in order that they might not see me or I them;-to such a length have I gone as a solitary.

When the cowherds had driven their herds forth from the byres, up I came on all fours to find a subsistence on the droppings of the young milch-cows. So long as my own dung and urine held out, on that I have subsisted. So foul a filth-eater was I.

I took up my abode in the awesome depths of the forest, depths so awesome that it was reputed that none but the passion-less could venture in without his hair standing on end. When the coil season brought chill wintry nights, then it was that, in the dark half of the months when snow was falling, I dwelt by night in the open air and in the dank thicket by day. But when there came the last broiling month of summer before the rains, I made my dwelling under the baking sun by day and in the stifling thicket by night. Then there flashed on me these verses, never till then uttered by any:

Now scorched, now froze, in forest dread, alone,

naked and fireless, set upon his quest,

the hermit battles purity to win.

In a charnel ground I lay me down with charred bones for pillow.

When the cowherds' boys came along, they spat and staled upon me, pelted me with dirt and stuck bits of wood into my ears. Yet I declare that never did I let an evil mood against them arise within me.-So poised in equanimity was I.

[80] Some recluses and Brahmins there are who say and hold that purity cometh by way of food, and accordingly proclaim that they live exclusively on jujube-fruits, which, in one form or other, constitute their sole meat and drink. Now I can claim to have lived on a single jujube-fruit a day. If this leads you to think that this fruit was larger in those days, you would err; for, it was precisely the same size then that it is today. When I was living on a single fruit a day, my body grew emaciated in the extreme; because I ate so little, my members, great and small, grew like the knotted joints of withered creepers; like a buffalo's hoof were my shrunken buttocks; like the twists in a rope were my spinal vertebrae; like the crazy rafters of a tumble-down roof, that start askew and aslant, were my gaunt ribs; like the starry gleams on water deep down and afar in the depths of a well, shone my gleaming eyes deep down and afar in the depths of their

sockets; and as the rind of a cut gourd shrinks and shrivels in the heat, so shrank and shriveled the scalp of my head,-and all because I ate so little. If I sought to feel my belly, it was my backbone which I found in my grasp; if I sought to feel my backbone, I found myself grasping my belly, so closely did my belly cleave to my backbone;-and all because I ate so little. If for ease of body I chafed my limbs, the hairs of my body fell away under my hand, rotted at their roots;-and all because I ate so little.

Other recluses and Brahmins there are who, saying and holding that purity cometh by way of food, proclaim that they live exclusively on beans or sesamum rice-as their sole meat and drink.

[81] Now I can claim to have lived on a single bean a day- on a single sesamum seed a day-or a single grain of rice a day; and [the result was still the same]. Never did this practice or these courses or these dire austerities bring me to the ennobling gifts of super-human knowledge and insight. And why?-Because none of them lead to that noble understanding which, when won, leads on to Deliverance and guides him who lives up to it onward to the utter extinction of all ill.

Translation by Lord Chalmers, Further Dialogues of the Buddha, I (London, 1926), pp. 53-7

GOTAMA BUDDHA PRACTISED THE MOST SEVERE ASCETECISM

AND BECAME A MASTER IN YOGA

('Majjhima-nikaya,' XXXVI ['Maha-saccaka-sutra'])

Thought I then to myself:-Come, let me, with teeth clenched and with tongue pressed against my palate, by sheer force of mind restrain, coerce, and dominate my heart. And this I did, till the sweat streamed from my armpits. just as a strong man, taking a weaker man by the head or shoulders, restrains and coerces and dominates him, even so did I, with teeth clenched and with tongue pressed against my palate, by sheer force of mind restrain, coerce, and dominate my heart, till the sweat streamed from my armpits. Resolute grew my perseverance which never quailed; there was established in me a mindfulness which knew no distraction,-though my body was sore distressed and afflicted, because I was harassed by these struggles as I painfully struggled on. Yet even such unpleasant feelings as then arose did not take possession of my mind.

Thought I to myself: Come, let me pursue the Ecstasy that comes from not breathing. So I stopped breathing, in or out, through mouth and nose; and then great was the noise of the air as it passed through my ear-holes, like the blast from a smith's bellows. Resolute grew my perseverance . . . did not take possession of my mind.

Thought I to myself: -Come, let me pursue further the Ecstasy that comes from not breathing. So I stopped breathing, in or out, through mouth and nose and ears; and then violent winds wracked my head, as though a strong man were boring into my skull with the point of a sword. Resolute grew my perseverance . . . did not take possession of my mind.

Thought I to myself: -Come, let me pursue still further the Ecstasy that comes from not breathing. So I kept on stopping all breathing, in or out, through mouth and nose and ears; and then violent pains attacked my head, as though a strong man had twisted a leather thong round my head. Resolute grew my perseverance . . . did not take possession of my mind.

Thought I to myself: -Come, let me go on pursuing the Ecstasy that comes from not breathing. So I kept on stopping breathing, in or out, through mouth and nose and ears; and then violent winds pierced my inwards through and through,-as though an expert butcher or his man were hacking my inwards with sharp cleavers. Resolute grew my perseverance . . . did not take possession of my mind.

Thought I to myself: --Come, let me still go on pursuing the Ecstasy that comes from not breathing. So I kept on stopping all breathing, in or out, through mouth and nose and ears; and then there was a violent burning within me,-as though two strong men, taking a weaker man by both arms, were to roast and burn

him up in a fiery furnace. Resolute grew my perseverance . . . did not take possession of my mind.

At the sight of me, some gods said I was dead; others said I was not dead but dying; while others again said that I was an Arahata and that Arahatas lived like that !

Thought I to myself: Come, let me proceed to cut off food altogether. Hereupon, gods came to me begging me not so to do, or else they would feed me through the pores with heavenly essences which would keep me alive. If, thought I to myself, while I profess to be dispensing with all food whatsoever, these gods should feed me all the time through the pores with heavenly essences which keep me alive, that would be imposture on my part. So I rejected their offers, peremptorily.

Thought I to myself:-Come, let me restrict myself to little tiny morsels of food at a time, namely the liquor in which beans or vetches, peas or pulse, have been boiled. I rationed myself accordingly, and my body grew emaciated in the extreme. My members, great and small, grew like the knotted joints of withered creepers . . . (etc., as in Sutra XIII) . . . rotted at their roots; and all because I ate so little.

Thought I to myself:-Of all the spasms of acute and severe pain that have been undergone through the ages past or will be undergone through the ages to come-or are now being undergone-by recluses or brahmins, mine are pre-eminent; nor is there aught worse beyond. Yet, with all these severe austerities, I fail to transcend ordinary human limits and to rise to the heights of noblest understanding and vision. Could there be another path to Enlightenment?

A memory came to me of how once, seated in the cool shade of a rose-apple tree on the lands of my father the Shakyan, I, divested of pleasures of sense and of wrong states of mind, entered upon, and abode in, the First Ecstasy, with all its zest and satisfactions state bred of inward aloofness but not divorced from observation and reflection. Could this be the path to Enlightenment? In prompt response to this memory, my consciousness told me that here lay the true path to Enlightenment.

Thought I to myself:-Am I afraid of a bliss which eschews pleasures of sense and wrong states of mind?-And my heart told me I was not afraid.

Thought I to myself: -It is no easy matter to attain that bliss with a body so emaciated. Come, let me take some solid food, rice and junket; and this I ate accordingly.

With me at the time there were the Five Almsmen, looking for me to announce to them what truth I attained; but when I took the rice and junket-, they left me in disgust, saying that luxuriousness had claimed me and that, abandoning the struggle, I had reverted to luxuriousness.

Having thus eaten solid food and regained strength, I entered on, and abode in, the First Ecstasy.-Yet, such pleasant feelings as then arose in me did not take possession of my mind; nor did they as I successively entered on, and abode in, the Second, Third, and Fourth Ecstasies.

Translation by Lord Chalmers, Further Dialogues of the Buddha, I (London, 1926), pp. 17.4-7

JAIN DOCTRINES AND PRACTICES OF NONVIOLENCE

THE EXAMPLE OF MAHAVIRA

('Akaranga-sutra, I, 8, 1-3-IV-8)

Vardhamana Mahavira ('The Great Hero') was a contemporary of the Buddha. He is said to have left his home at the age of thirty and wandered for twelve years in search of salvation. At the age of fortytwo he obtained enlightenment and became a 'conqueror' (jina, term from which the Jain took their name). Mahavira founded an order of naked monks and taught his doctrine of salvation for some thirty years. He died in 468 B.C., at the age of seventy-two, in a village near Patna.

1. 3. For a year and a month he did not leave off his robe. Since that time the Venerable One, giving up his robe, was a naked, world relinquishing, houseless (sage).

4. Then he meditated (walking) with his eye fixed on a square space before him of the length of a man. Many people assembled, shocked at the sight; they struck him and cried.

5. Knowing (and renouncing) the female sex in mixed gathering places, he meditated, finding his way himself: I do not lead a worldly life.

6. Giving up the company of all householders whomsoever, he meditated. Asked, he gave no answer; he went and did not transgress the right path.

7. For some it is not easy (to do what he did), not to answer those who salute; he was beaten with sticks, and struck by sinful people. . . .

10. For more than a couple of years he led a religious life without using cold water; he realize.1 singleness, guarded his body, had got intuition, and was calm.

11. Thoroughly knowing the earth-bodies and water-bodies and firebodies and wind-bodies, the lichens, seeds, and sprouts,

12. He comprehended that they are, if narrowly inspected, imbued with life, and avoided to injure them; he, the Great Hero.

13. The immovable (beings) are changed to movable ones, and the movable beings to immovable ones; beings which are born in all states become individually sinners by their actions.

14. The Venerable One understands thus: he who is under the conditions (of existence), that fool suffers pain. Thoroughly knowing (karman), the Venerable One avoids sin.

15. The sage, perceiving the double (karman), proclaims the incomparable activity, he, knowing one; knowing the current of worldliness, the current of sinfulness, and the impulse.

16. Practicing the sinless abstinence from killing, he did no acts, neither himself nor with the assistance of others; he to whom women were known as the causes of all sinful acts, he saw (the true state of the world). . . .

III. 7. Ceasing to use the stick (i.e. cruelty) against living beings, abandoning the care of the body, the houseless (Mahavira), the Venerable One, endures the thorns of the villages (i.e. the abusive language of the peasants), (being) perfectly enlightened.

8. As an elephant at the head of the battle, so was Mahavira there victorious. Sometimes he did not reach a village there in Ladha.

9. When he who is free from desires approached the village, the inhabitants met him on the outside, and attacked him, saying, 'Get away from here.'

10. He was struck with a stick, the fist, a lance, hit with a fruit, a clod, a potsherd. Beating him again and again, many cried.

11. When he once (sat) without moving his body, they cut his flesh, tore his hair under pains, or covered him with dust.

12. Throwing him up, they let him fall, or disturbed him in his religious postures; abandoning the care of his body, the Venerable One humbled himself and bore pain, free from desire.

13. As a hero at the head of the battle is surrounded on all sides, so was there Mahavira. Bearing all hardships, the Venerable One, undisturbed, proceeded (on the road to Nirvana). . . .

VI 1. The Venerable One was able to abstain from indulgence of the flesh, though never attacked by diseases. Whether wounded or not wounded, he desired not medical treatment.

2. Purgatives and emetics, anointing of the body and bathing, shampooing and cleaning of the teeth do not behoove him, after he learned (that the body is something unclean).

3. Being averse from the impressions of the senses, the Brahmana wandered about, speaking but little. Sometimes in the cold season the Venerable One was meditating in the shade.

4. In summer he exposes himself to the heat, he sits squatting in the sun; he lives on rough (food); rice, pounded jujube, and beans.

5. Using these three, the Venerable One sustained himself eight months. Sometimes the Venerable One did not drink for half a month or even for a month.

6. Or he did not drink for more than two months, or even six months, day and night, without desire (for drink). Sometimes he ate stale food.

7. Sometimes he ate only the sixth meal, or the eighth, the tenth, the twelfth; without desires, persevering in meditation.

8. Having wisdom, Mahavira committed no sin himself, nor did he induce other to do so, nor did he consent to the sins of others.

Translation from Prakrit by Herman Jacobi, Jaina Sutra, part 1, in Sacred Books of the East, (Oxford, 1884), PP. 85-7

MILAREPA EXTOLS HIS 'FIVE COMFORTS'

Milarepa (Mi-la-ras-pa, 1040-1123), magician, yogi and poet, disciple of Mar-pa of Lho-brag (1012-97), is perhaps the most famous figure in the religious history of Tibet. His complete poetical works, Mila Gnumbum, 'The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa,' have been recently translated into English by Garma C. C. Chang (New York: University Books, 1962). The following selection is from Mila Khabum, the 'Biography of Milarepa,' written by a mysterious yogi, 'The mad Yogi from gtsan' in the latter part of the twelfth or in the beginning of the thirteenth century.

One night, a person, believing that I possessed some wealth, came and, groping about, stealthily pried into every corner of my cave. Upon my observing this, I laughed outright, and said, 'Try if thou canst find anything by night where I have failed by daylight.' The person himself could not help laughing, too; and then he went away.

About a year after that, some hunters of Tsa, having failed to secure any game, happened to come strolling by the cave. As I was sitting in Samadhi, wearing the above triple-knotted apology for clothing, they prodded me with the ends of their bows, being curious to know whether I was a man or a bhuta. Seeing the state of my body and clothes, they were more inclined to believe me a bhuta. While they were discussing this amongst themselves, I opened my mouth and spoke, saying, 'Ye may be quite sure that I am a man.' They recognized me from seeing my teeth, and asked me whether I was Thopaga. On my answering in the affirmative, they asked me for a loan of some food, promising to repay it handsomely. They said, 'We heard that thou hadst come once to thy home many years ago. Hast thou been here all the while?' I replied, 'Yes; but I cannot offer you any food which ye would be able to eat.' They said that whatever did for me would do for them. Then I told them to make fire and boil nettles. They did so, but as they expected something to season the soup with, such as meat, bone, marrow, or fat, I said, 'If I had that, I should then have food with palatable qualities; but I have not had that for years. Apply the nettles in

place of the seasoning.' Then they asked for flour or grain to thicken the soup with. I told them if I had that, I should then have food with sustaining properties; but that I had done without that for some years, and told them to apply nettle tips instead. At last they asked for some salt, to which I again said that salt would have imparted taste to my food; but I had done without that also for years, and recommended the addition of more nettle tips in place of salt. They said, 'Living upon such food, and wearing such garments as thou hast on now, it is no wonder that thy body hath been reduced to this miserable plight. Thine appearance becometh not a man. Why, even if thou should serve as a servant, thou wouldst have a bellyful of food and warm clothing. Thou art the most pitiable and miserable person in the whole world.' I said, 'O my friends, do not say that. I am one of the most fortunate and best amongst all who have obtained the human life. I have met with Marpa the Translator, of Lhobrak, and obtained from him the Truth which conferreth Buddhahood in one lifetime; and now, having entirely given up all worldly thoughts, I am passing my life in strict asceticism and devotion in these solitudes, far away from human habitations. I am obtaining that which will avail me in Eternity. By denying myself the trivial pleasures to be derived from food, clothing, and fame, I am subduing the Enemy [Ignorance] in this very lifetime. Amongst the World's entire human population I am one of the most courageous, with the highest aspirations

I then sang to them a song about my Five Comforts:

'Lord! Gracious Marpa! I bow down at Thy Feet!

Enable me to give up worldly aims.

'Here is the Draghar-Taso's Middle Cave,

On this the topmost summit of the Middle Cave,

1, the Yogi Tibetan called Repa,

Relinquishing all thoughts of what to eat or wear, and this life's aims,

Have settled down to win the perfect Buddhahood.

'Comfortable is the hard mattress beneath me;

Comfortable is the Nepalese cotton-padded quilt above me.

Comfortable is the single meditation-band which holdeth up my knee,

Comfortable is the body, to a diet temperate inured,

Comfortable is the Lucid Mind which discerneth present clingings and
the Final Goal;

Nought is there uncomfortable; everything is comfortable.

'If all of ye can do so, try to imitate me;

But if inspired ye be not with the aim of the ascetic life,

And to the error of the Ego Doctrine will hold fast,

I pray that ye spare me your misplaced pity;

For I a Yogi am, upon the Path of the Acquirement of Eternal Bliss.

'The Sun's last rays are passing o'er the mountain tops;

Return ye to your own abodes.

And as for me, who soon must die, uncertain of the hour of death,

With self-set task of winning perfect Buddhahood,'

No time have I to waste on useless talk;

Therefore shall I into the State Quiescent of Samadhi enter now.'

Translation by W. Y. Evans-Wentz and Lama Kazi Dawa-Samdub, in Evans-Wentz, *Tibet's Great Yogi Milarepa* (Oxford, 1928), pp. 199-202

AL-HASAN EXTOLS ASCETICISM

Al-Hasan al-Barri flourished in the eighth century A.D. (Died A.D. 728=110 A.H).

Beware of this world (dunya) with all wariness; for it is like to a snake, smooth to the touch, but its venom is deadly. . . . The more it pleases thee, the more thou be wary of it, for the man of this world, whenever he feels secure in any pleasure thereof, the world drives him over into some unpleasantness, and whenever he attains any part of it and squats him down in it, the world turns him upside down. And again beware of this world, for its hopes are lies, its expectations false; its easefulness is all harshness, muddied its limpidity. . . . Even had the Almighty not pronounced upon the world at all or coined for it any similitude . . . yet would the world itself have awakened the slumberer and roused the heedless; how much more then, seeing that God has Himself sent us a warning against it! . . . For this world has neither worth nor weight with God, so slight it is. . . . It was offered to our Prophet, with all its keys and treasures . . . but he refused to accept it, and nothing prevented him from accepting it-for there is naught that can lessen him in God's sight-but he disdained to love what his creator hated, and to exalt what his Sovereign had debased. As for Muhammad, he bound a stone upon his belly when he was hungry; and as for Moses . . . it is said of him in the stories that God revealed to him, 'Moses, when thou seest poverty approaching, say, 'Welcome to the badge of the righteous!' And when thou seest wealth approaching, say, 'Lo! a sin whose punishment has been put on aforetime.' If thou shouldst wish, thou mightest name as a third the Lord of the Spirit and the Word [Jesus], for in his affair there is a marvel; he used to say, 'My daily bread is hunger, my badge is fear, my raiment is wool, my mount is my foot, my lantern at night is the moon, and my fire by day is the sun, and my fruit and fragrant herbs are such things as the earth brings forth for the wild beasts and the cattle. All the night I have nothing, yet there is none richer than I!'

Translation by A. J. Arberry, in his *Sufism* (London, 1950), PP. 33-5; as abridged by John Alden Williams, *Islam* (New York, 1961), pp. 139-40

PROPHETS AND FOUNDERS OF RELIGIONS

ZARATHUSTRA IS BEING REPULSED BY EVERYBODY

('Yasna' 46)

At the beginning of the Yasna 46, Zarathustra is being repulsed by everybody. He knows the reason for his lack of success: his poverty 'in men and in cattle.' Therefore he turns to the wise Lord-Ahura Mazda-as a friend to a friend (stanza 2). In his prayers he calls for the reform of existence which is to be accomplished one day through the action of the saviour. He, Zarathustra, was chosen by the Lord to announce this good news (stanza 3). The following stanzas-4, and 7 to 11-depict the hostility which those who promote the Righteousness have to face from the wicked. In stanzas 12 to 17 the scene is changed; here Zarathustra enumerates his protectors. Whoever works at the renewal of the world on his,

Zarathustra's, behalf, will obtain prosperity in the future life (stanzas 18-19).

1 To what land shall I flee? Where bend my steps?

I am thrust out from family and tribe;

I have no favour from the village to which I would belong, Nor from the wicked rulers of the country:

How then, O Lord, shall I obtain thy favour?

2. I know, O Wise One, why I am powerless:

My cattle are few, and I have few men.

To thee I address my lament: attend Onto it, O Lord,

And grant me the support which friend would give to friend. As Righteousness teach the possession of the Good Mind.

3. When, O Wise One, shall the wills of the future saviours come

forth,

The dawns of the days when, through powerful judgment,

The word shall uphold Righteousness?

To whom will I help come through the Good Mind?

To me, for I am chosen for the revelation by thee, O Lord.

4. The wicked one, ill-famed and of repellent deeds,

Prevents the furtherers of Righteousness from fostering the cattle

In the district and in the country.

Whoever robs him of Dominion or of life, O Wise One,

Shall walk foremost in the ways of the doctrine. . . .

7. Who, O Wise One, shall be sent as a protector to such as I am,

If the evil one seeks to do mc harm?

Who but thy are and thy mind, O Lord,

Whose acts shall bring Righteousness to maturity?

Do thou proclaim this mystery to my conscience!

8. Whoever seeks to injure my living possessions,
May danger not come to me through his deeds!
May all his actions turn against him with hostility,
O Wise One, And take him from the good life, not the bad life!

(A listener):

9. Who is he, the zealous man who first
Taught me to honour thee as the most powerful,
As the righteous Lord, holy in his action?

(Zarathustra:)

What he said to thee, to thee as Righteousness,
What he said to Righteousness, the creator of the cattle,
They ask it of me through thy Good Mind.

10. Whoever, man or woman, O wise Lord,
Shall give me what thou knowest is the best of this existence,
-To wit: reward for Righteousness and the Dominion (?) with
(?) the Good Mind-
And all those whom I shall induce to worship such as you,
With all those will I cross the Bridge of the Separator!

11. The sacrificers and the sorcerer princes
Have subdued mankind to the yoke of their Dominion,
To destroy existence through evil deeds,
They shall be tortured by their own soul and their own conscience,
When they come to the Bridge of the Separator,
For ever to be inmates of the house of Evil. . . .

13- Whoever among mortals pleases Spitama Zarathustra (? by his
readiness?),
He is worthy to be heard.

To him shall the Wise One give existence,
And as Good Mind he shall further his living possessions,
(?) For his Righteousness (?) we shall consider him your faithful friend,
(To you and to Righteousness?)

18. Whoever is true to me, to him I promise, through the Good Mind,
That which I myself do most desire,
But oppression to him who seeks to oppress us.
O Wise One, I strive to satisfy your wish through Righteousness.
Thus the decision of any will and of thy mind.

19. He who for me, who for Zarathustra,
According to Righteousness will bring to pass
That which is most renewing by the will (of the Lord),
To him as a reward, when he attains the future life,
Shall come two pregnant cows with the ox and all that he desires through the Mind.
This thou hast revealed to me, O Wise One, thou who knowest best!

Translation and introductory commentary by Jacques Ducheme-Guillemain, in his *The Hymns of Zarathustra* (London, 1952), PP 75-83

PRINCE SIDDARTHA ENCOUNTERS

OLD AGE, SICKNESS AND DEATH

('Digha-nikaya,' XIV ['Mahapadana suddanta'])

Now the young lord Gotama, when many days had passed by, bade his charioteer make ready the state carriages, saying: 'Get ready the carriages, good charioteer, and let us go through the park to inspect the pleasure.' 'Yes, my lord,' replied the charioteer, and harnessed the state carriages and sent word to Gotama: 'The carriages are ready, my lord; do now what you deem fit.' Then Gotama mounted a state carriage and drove out in state into the park.

Now the young lord saw, as he was driving to the park, an aged man as bent as a roof gable, decrepit, leaning on a staff, tottering as he walked, afflicted and long past his prime. And seeing him Gotama said: 'That man, good charioteer, what has he done, that his hair is not like that of other men, nor his body?'

'He is what is called an aged man, my lord.'

'But why is he called aged?'

'He is called aged, my lord, because he has not much longer to live.' 'But then, good charioteer, am I too subject to old age, one who has not got past old age?'

'You, my lord, and we too, we all are of a kind to grow old; we have not got past old age.'

'Why then, good charioteer., enough of the park for today. Drive me back hence to my rooms.'

'Yea, my lord,' answered the charioteer, and drove him back. And he, going to his rooms, sat brooding sorrowful and depressed, thinking, 'Shame then verily be upon this thing called birth, since to one born old age shows itself like that !'

Thereupon the raja sent for the charioteer and asked him: 'Well, good charioteer, did the boy take pleasure in the park? Was he pleased with it?'

'No, my lord, he was not.'

'What then did he see on his drive?'

(And the charioteer told the raja all.)

Then the raja thought thus: We must not have Gotama declining to rule. We must not have him going forth from the house into the homeless state. We must not let what the brahman soothsayers spoke of come true.

So, that these things might not come to pass, he let the youth be still more surrounded by sensuous pleasures. And thus Gotama continued to live amidst the pleasures of sense.

Now after many days had passed by, the young lord again bade his charioteer make ready and drove forth as once before. . . .

And Gotama saw, as he was driving to the park, a sick man, suffering and very ill, fallen and weltering in his own water, by some being lifted up, by others being dressed. Seeing this, Gotama asked: 'That man, good charioteer, what has he done that his eyes are not like others' eyes, nor his voice like the voice of other men?' 'He is what is called ill, my lord.'

'But what is meant by ill?'

'It means, my lord, that he will hardly recover from his illness.'

'But I am too, then, good charioteer, subject to fall ill; have I not got out of reach of illness?'

'you, my lord, and we too, we are all subject to fall ill; we have not got beyond the reach of illness.'

'Why then, good charioteer, enough of the park for today. Drive me back hence to my rooms. 'Yea, my lord,' answered the charioteer, and drove him back. And he, going to his rooms, sat brooding sorrowful and depressed, thinking: Shame then verily be upon this thing called birth, since to one born decay shows itself like that, disease shows itself like that.

Thereupon the raja sent for the charioteer and asked him: 'Well, good charioteer, did the young lord take pleasure in the park and was he pleased with it?'

'No, my lord, he was not.'

'What did he see then on his drive?'

(And the charioteer told the raja all.)

Then the raja thought thus: We must not have Gotama declining to rule; we must not have him going forth from the house to the homeless state; we must not let what the brahman soothsayers spoke of come true.

So, that these things might not come to pass, he let the young man be still more abundantly surrounded by sensuous pleasures. And thus Gotama continued to live amidst the pleasures of sense.

Now once again, after many days the young lord Gotama . . . drove forth.

And he saw, as he was driving to the park, a great concourse of people clad in garments of different colours constructing a funeral pyre. And seeing this he asked his charioteer: 'Why now are all those people come together in garments of different colours, and making that pile?'

'It is because someone, my lord, has ended his days.'

'Then drive the carriage close to him who has ended his days.' 'Yea, my lord,' answered the charioteer, and did so. And Gotama saw the corpse of him who had ended his days and asked: 'What, good charioteer, is ending one's days?'

'It means, my lord, that neither mother, nor father, nor other kinsfolk will now see him, nor will he see them.'

'But am I too then subject to death, have I not got beyond reach of death? Will neither the raja, nor the ranee, nor any other of my kin see me more, or shall I again see them?'

'You, my lord, and we too, we are all subject to death; we have not passed beyond the reach of death. Neither the raja, nor the ranee, nor any other of your kin will see you any more, nor will you see them.'

'Why then, good charioteer, enough of the park for today. Drive me back hence to my rooms.'

'Yea, my lord,' replied the charioteer, and drove him back.

And he, going to his rooms, sat brooding sorrowful and depressed, thinking: Shame verily be upon this thing called birth, since to one born the decay of life, since disease, since death shows itself like that I Thereupon the raja Questioned the charioteer as before and as before let Gotama be still more surrounded by sensuous enjoyment. And thus he continued to live amidst the pleasures of sense.

Now once again, after many days . . . the lord Gotama . . . drove forth.

And he saw, as he was driving to the park, a shaven-headed man, a recluse, wearing the yellow robe. And seeing him he asked the charioteer, 'That man, good charioteer, what has he done that his head is unlike other men's heads and his clothes too are unlike those of others?' 'That is what they call a recluse, because, my lord, he is one who has gone forth.'

'What is that, "to have gone forth"?''

'To have gone forth, my lord, means being thorough in the religious life, thorough in the peaceful life, thorough in good action, thorough in meritorious conduct, thorough in harmlessness, thorough in kindness to all creatures.'

'Excellent indeed, friend charioteer, is what they call a recluse, since so thorough in his conduct in all those respects, wherefore drive me up to that forthgone man.'

'Yea, my lord,' replied the charioteer and drove up to the recluse. Then Gotama addressed him, saying, 'You master, what have you done that your head is not as other men's heads, nor your clothes as those of other men?'

'I, my lord, am one whose has gone forth.'

'What, master, does that mean?'

'It means, my lord, being thorough in the religious life, thorough in the peaceful life, thorough in good actions, thorough in meritorious conduct, thorough in harmlessness, thorough in kindness to all creatures.'

'Excellently indeed, master, are you said to have gone forth since so thorough is your conduct in all those respects.' Then the lord Gotama bade his charioteer, saying: 'Come then, good charioteer, do you take the carriage and drive it back hence to my rooms. But I will even here cut off my hair, and don the yellow robe, and go forth from the house into the homeless state.'

'Yea, my lord,' replied the charioteer, and drove back. But the prince Gotama, there and then cutting off his hair and donning the yellow robe, went forth from the house into the homeless state.

Now at Kapilavatthu, the raja's seat, a great number of persons, some eighty-four thousand souls, heard of what prince Gotama had done and thought: Surely this is no ordinary religious rule, this is no common going forth, in that prince Gotama himself has had his head shaved and has donned the yellow robe and has gone forth from the house into the homeless state. If prince Gotama has done this, why then should not we also? And they all had their heads shaved and donned the yellow robes, and in imitation of the Bodhisat they went forth from the house into the homeless state. So the Bodhisat went up on his rounds through the villages, towns and cities accompanied by that multitude.

Now there arose in the mind of Gotama the Bodhisat, when he was meditating in seclusion, this thought: That indeed is not suitable for me that I should live beset. 'Twere better were I to dwell alone, far from the crowd.

So after a time he dwelt alone, away from the crowd. Those eightyfour thousand recluses went one way, and the Bodhisat went another way.

Now there arose in the mind of Gotama the Bodhisat, when he had gone to his place and was meditating in seclusion, this thought: Verily, this world has fallen upon trouble-one is born, and grows old, and dies, and falls from one state, and springs up in another. And from the suffering, moreover, no one knows of any way of escape, even from decay and death. O, when shall a way of escape from this suffering be made known-from decay and from death?'

From Clarence H. Hamilton, Buddhism (New York, 1952), pp. 6-11, quoting translation by E. H. Brewster, in his Life of Gotama the Buddha, pp. 15-19. See also Rhys Davids, Dialogues of the Buddha, part 2 (Oxford, 1910), pp. 18 ff., which follows Brewster's translation closely

GOTAMA'S FIRST MASTERS

KALAMA AND RAMAPUTTA

Yes, I myself too, in the days before my full enlightenment, when I was but a bodhisattva, and not yet fully enlightened, - I too, being subject in myself to rebirth, decay and the rest of it, pursued what was no less subject thereto. But the thought came to me: -Why do I pursue what, like myself, is subject to rebirth and rest? Why, being myself subject thereto, should I not, with my eyes open to the perils which these things entail, pursue instead the consummate peace of Nirvana,-which knows neither rebirth nor decay, neither disease nor death, neither sorrow nor impurity?

There came a time when I, being young, with a wealth of coal-black hair untouched by grey and in all the beauty of my early prime despite the wishes of my parents, who wept and lamented-cut off my hair and beard, donned the yellow robes and went forth from home to homelessness on Pilgrimage. A pilgrim now, in search of the right, and in quest of the excellent road to peace beyond compare, I came to A1ara

Kalama and said --It is my wish, reverend Kalama, to lead the higher life in this your Doctrine and Rule. Stay with us, venerable sir, was his answer; my Doctrine is such that ere long an intelligent man can for himself discern, realize, enter on, and abide in, the full scope of his master's teaching. Before long, indeed very soon, I had his Doctrine by heart. So far as regards mere lip-recital and oral repetition, I could say off the (founder's) original message and the elders' exposition of it, and could profess, with others, that I knew and saw it to the full. Then it struck me that it was no Doctrine merely accepted by him on trust that Alara Kalama, preached, but one which he professed to have entered on and to abide in after having discerned and realized it for himself; and assuredly he had real knowledge and vision thereof. So I went to him and asked him up to what point he had for himself discerned and realized the Doctrine he had entered on and now abode in.

Up to the plane of Naught, answered he.

Hereupon, I reflected that Alara Kalama was not alone in possessing faith, perseverance, mindfulness, rapt concentration, and intellectual insight; for, all these were mine too. Why, I asked myself, should not I strive to realize the Doctrine which he claims to have entered on and to abide in after discerning and realizing it for himself? Before long, indeed very soon, I had discerned and realized his Doctrine for myself and had entered on it and abode therein. Then I went to him and asked him whether this was the point up to which he had discerned and realized for himself the Doctrine which he professed. He said yes; and I said that I had reached the same point for myself. It is a great thing, said he, a very great thing for us, that in you, reverend sir, we find such a fellow in the higher life. That same Doctrine which I for myself have discerned, realized, entered on, and profess,-that have you for yourself discerned, realized, entered on and abide in; and that same Doctrine which you have for yourself discerned, realized, entered on and profess,-that have I for myself discerned, realized, entered on, and profess. The Doctrine which I know, you too know; and the Doctrine which you know, I too know. As I am, so are you; and as you are, so am I. Pray, sir, let us be joint wardens of this company! In such wise did Alara Kalama, being my master, set me, his pupil, on precisely the same footing as himself and show me great worship. But, as I bethought me that his Doctrine merely led to attaining the plane of Naught and not to Renunciation, passionlessness, cessation, peace, discernment, enlightenment and Nirvana,-I was not taken with his Doctrine but turned away from it to go my way.

Still in search of the right, and in quest of the excellent road to peace beyond compare, I came to Uddaka Ramaputta and said;-It is my wish, reverend sir, to lead the higher life in this your Doctrine and Rule. Stay with us . . . vision thereof. So I went to Uddaka Ramaputta and asked him up to what point he had for himself discerned and realized the Doctrine he had entered on and now abode in.

Up to the plane of neither perception or non-perception, answered he.

Hereupon, I reflected that Uddaka Ramaputta was not alone in possessing faith . . . show me great worship. But, as I bethought me that his Doctrine merely led to attaining the plane of neither perception nor non-perception, and not to Renunciation, passionlessness, cessation, peace, discernment, enlightenment and Nirvana,-I was not taken with his Doctrine but turned away from it to go my way.

Still in search of the right, and in quest of the excellent road to peace beyond compare, I came, in the course of an alms-pilgrimage through Magadha, to the Camp township at Uruvela and there took up my abode. Said I to myself on surveying the place:-Truly a delightful spot, with its goodly groves and clear flowing river with ghats and amenities, hard by a village for sustenance. What more for his striving can a young man need whose heart is set on striving? So there I sat me down, needing nothing further for my striving.

Subject in myself to rebirth-decay-disease-death-sorrow-and impurity, and seeing peril in what is subject thereto, I sought after the consummate peace of Nirvana, which knows neither sorrow nor decay, neither disease nor death, neither sorrow nor impurity;-this I pursued, and this I won; and there arose within me the conviction, the insight, that now my Deliverance was assured, that this was my last birth, nor should I ever be reborn again.

Translation by Lord Chalmers, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, I (London, 1926), pp. 115-18

AFTER THE ILLUMINATION THE BUDDHA PROCLAIMS

'I AM THE HOLY ONE IN THIS WORLD, I AM THE HIGHEST TEACHER. . . '

('Mahavagga,' I, 7-9)

Now Upaka, a man belonging to the Ajivaka sect (i.e. the sect of naked ascetics), saw the Blessed One travelling on the road, between Gayd and the Bodhi tree; and when he saw him, he said to the Blessed One: 'Your countenance, friend, is serene; your complexion is pure and bright. In whose name, friend, have you retired from the world? Who is your teacher? Whose doctrine do you profess?'

When Upaka the Ajivaka had spoken thus, the Blessed One addressed him in the following stanzas: 'I have overcome all foes; I am all-wise; I am free from stains in every way; I have left everything; and have obtained emancipation by the destruction of desire. Having myself gained knowledge, whom should I call my master? I have no teacher; no one is equal to me; in the world of men and of gods no being is like me. I am the holy One in this world, I am the highest teacher, I alone am the Absolute Sambuddha; I have gained coolness (by the extinction of all passion) and have obtained Nirvana. To found the Kingdom of Truth I go to the city of the Kasis (Benares), I will beat the drum of the Immortal in the darkness of this world.'

(Upaka replied): 'You profess then, friend, to be the holy, absolute Jina.¹

(Buddha said): 'Like me are all Jinas who have reached extinction of the Asavas;² I have overcome all states of sinfulness; therefore, Upaka, am I the Jina.'

When he had spoken thus, Upaka, the Ajivaka replied: 'It may be so, friend': shook his head, took another road, and went away.

Notes

1 Jina, or the victorious One, is one of the many appellations common to the founders of Buddhism and Jainism.

2 Asava,-sensuality, individuality, delusion, and ignorance.

Translation and notes by T. W. -Rhys Davids and Hermann Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts*, part I, in *Sacred Books of the East*, XIII, (Oxford, 1881), pp. 90-1

GOTAMA BUDDHA PONDERERS

'MUST I NOW PREACH WHAT I SO HARDLY WON?'

('Majjhima-.nikaya,' XXVI ['Ariya-pariyesana-sutta'])

I have attained, thought I, to this Doctrine profound, recondite, hard to comprehend, serene, excellent, beyond dialectic, abstruse, and only to be perceived by the learned. But mankind delights, takes delight, and is happy in what it clings on to, so that for it, being thus minded it is hard to understand causal relations and the chain of causation, hard to understand the stilling of all artificial forces, or the renunciation of all worldly ties, the extirpation of craving, passionlessness, peace and Nirvana. Were I to preach the Doctrine, and were others not to understand it, that would be labour and annoyance to me ! Yes, and on the instant there flashed across my mind these verses, which no man had heard before:-

Must I now preach what I so hardly won?

Men sunk in sin and lusts would find it hard
to plumb this Doctrine,-up stream all the way,
abstruse, profound, most subtle, hard to grasp.
Dear lusts will blind them that they shall not see,
-in densest mists of ignorance befogged.

As thus I pondered, my heart inclined to rest quiet and not to preach my Doctrine. But, Brahma Sahampati's mind came to know what thoughts were passing within my mind, and he thought to himself: The world is undone, quite undone, inasmuch as the heart of the Truth-finder inclines to rest quiet and not to preach his Doctrine I Hereupon, as swiftly as a strong man might stretch out his arm or might draw back his outstretched arm, Brahma Sahampati vanished from the Brahma-world and appeared before me. Towards me he came with his right shoulder bared, and with his clasped hands stretched out to me in reverence, saying:-May it please the Lord, may it please the Blessed One, to preach his doctrine ! Beings there are whose vision is but little dimmed, who are perishing because they do not hear the Doctrine;-these will understand it !

Translation by Lord Chalmers, Further Dialogues of the Buddha, I (London, 1926), pp. 118-119

GOTAMA BUDDHA

REMEMBERS HIS EARLIER EXISTENCES

('Majjhima-nikaya,' IV ['Bhaya-bherava-sutta])

With heart thus steadfast, thus clarified and purified, clean and cleansed of things impure, tempered and apt to serve, established and immutable,-it was thus that I applied my heart to the knowledge which recalled my earlier existences. I called to mind my divers existences in the past,-a single birth, then two . . . [and so on to] . . . a hundred thousand births, many an aeon of disintegration of the world, many an aeon of its reintegration, and again many an aeon both of its disintegration and of its reintegration. In this or that former existence, I remembered, such and such was my name, my sect, my class, my diet, my joys and sorrows, and my term of life. When I passed thence, I came by such and such subsequent existence, wherein such and such was my name and so forth. Thence I passed to my life here. Thus did I call to mind my divers existences of the past in all their details and features.-This, brahmin, was the first knowledge attained by me, in the first watch of that night,-ignorance dispelled and knowledge won, darkness dispelled and illumination won, as befitted my strenuous and ardent life, purged of self.

That same steadfast heart I now applied to knowledge of the passage hence, and re-appearance elsewhere, of other beings. With the Eye Celestial, which is pure and far surpasses the human eye, I saw things in the act of passing hence and of re-appearing elsewhere,-being high and low, fair or foul to view, in bliss or woe; I saw them all faring according to their past. Here were beings given over to evil in act, word and thought, who decried the Noble and had a wrong outlook and became what results from such wrong outlook;-these, at the body's dissolution after death, made their appearance in states of suffering, misery and tribulation and in purgatory. Here again were beings given to good in act, word and thought, who did not decry the Noble, who had the right outlook and became what results from right outlook;-these, at the body's dissolution after death, made their appearance in states of bliss in heaven. All this did I see with the Eye Celestial; and this, brahmin, was the second knowledge attained by me, in the second watch of that night,-ignorance dispelled and knowledge won, darkness dispelled and illumination won, as befitted my strenuous and ardent life, purged of self.

That same steadfast heart I next applied to knowledge of the eradication of Cankers. I comprehended, aright and to the full, the origin of Ill (sickness) , the cessation of Ill, and the course that leads to the cessation of Ill. I comprehend, aright and to the full, what the Cankers were, with their origin, cessation,

and the course that leads to their cessation. When I knew this and when I saw this, then my heart was delivered from the Canker of sensuous pleasure, from the Canker of continuing existence, and from the Canker of ignorance; and to me thus delivered came the knowledge of my Deliverance in the conviction-*Rebirth is no more*; I have lived the highest life; my task is done; and now for me there is no more of what I have been. This, Brahmin, was the third knowledge attained by me, in the third watch of that night, -ignorance dispelled and knowledge won, darkness dispelled and illumination won, as befitted my strenuous and ardent life, purged of self.

Translation by Lord Chalmers, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, I (London, 1926), pp. 15-17

THE BUDDHA ENTERS NIRVANA

(Ashvagoshā, 'Buddhacarita,' XXVI, 83-6, 88-106)

Thereupon the Buddha turned to his Disciples, and said to them: 'Everything comes to an end, though it may last for an aeon. The hour of parting is bound to come in the end. Now I have done what I could do, both for myself and for others. To stay here would from now on be without any purpose. I have disciplined, in heaven and on earth, all those whom I could discipline, and I have set them in the stream. Hereafter this my Dharma, O monks, shall abide for generations and generations among living beings. Therefore, recognize the true nature of the living world, and do not be anxious; for separation cannot possibly be avoided. Recognize that all that lives is subject to this law; and strive from today onwards that it shall be thus no more ! When the light of gnosis has dispelled the darkness of ignorance, when an existence has been seen as without substance, peace ensues when life draws to an end, which seems to cure a long sickness at last. Everything, whether stationary or moveable, is bound to perish in the end. Be ye therefore mindful and vigilant! The time for my entry into Nirvana has now arrived. These are my last words!'

Thereupon, supreme in his mastery of the trances, He at that moment entered into the first trance, emerged from it and went on to the second, and so in due order he entered all of them without omitting one. And then, when he had ascended through all the nine stages of meditational attainment, the great Seer reversed the process, and returned again to the first trance. Again he emerged from that, and once more he ascended step by step to the fourth trance. When he emerged from the practice of that, he came face to face with everlasting Peace.

And when the Sage entered Nirvana, the earth quivered like a ship struck by a squall, and firebrands fell from the sky. The heavens were lit up by a preternatural fire, which burned without fuel, without smoke, without being fanned by the wind. Fearsome thunderbolts crashed down on the earth, and violent winds raged in the sky. The moon's light waned, and, in spite of a cloudless sky, an uncanny darkness spread everywhere. The rivers, as if overcome with grief, were filled with boiling water. Beautiful flowers grew out of season on the Sal trees above the Buddha's couch, and the trees bent down over him and showered his golden body with their flowers. Like as many gods the five-headed Nagas stood motionless in the sky, their eyes reddened with grief, their hoods closed and their bodies kept in restraint, and with deep devotion they gazed upon the body of the Sage. But, well-established in the practice of the -supreme Dharma, the gathering of the gods round King Vaishravana was not grieved and shed no tears, so great was their attachment to the Dharma. The Gods of the Pure Abode, though they had great reverence for the Great Seer, remained composed, and their minds were unaffected; for they hold the things of this world in the utmost contempt. The Kings of the Gandharvas and Nagas, as well as the Yakshas and the Devas who rejoice in the true Dharma-they all stood in the sky, mourning and absorbed in the utmost grief. But Mara's hosts felt that they had obtained their heart's desire. Overjoyed they uttered loud laughs, danced about, hissed like snakes, and triumphantly made a frightful din by beating drums, gongs and tom-toms. And the world, when the Prince of Seers had passed beyond, became like a mountain whose peak has been shattered by a thunderbolt; it became like the sky without the moon, like a pond whose lotuses the frost has withered, or like learning rendered ineffective by lack of wealth.

Translation by Edward Conze, in Conze (ed.), *Buddhist Scriptures* (Penguin Books, 1959), pp. 62-4

MUHAMMAD'S CALL

AT TABARI

Ahmad b. 'Uthman, who is known as Abu'l-jawza', has related to me on the authority of Wahb b. Jarir, who heard his father say that he had(, heard from an-Nu'man b. Rashid, on the authority of az-Zuhri from 'Urwa, from 'A'isha, who said: The way revelation (wahy) first began to come to the Apostle of Allah-on whom be Allah's blessing and peace-was by means of true dreams which would come like the morning dawn. Then he came to love solitude, so he used to go off to a cave in Hira 1 where he would practice tahannuth2 certain nights before returning to his family. Then he would come back to his family and take provisions for the like number [of nights] until unexpectedly the truth came to him.

He (i.e., Gabriel) came to him saying: 'O Muhammad, thou art Allah's Apostle (rasul3).' Said the Apostle of Allah-upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace: 'Thereat I fell to my knees where I had been standing, and then with trembling limbs(dragged myself along till I came in to Khadija 4 saying: "Wrap ye me up! Wrap ye me up !5 till the terror passed from me. Then [on another occasion] he came to me again and said: "O Muhammad, thou art Allah's Apostle," [which so disturbed me] that I was about to cast myself down from some high mountain cliff. But he appeared before me as I was about to do this, and said: "O Muhammad, I am Gabriel, and thou art Allah's Apostle." Then he said to me: "Recite!"; but I answered: "What should I recite?"; whereat he seized me and grievously treated me three times, till he wore me out. Then he said: "Recite, in the name of thy Lord who has created" (Sura XCVI, 1). So I recited it and then went to Yhadija, to whom I said: "I am worried about myself." Then I told her the whole story. She said: "Rejoice, for by Allah, Allah will never put thee to shame. By Allah, thou art mindful of thy kinsfolk, speakest truthfully, Tenderest what is given thee in trust, bearest burdens, art ever hospitable to the guest, and dost always uphold the right against any wrong." Then she took me to Waraqua b. Naufal b. Asad [to whom] she said: "Give ear to what the son of thy brother [has to report]." So he questioned me, and I told him [the whole] story. Said he: "This is the namus 6 which was sent down upon Moses the son of Amram. Would that I might be a stalwart youth [again to take part] in it. Would that I might still be alive when your people turn you out." "And will they turn me out?" I asked. "Yes," said he, "never yet has a man come with that with which you come but has been turned away. Should I be there when your day comes I will lend you mighty assistance."

Notes

1 A mountain in the environs of Mecca.

2 This is probably intended to represent the Hebrew word *tihinnoth* 'prayers.'

3 Rasul is literally 'messenger,' but like the New Testament apostolos, as a messenger of God it technically means an Apostle.

4 His first wife, an elderly and wealthy Meccan widow who had married him some years earlier.

5 See Sura LXXIII, 1.

6 This is from the Syriac transliteration of the Greek word names, *law*, which is used in the Septuagint and the New Testament for the Mosaic law, i.e., the Torah.

Translation and notes by Arthur Jeffery, *Islam. Muhammad and His Religion* (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1958), pp. 15-17; from *at-Tabarī, Ta'rikh ar-rusul wa'l-muluk* (Leiden, 1881), 1, 1147-52

MUHAMMAD IS THE MESSENGER OF GOD

('Qur'an,' XLVIII, 30-3)

Muhammad is the Messenger of God,
and those who are with him are hard
against the unbelievers, merciful
one to another. Thou seest them
bowing, prostrating, seeking bounty
from God and good pleasure. Their
mark is on their faces, the trace of
prostration. That is their likeness
in the Torah, and their likeness
in the Gospel: as a seed that puts
forth its shoot, and strengthens it,
and it grows stout and rises straight
upon its stalk, pleasing the sowers,
that through them He may enrage
the unbelievers. God has promised
those of them who believe and do deeds
of righteousness forgiveness
and a mighty wage.

Translation by A. J. Arberry

MUHAMMAD PROCLAIMS THE QUR'AN

'THE BOOK WHEREIN IS NO DOUBT'

('Qur'an', II, 1-23)

That is the book, wherein is no doubt,
a guidance to the godfearing
who believe in the Unseen, and perform the prayer
, and expend of that We have provided them;
who believe in what has been sent down to thee

and what has been sent down before thee,
and have faith in the Hereafter,
those are upon guidance from their Lord,
those are the ones who prosper

.

As for the unbelievers, alike it is to them
whether thou hast warned them or hast not warned them,
they do not believe.

God has set a seal on their hearts and on their hearing,
and on their eyes is a covering,
and there awaits them a mighty chastisement.

And some men there are who say,
'We believe in God and the Last Day';
but they are not believers.

They would trick God and the believers,
and only themselves they deceive,
and they are not aware.

In their hearts is a sickness,
and God has increased their sickness,
and there awaits them a painful chastisement
for that they have cried lies.

When it is said to them, 'Do not corruption in the land,'
they say, 'We are only ones that put things right.'

Truly, they are the workers of corruption
but they are not aware.

When it is said to them, 'Believe as the people believe,'
they say, 'Shall we believe, as fools believe?'

Truly, they are the foolish ones,

but they do not know.

When they meet those who believe, they say, 'We believe';

but when they go privily to their Satans, they say,

'We are with you; we were only mocking.'

God shall mock them, and shall lead them on

blindly wandering in their insolence.

Those are they that have bought error

at the price of guidance,

and their commerce has not profited them,

and they are not right-guided.

The likeness of them is as the likeness of a man

who kindled a fire, and when it lit all about him

God took away their light, and left them in darkness

unseeing,

deaf, dumb, blind-

so they shall not return,

or as a cloudburst out of heaven

in which is darkness, and thunder, and lightning

they put their fingers in their ears

against the thunderclaps, fearful of death;

and God encompasses the unbelievers;

the lightning weltnigh snatches away their sight;

whensoever it gives them light, they walk in it,

and when the darkness is over them, they halt;

had God willed, He would have taken away

their hearing and their sight.

Truly, God is powerful over everything

.

O you men, serve your Lord Who created you,
and those that were before you, haply so
you will be godfearing;
who assigned to you the earth for a couch,
and heaven for an edifice, and sent down
out of heaven water, wherewith He brought forth
fruits for your provision; so set not up
compeers to God wittingly.

And if you are in doubt concerning that We have
sent down on Our servant, then bring a sura
like it, and call your witnesses, apart from
God, if you are truthful.

And if you do not- and you will not-then
fear the Fire, whose fuel is men and stones,
prepared for unbelievers.

Give thou good tidings to those who believe
and do deeds of righteousness, that for them
await gardens underneath which rivers flow;
whensoever they are provided with fruits therefrom
they shall say, 'This is that wherewithal
we were provided before; that they shall be
given in perfect semblance; and there
for them shall be spouses purified; therein
they shall dwell forever.

Translation by A. J. Arberry

ALLAH TELLS MUHAMMAD

THE STORY OF ABRAHAM

('Qur'an,' XIX, 42-52)

And mention in the Book Abraham;
surely he was a true man, a Prophet.
When he said to his father, 'Father,
why worshippeth thou that which-neither
hears nor sees, nor avails thee anything?
Father, there has come to me knowledge
such as came not to thee; so follow me,
And I will guide thee on a level path.
Father, serve not Satan; surely Satan
is a rebel against the All-merciful.
Father, I fear that some chastisement
from the All-merciful will smite thee,
so that thou becomest a friend to Satan'.
Said he, 'What, art thou shrinking
from my gods, Abraham? Surely, if thou
givest not over, I shall stone thee;
so forsake me now for some while.'
He said, 'Peace be upon thee!
I will ask my Lord to forgive thee;
surely He is ever gracious to me.
Now I will go apart from you
and that you call upon, apart from
God; I will call upon my Lord,
and haply I shall not be, in calling
upon my Lord, unprosperous.'
So, when he went apart from them
and that they were serving, apart
from God, We gave him Isaac and

Jacob, and each We made a Prophet
and We gave them of Our mercy,
and We appointed unto them
a tongue of truthfulness, sublime.

Translation by A. J. Arberry

ALLAH REVEALS TO MUHAMMAD
HOW HE SAVED THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL
(‘Qur’an,’ XVII, 104-9)

And We gave Moses nine signs,
clear signs. Ask the Children of Israel
when he came to them, and Pharaoh
said to him, ‘Moses, I think thou art bewitched.’
He said, ‘Indeed thou knowest that none
sent these down, except the Lord
of the heavens and earth, as clear
proofs; and, Pharaoh, I think thou art accursed.’
He desired to startle them from the land;
and We drowned him and those with him, all together.
And We said to the Children of Israel
after him, ‘Dwell in the land; and
when the promise of the world to come
comes to pass, we shall bring you a rabble.’

With the truth We have sent it down,
and with the truth it has come down;
and We have sent thee not, except
good tidings to bear, and warning,

and a Koran We have divided,
for thee to recite it to mankind
at intervals, and We have sent it down successively.
Say: 'Believe in it, or believe not';
those who were given the knowledge before it
when it is recited to them, fall down
upon their faces prostrating, and say,
'Glory be to our Lord! Our Lord's promise is performed.'

Translation by A. J. Arberry

ALLAH SENT

THE TORAH, THE PROPHETS AND JESUS, SON OF MARY

('Qur'an,' V, 50-3)

And We sent, following
in their footsteps, Jesus
son of Mary, confirming
the Torah before him;
and We gave to him
the Gospel, wherein
is guidance and light,
and confirming the Torah
before it, as a guidance
and an admonition
unto the godfearing.

So let the People of the Gospel judge
according to what God has sent down
therein. Whosoever judges not
according to what God has sent down
they are the ungodly.

And We have sent down to thee the Book
with the truth, confirming the Book
that was before it, and assuring it.
So judge between them according to what
God has sent down, and do not follow
their caprices, to forsake the truth
that has come to thee. To every one
of you We have appointed a right way
and an open road.

Translation by A. J. Arberry

NEOPLATONIST PHILOSOPHER

ON THE ARTS AND EFFECTS OF ECSTASY

(Iamblichus, 'On the Mysteries,' III, 4-6)

Iamblichus was born in Syria and lived from ca. 250 to 325 A.D. His book *On the Mysteries* is in the form of a reply by a certain Abammon to a letter by Porphyry addressed 'To Anebo' and is a defence of ritualistic magic or theurgy. Iamblichus' presentation of Neoplatonism fell far below the high teaching of Plotinus and incorporated much popular superstition.

(4) Among the signs by which those who are truly possessed by the gods may be known, the greatest is the fact that many [of those who experience ecstasy] are not burned, though fire is applied to them, since the deity breathing within them does not permit the fire to touch them; many, though burned, are unaware of it, since at that moment they are not dwelling in the body [literally, not living an animal life]. Many have daggers thrust through their bodies without feeling it; others have their backs cut [open] with hatchets, or cut their arms with knives, without taking any notice. The activities in which they are engaged are not of a human kind, and since they are borne by God they can reach places which are inaccessible to men; they pass through fire unharmed; they tread upon fire and cross over streams, like the priestess in Castabala [who walked barefoot on snow and hot coals]. This proves that in their enthusiasm [i.e., their state of inspiration] they are not aware of what they are doing and are not living a human or bodily existence as far as sensation and volition are concerned, but live instead another and diviner kind, which fills them and takes complete possession of them.

(5) There are many different kinds of divine possession, and there are different ways of awakening the divine spirit; consequently there are many different indications of this state. For one thing, there are different gods from whom we receive the spirit [i.e., are inspired], and this results in a variety of forms in which the inspiration manifests itself, further, the kinds of influence exerted are different, and so there are various ways in which the divine seizure takes place. For either the god takes possession of us, or else we are entirely absorbed in him, or else [thirdly] we co-operate with him. At times we partake of the lowest power of God, at others of the middle [power], at still others of the highest [i.e., first]. Sometimes it is a mere participation, again it is a communion [fellowship or sharing], or again it becomes a union of these [two] kinds. Now the soul enjoys complete separation; again it is still involved in the body, or [else] the

whole nature is laid hold of (and controlled).

Hence the signs of possession are manifold: either movement of the body and its parts, or complete relaxation; [either] singing choirs, round dances, and harmonious voices, or the opposite of these. [The] bodies have been seen to rise up, grow, or move freely in the air, and the opposite has also been observed. They have been heard to utter [different] voices of equal strength, or with great diversity and inequality, in tones that alternated with silence; and again in other cases harmonious crescendo or diminuendo of tone, and in still other cases other kinds of utterance.

(6) But the greatest thing [about this experience] is that the one who thus draws down a deity beholds the greatness and the nature of the invading spirit; and he is secretly guided and directed by him. So too he who receives a god sees also a fire before he takes it into himself. Now and then the god manifests himself to all who are present, either as he comes or as he goes. From this it is made known, to those who have the knowledge, wherein his truth and his power chiefly consist and his place [in the divine hierarchy], and what qualifies him by his nature to make known the truth; and also what power he is able to grant or to maintain. Those, however, who without this beatifying view invoke the spirits are merely reaching out and touching things in the dark, and do not know what they are doing, save for certain minor signs in the body of the possessed person and other indubitable, visible symptoms; but the full understanding of divine possession is denied them, being hid in the invisible.

Translation and introduction by Frederick C. Grant, in his *Hellenistic Religions* (New York, 1953), PP. 173-5

YOGA AND BUDDHISM

CONCENTRATION 'ON A SINGLE POINT'

The point of departure of Yoga meditation is concentration on a single object; whether this is a physical object (the space between the eyebrows, the tip of the nose, something luminous, etc.), or a thought (a metaphysical truth), or God (Ishvara) makes no difference. This determined- and continuous concentration, called ekagrata ('on a single point'), is obtained by integrating the psychomental flux (sarvarthata, 'variously directed, discontinuous, diffused attention'). This is precisely the definition of yogic technique: *yogah cittavritti-nirodhyah*, i.e., the yoga is the suppression of psychomental states (Yoga-sutras, 1, 2).

The immediate result of ekagrata, concentration on a single point, is prompt and lucid censorship of all the distractions and automatisms that dominate -or, properly speaking, compose-profane consciousness. Completely at the mercy of associations (themselves produced by sensations and the *vasanas*), man passes his days allowing himself to be swept hither and thither by an infinity of disparate moments that are, as it were, external to himself. The senses or the subconscious continually introduce into consciousness objects that dominate and change it, according to their form and intensity. Associations disperse consciousness, passions do it violence, the 'thirst for life' betrays it by projecting it outward. Even in his intellectual efforts, man is passive, for the fate of secular thoughts (controlled not by ekagrata but only by fluctuating moments of concentration, *kshiptavikshiptas*) is to be thought by objects. Under the appearance of thought, there is really an indefinite and disordered flickering, fed by sensations words, and memory. The first duty of the yogin is to think-that is, not to let himself think. This is why Yoga practice begins with ekagrata, which darns the mental stream and thus constitutes a 'psychic mass,' a solid and unified continuum.

The practice of ekagrata tends to control the two generators of mental fluidity: sense activity (*indriya*) and the activity of the subconscious (*samskara*). Control is the ability to intervene, at will and directly, in the functioning of these two sources of mental 'whirlwinds' (*cittavritti*). A yogin can obtain discontinuity of consciousness at will; in other words, he can, at any time and any place, bring about concentration of his attention on a 'single point' and become insensible to any other sensory or mnemonic stimulus. Through ekagrata one gains a genuine will-that is, the power freely to regulate an important sector of biomental

activity. It goes without saying that ekagrata can be obtained only through the practice of numerous exercises and techniques, in which physiology plays a role of primary importance. One cannot obtain ekagrata if, for example, the body is in a tiring or even uncomfortable posture, or if the respiration is disorganized, unrhythmical. This is why, according to Patanjali, yogic technique implies several categories of physiological practices and spiritual exercises (called *angas*, 'members'), which one must have learned if one seeks to obtain ekagrata and, ultimately, the highest concentration, *samadhi*. These 'members' of Yoga can be regarded both as forming a group of techniques and as being stages of the mental ascetic itinerary whose end is final liberation. They are: (1) restraints (*yama*), (2) disciplines (*niyama*), (3) bodily attitudes and postures (*asana*); (4) rhythm of respiration (*pranayama*); (5) emancipation of sensory activity from the domination of exterior objects (*pratyahara*); (6) concentration (*dharana*), (7) yogic meditation (*dhyana*), (8) *samadhi* (*Yoga-sutras*, 11, 29).

Each class (*anga*) of practices and disciplines has a definite purpose. Patanjali hierarchizes these 'members of Yoga' in such a way that the yogin cannot omit any of them, except in certain cases. The first two groups, *yama* and *niyama*, obviously constitute the necessary preliminaries for any type of asceticism, hence there is nothing specifically yogic in them. The restraints (*yatna*) purify from certain sins that all systems of morality disapprove but that social life tolerates. Now, the moral law can no longer be infringed here-as it is in secular life without immediate danger to the seeker for deliverance. In Yoga, every sin produces its consequences immediately. The five restraints are *ahimsa*, 'not to kill,' *satya*, 'not to lie,' *asteya*, 'not to steal,' *brahmacarya*, 'sexual abstinence,' *aparigraha*, 'not to be avaricious.'

Together with these restraints, the yogin must practise the *niyamas* --that is, a series of bodily and psychic 'disciplines.' 'Cleanliness, serenity "*samtosha*," asceticism "*tapas*," the study of Yoga metaphysics, and the effort to make God "*Ishvara*," the motive of all one's actions constitute the disciplines.' (Y.S., II, 32.)

M.Eliade, *Yoga. Immortality and Freedom*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Bollingen Series LVI, 1958), PP. 47-50

YOGIC POSTURES

AND RESPIATORY DISCIPLINE

It is only with the third 'member of Yoga' (*yoganga*) that yogic technique, properly speaking, begins. This third 'member' is *asana*, a word designating the well-known yogic posture that the *Yoga-sutras* (11, 46) define as *sthirasukham*, 'stable and agreeable.' *Asana* is described in numerous Hatha Yoga treatises; Patanjali defines it only in outline, for *asana* is learned from a guru and not from descriptions. The important thing is that *asana* gives the body a stable rigidity, at the same time reducing physical effort to a minimum. Thus, one avoids the irritating feeling of fatigue, of enervation in certain parts of the body, one regulates the physical processes, and so allows the attention to devote itself solely to the fluid part of consciousness. At first an *asana* is uncomfortable and even unbearable. But after some practice, the effort of maintaining the body in the same position becomes inconsiderable. Now (and this is of the highest importance), effort must disappear, the position of meditation must become natural; only then does it further concentration. 'Posture becomes perfect when the effort to attain it disappears, so that there are no more movements in the body. In the same way, its perfection is achieved when the mind is transformed into infinity-that is, when it makes the idea of its infinity its own content' (Vyasa, ad Y.S. 11, 47.) And Vacaspatimishra, commenting on Vyasa's interpretation, writes: 'He who practices *asana* must employ an effort that consists in suppressing the natural efforts of the body. Otherwise this kind of ascetic posture cannot be realized.' As for 'the mind transformed into infinity,' this means a complete suspension of attention to the presence of one's own body.

Asana is one of the characteristic techniques of Indian asceticism. It is found in the Upanishads and even in Vedic literature, but allusions to it are more numerous in the Mahabharata and in the Puranas. Naturally, it is in the literature of Hatha Yoga that the *asanas* play an increasingly important part; the Gheranda Samhita describes thirtytwo varieties of them. Here, for example, is how one assumes one of the easiest and most common of the meditational positions, the *padmasana*: 'Place the right foot on the left thigh and similarly the left one on the right thigh, also cross the hands behind the back and firmly catch

the great toes of the feet so crossed (the right hand on the right great toe and the left hand on the left). Place the chin on the chest and fix the gaze on the tip of the nose.' (II, 8.) Lists and descriptions of asanas are to be found in most of the tantric and Hatha-yogic treatises. The purpose of these meditational positions is always the same, 'absolute cessation of trouble from the pairs of opposites' (Yogasutras, 11, 48.) In this way one realizes a certain 'neutrality' of the senses; consciousness is no longer troubled by the 'presence of the body.' One realizes that first stage towards isolation of consciousness; the bridges that permit communication with sensory activity begin to be raised.

On the plane of the 'body,' asana is an ekagrata, a concentration on a single point; the body is 'tense,' concentrated in a single position. just as ekagrata puts an end to the fluctuation and dispersion of the states of consciousness, so asana puts an end to the mobility and disposability of the body, by reducing the infinity of possible positions to a single archetypal, iconographic posture. Refusal to move (asana), to let oneself be carried along on the rushing stream of states of consciousness (ekagrata) will be continued by a long series of refusals of every kind.

The most important-and, certainly, the most specifically yogic of these various refusals is the disciplining of respiration (pranayama) in other words, the 'refusal' to breathe like the majority of mankind, that is, nonrhythmically. Patanjali defines this refusal as follows: 'Pranayama is the arrest [viccheda] of the movements of inhalation and exhalation and it is obtained after asana has been realized. (Y.S., II, 49-) Patanjali speaks of the 'arrest,' the suspension, of respiration; however, pranayama begins with making the respiratory rhythm as slow as possible; and this is its first objective. There are a number of texts that treat of this Indian ascetic technique, but most of them do no more than repeat the traditional formulas. Although pranayama is a specifically yogic exercise, and one of great importance, Patanjali devotes only three sutras to it. He is primarily concerned with the theoretical bases of ascetic practices; technical details are found in the commentaries by Vyasa, Bhoja, and Vacaspatimishra, but especially in the Hatha-yogic treatises.

A remark of Bhoja's reveals the deeper meaning of pranayama: 'All the functions of the organs being preceded by that of respiration there being always a connection between respiration and consciousness in their respective functions-respiration, when all the functions of the organs are suspended, realizes concentration of consciousness on a single object' (ad Y.S. I, 34.). The statement that a connection always exists between respiration and mental states seems to us highly important. It contains far more than mere observation of the bare fact, for example, the respiration of a man in anger is agitated, while that of one who is concentrating (even if only provisionally and without any yogic purpose) becomes rhythmical and automatically slows down, etc. The relation connecting the rhythm of respiration with the states of consciousness mentioned by Bhoja, which has undoubtedly been observed and experienced by yogins from the earliest times-this relation has served them as an instrument for 'unifying' consciousness. The 'unification' here under consideration must be understood in the sense that, by making his- respiration rhythmical and progressively slower, the yogin can 'penetrate'-that is, he can experience, in perfect lucidity- certain states of consciousness that are inaccessible in a waking condition, particularly the states of consciousness that are peculiar to sleep. For there is no doubt that the respiratory system of a man asleep is slower than that of a man awake. By reaching this rhythm of sleep through the practice of pranayama, the yogin, without renouncing his lucidity, penetrates the states of consciousness that accompany sleep.

The Indian ascetics recognize four modalities of consciousness (beside the ecstatic 'state')- diurnal consciousness, consciousness in sleep with dreams, consciousness in sleep without dreams, and 'cataleptic consciousness.' By means of pranayama-that is, by increasingly prolonging inhalation and exhalation (the goal of this practice being to allow as long an interval as possible to pass between the two moments of respiration-the yogin can, then, penetrate all the modalities of consciousness. For the noninitiate, there is discontinuity between these several modalities; thus he passes from the state of waking to the state of sleep unconsciously. The yogin must preserve continuity of consciousness-that is, he must penetrate each of these states with' determination and lucidity.

But experience of the four modalities of consciousness (to which a particular respiratory rhythm naturally corresponds), together with unification of consciousness (resulting from the yogin's getting rid of the

discontinuity between these four modalities), can only be realized after long practice. The immediate goal of pranayama is more modest. Through it one first of all acquires a 'continuous consciousness,' which alone can make yogic meditation possible. The respiration of the ordinary man is generally arrhythmic; it varies in accordance with external circumstances or with mental tension. This irregularity produces a dangerous psychic fluidity, with consequent instability and diffusion of attention. One can become attentive by making an effort to do so. But, for Yoga, effort is an exteriorization. Respiration must be made rhythmical, if not in such a way that it can be 'forgotten' entirely, at least in such a way that it no longer troubles us by discontinuity. Hence, through pranayama, one attempts to do away with the effort of respiration, rhythmic breathing must become something so automatic that the yogin can forget it.

Rhythmic respiration is obtained by harmonizing the three 'moments'; inhalation (paraka), exhalation (recaka), and retention of the inhaled air (kumbhaka). These three moments must each fill an equal space of time. Through practice the yogin becomes able to prolong them considerably, for the goal of pranayama is, as Patanjali says, to suspend respiration as long as possible; one arrives at this by progressively retarding the rhythm.

M: Eliade, Yoga, op. cit., pp. 53-8

SAMADHI

The passage from 'concentration' to 'meditation' does not require the application of any new technique. Similarly, no supplementary yogic exercise is needed to realize samadhi, once the yogin has succeeded in 'concentrating' and 'meditating.' Samadhi, yogic 'enstasis,' is the final result of the crown of all the ascetic's spiritual efforts and exercises. The meanings of the term Samadhi are union, totality; absorption in, complete concentration of mind; conjunction. The usual translation is 'concentration,' but this embarks the risk of confusion with dharana. Hence we have preferred to translate it 'entasis,' 'stasis,' and conjunction.

. . . Patanjali and his commentators distinguish several kinds or stages of supreme concentration. When Samadhi is obtained with the help of an object or idea (that is, by fixing one's thought on a point in space or on an idea), the stasis is called samprajnata samadhi ('enstasis with support,' or 'differentiated enstasis'). When, on the other hand, samadhi is obtained apart from any 'relation' (whether external or mental) that is, when one obtains a 'conjunction' into which no otherness enters, but which is simply a full comprehension of being one has realized asamprajnata-samadhi ('undifferentiated stasis').

Vijnanabhikshu adds that samprajnata samadhi is a means of liberation in so far as it makes possible the comprehension of truth and ends every kind of suffering. But asamprajnata samadhi destroys the 'impressions [samskara] of all antecedent mental functions' and even succeeds in arresting the karmic forces already set in motion by the yogin's past activity. During 'differentiated stasis,' Vijnanabhikshu continues, all the mental functions are 'arrested' ('inhibited'), except that which 'meditates on the object'; whereas in asamprajnata samadhi all 'consciousness' vanishes, the entire series of mental functions are blocked. 'During this stasis, there is no other trace of the mind [citta] save the impressions [samskara] left behind (by its past functioning). If these impressions were not present, there would be no possibility of returning to consciousness.'

We are, then, confronted with two sharply differentiated classes of states.' The first class is acquired through the yogic technique of concentration (dharana) and meditation (dhyana), the second class comprises only a single 'state'-that is, unprovoked enstasis, 'raptus.' No doubt, even this asamprajnata samadhi is always owing to prolonged efforts on the yogin's part. It is not a gift or a state of grace. One can hardly reach it before having sufficiently experienced the kinds of Samadhi included in the first class. It is the crown of the innumerable 'concentrations' and 'meditations' that have preceded it. But it comes without being summoned, without being provoked, without special preparation for it. That is why it can be called a 'raptus.'

Obviously, 'differentiated enstasis,' samprajnata-samadhi, comprises several stages. This is because it is perfectible and does not realize an absolute and irreducible 'state.' Four stages or kinds are generally distinguished: 'argumentative' (savitarka), 'nonargumentative' (nirvitarka), 'reflective' (savicara), 'super-reflective' (nirvicara). Patanjali also employs another set of terms: vitarka, vicara, ananda, asmita.

(Y-S-, I, 17). But, as Vijnanabhikshu, who reproduces this list, remarks, 'the four terms are purely technical, they are applied conventionally to different forms of realization.' These four forms or stages of samprajnata samadhi, he continues, represent an ascent; in certain cases the grace of God (ishvara) permits direct attainment of the higher states, and in such cases the yogin need not go back and realize the preliminary states. But when this divine grace does not intervene, he must realize the four states gradually, always adhering to the same object of meditation (for example, Vishnu). These four grades or stages are also known as samapattis, 'coalescences.' (Y.S., I, 41-)

All these four stages of samprajnata samadhi are called bija samadhi ('samadhi with seed') or salambana samadhi ('with support'); for Vijnanabhikshu tells us, they are in relation with a 'substratum' (support) and produce tendencies that are like 'seeds' for the future functions of consciousness. Asamprajnata samadhi, on the contrary, is nirbija, 'without seed,' without support. By realizing the four stages of samprajnata, one obtains the 'faculty of absolute knowledge' (Y.S., I, 48) This is already an opening towards samadhi 'without seed,' for absolute knowledge discovers the ontological completeness in which being and knowing are no longer separated. Fixed in samadhi, consciousness (citta) can now have direct revelation of the Self (purusha). Through the fact that this contemplation (which is actually a 'participation') is realized, the pain of existence is abolished.

Vyasa (ad Y.S., III, 55) summarizes the passage from samprajnata to asamprajnata samadhi as follows: through the illumination (prajna, 'wisdom') spontaneously obtained when he reaches the stage of dharma-megha-samadhi, the yogin realizes 'absolute isolation' (kaivalya)-that is, liberation of purusha from the dominance of prakriti. For his part, Vacaspatimishra says that the 'fruit' of samprajnata samadhi is asamprajnata samadhi, and the 'fruit' of the latter is kaivalya, liberation. It would be wrong to regard this mode of being of the Spirit as a simple 'trance' in which consciousness was emptied of all content. Nondifferentiated enstasis is not absolute emptiness.' The 'state' and the 'knowledge' simultaneously expressed by this term refer to a total absence of objects in consciousness, not to a consciousness absolutely empty. For, on the contrary, at such a moment consciousness is saturated with a direct and total intuition of being. As Madhava says, 'nirodha [final arrest of all psychomental experience] must not be imagined as a nonexistence, but rather as the support of a particular condition of the Spirit.' It is the enstasis of total emptiness, without sensory content or intellectual structure, an unconditioned state that is no longer 'experience' (for there is no further relation between consciousness and the world) but 'revelation.' Intellect (buddhi), having accomplished its mission, withdraws, detaching itself from the Self (purusha) and returning into prakriti. The Self remains free, autonomous: it contemplates itself. 'Human' consciousness is suppressed; that is, it no longer functions, its constituent elements being reabsorbed into the primordial substance. The yogin attains deliverance; like a dead man, he has no more relation with life; he is 'dead in life.' He is the jivan-mukta, the 'liberated in life.' He no longer lives in time and under the domination of time, but in an eternal present, in the nunc stans by which Boethius defined eternity.

M. Eliade, *Yoga*, OP. cit., PP. 77, 79-81, 83-4, 93-4

KUYA- 'THE SAINT OF THE STREETS'

A PIONEER OF THE PURE LAND BUDDHISM

The rise of Pure Land Buddhism was not merely an outgrowth of the new feudal society, translating into religious terms the profound social changes which then took place. Already in the late Heian period we find individual monks who sensed the need for bringing Buddhist faith within the reach of the ordinary man, and thus anticipated the mass religious movements of medieval times. Kuya (903-72), a monk on Mt. Hiei, was one of these. The meditation on the Buddha Amida, which had long been accepted as an aid to the religious life, he promoted as a pedestrian devotion. Dancing through the city streets with a tinkling bell hanging from around his neck, Kuya called out the name of Amida and sang simple songs of his own composition, such as:

He never fails

To reach the Lotus Land of Bliss

Who calls,

If only once,

The name of Amida

.

A far, far distant land

Is Paradise,

I've heard them say;

But those who want to go

Can reach there in a day.

In the market places all kinds of people joined him in his dance and sang out the invocation to Amida, 'Namu Amida Butsu.' When a great epidemic struck the capital, he proposed that these same people join him in building an image of Amida in a public square, saying that common folk could equal the achievement of their rulers, who had built the Great Buddha of Nara, if they cared to try. In country districts he built bridges and dug wells for the people where these were needed, and to show that no one was to be excluded from the blessings of Paradise, he travelled into regions inhabited by the Ainu and for the first time brought to many of them the evangel of Buddhism.

Wm. Theodore de Bary (ed.), *Sources of Japanese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), PP. 193-4

HONEN AND THE INVOCATION OF AMIDA

THE BUDDHA OF BOUNDLESS LIGHT

Honen (1133-1212) believed that the invocation of Amida's name, *Namu Amida Butsu*, was the only sure hope of salvation. This invocation became known as the *Nembutsu*, a term which originally signified meditation on the name of Amida, but later meant simply the fervent repetition of his name.

The wife of the ex-Regent, Kanezane Tsukinowa, already converted to Honen's faith, asked him some questions regarding the practice of *Nembutsu*. Honen replied as follows:

I have the honour of addressing you regarding your inquiry about the *Nembutsu*. I am delighted to know that you are invoking the sacred name. Indeed the practice of the *Nembutsu* is the best of all for bringing us to *Ojo*,¹ because it is the discipline prescribed in Amida's Original Vow. The discipline required in the *Shingon*, and the meditation of the *Tendai*, are indeed excellent, but they are not in the Vow. This *Nembutsu* is the very thing that Shakyha himself entrusted² to his disciple, Ananda. As to all other forms of religious practice belonging to either the meditative or non-meditative classes, however excellent they may be in themselves, the great Master did not specially entrust them to Ananda to be handed down to posterity. Moreover, the *Nembutsu* has the endorsement of all the Buddhas of the six quarters; and, while the disciples of the exoteric and esoteric schools, whether in relation to the phenomenal or noumenal worlds, are indeed most excellent, the Buddhas do not give them their final approval. And so, although there are many kinds of religious exercise, the *Nembutsu* far excels them all in its way of Attaining *Ojo*. Now there are some people who are unacquainted with the way of birth into the Pure Land, who say, that

because the Nembutsu is so easy, it is all right for those who are incapable of keeping up the practices required in the Shingon, and the meditation of the Tendai sects, but such a cavil is absurd. What I mean is, that I throw aside those practices not included in Amida's Vow, nor prescribed by Shakyamuni, nor having the endorsement of the Buddhas of all quarters of the universe, and now only throw myself upon the Original Vow of Amida, according to the authoritative teaching of Shakyamuni, and in harmony with what the many Buddhas of the six quarters have definitely approved. I give up my own foolish plans of salvation, and devote myself exclusively to the practice of that mightily effective discipline of the Nembutsu, with earnest prayer for birth into the Pure Land. This is the reason why the abbot of the Eshin-in Temple in his work *Essentials of Salvation* (Ojoyoshu) makes the Nembutsu the most fundamental of all. And so you should now cease from all other religious practices, apply yourself to the Nembutsu alone, and in this it is all-important to do it with undivided attention. Zendo,³ who himself attained to that perfect insight (samadhi) which apprehends the truth, dearly expounds the full meaning of this in his *Commentary on the Meditation Sutra*, and in the *Two-volumed Sutra the Buddha* (Shakya) says, 'Give yourself with undivided mind to the repetition of the name of the Buddha who is in Himself endless life.' And by 'undivided mind' he means to present a contrast to a mind which is broken up into two or three sections, each pursuing its own separate object, and to exhort to the laying aside of everything but this one thing only. In the prayers which you offer for your loved ones, you will find that the Nembutsu is the one most conducive to happiness. In the *Essentials of Salvation*, it says that the Nembutsu is superior to all other works. Also Dengyo Daishi, when telling how to put an end to the misfortunes which result from the seven evils, exhorts to the practice of the Nembutsu. Is there indeed anything anywhere that is superior to it for bringing happiness in the present or the future life? You ought by all means to give yourself up to it alone.'

Notes

1 Rebirth in the Pure Land.

2 This refers to the passage in the *Meditation Sutra* which says: 'Buddha said to Ananda, "Preserve well these words. I mean to preserve well the name of the Buddha of Endless Life."'

3 Chinese Patriarch of Pure Land Sect.

Translation and notes by Rev. Harper Havelock Coates and Rev. Ryugaku Ishizuka, *Honen, the Buddhist Saint*, III (Kyoto, 1925), PP. 371-3

SHINRAN

'THE NEMBUTSU ALONE IS TRUE'

('Tannisho,' selections)

Shinran (1173-1262), who claimed to be Honen's true disciple, is regarded as the founder of the most important of all 'Pure Land' sects. Shinran's utter reliance on the power of Amida is emphasized by his reinterpretation of the Nembutsu. A single, sincere invocation is enough, said Shinran, and any additional recitation of the Name should merely be an expression of thanksgiving to Amida.

The collection of Shinran's sayings is said to have been made by his disciple Yuiembo, who was concerned over heresies and schisms developing among Shinran's followers and wished to compile a definitive statement of his master's beliefs.

Your aim in coming here, travelling at the risk of your lives through more than ten provinces, was simply to learn the way of rebirth in the Pure Land. Yet you would be mistaken if you thought I knew of some way to obtain rebirth other than by saying the Nembutsu, or if you thought I had some special knowledge of religious texts not open to others. Should this be your belief, it is better for you to go to Nara or Mt. Hiei,

for there you will find many scholars learned in Buddhism and from them you can get detailed instruction in the essential means of obtaining rebirth in the Pure Land. As far as I, Shinran, am concerned, it is only because the worthy Honen taught me so that I believe salvation comes from Amida by saying the Nembutsu. Whether the Nembutsu brings rebirth in the Pure Land or leads one to Hell, I myself have no way of knowing. But even if I had been misled by Honen and went to Hell for saying the Nembutsu, I would have no regrets. If I were capable of attaining Buddhahood on my own through the practice of some other discipline, and yet went down to Hell for saying the Nembutsu, then I might regret having been misled. But since I am incapable of practicing such disciplines, there can be no doubt that I would be doomed to Hell anyway.

If the Original Vow of Amida is true, the teaching of Shakyamuni cannot be false. If the teaching of the Buddha is true, Zendo's commentary on the Meditation Sutra cannot be wrong. And if Zendo is right, what Honen says cannot be wrong. So if Honen is right, what I, Shinran, have to say may not be empty talk.

Such, in short, is my humble faith. Beyond this I can only say that, whether you are to accept this faith in the Nembutsu or reject it, the choice is for each of you to make. . . .

'If even a good man can be reborn in the Pure Land, how much more so a wicked man.'

People generally think, however, that if even a wicked man can be reborn in the Pure Land, how much more so a good man! This latter view may at first sight seem reasonable, but it is not in accord with the purpose of the Original Vow, with faith in the Power of Another. The reason for this is that he who, relying on his own power, undertakes to perform meritorious deeds, has no intention of relying on the Power of Another and is not the object of the Original Vow of Amida. Should he, however, abandon his reliance on his own power and put his trust in the Power of Another, he can be born in the True Land of Recompense. We who are caught in the net of our own passions cannot free ourselves from bondage to birth and death, no matter what kind of austerities or good deeds we try to perform. Seeing this and pitying our condition, Amida made his Vow with the intention of bringing wicked men to Buddhahood. Therefore the wicked man who depends on the Power of Another is the prime object of salvation. This is the reason why Shinran said, 'If even a good man can be reborn in the Pure Land, how much more so a wicked man!' . . .

It is regrettable that among the followers of the Nembutsu there are some who quarrel, saying 'These are my disciples, those are not.' There is no one whom I, Shinran, can call my own disciple. The reason is that, if a man by his own efforts persuaded others to say the Nembutsu, he might call them his disciples, but it is most presumptuous to call those 'my disciples' who say the Nembutsu because they have been moved by the grace of Amida. If it is his karma to follow a teacher, a man will follow him; if it is his karma to forsake a teacher, a man will forsake him. It is quite wrong to say that the man who leaves one teacher to join another will not be saved by saying the Nembutsu. To claim as one's own and attempt to take back that faith which is truly the gift of Amida-such a view is wholly mistaken. In the normal course of things a person will spontaneously recognize both what he owes to the grace of Amida and what he owes to his teacher [without the teacher having to assert any claims]. . . .

The Master was wont to say, 'When I ponder over the Vow which Amida made after meditating for five kalpas, it seems as if the Vow were made for my salvation alone. How grateful I am to Amida, who thought to provide for the salvation of one so helplessly lost in sin!' When I now reflect upon this saying of the Master, I find that it is fully in accordance with the golden words of Zendo. 'We must realize that each of us is an ordinary mortal, immersed in sin and crime, subject to birth and death, ceaselessly migrating from all eternity and ever sinking deeper into Hell, without any means of delivering ourselves from it.'

It was on this account that Shinran most graciously used himself as an example, in order to make us realize how lost every single one of us is and how we fail to appreciate our personal indebtedness to the grace of Amida. In truth, none of us mentions the great love of Amida, but we continually talk about what is good and what is bad. Shinran said, however, 'Of good and evil I am totally ignorant. If I understood good as Buddha understands it, then I could say I knew what was good. If I understood evil as Buddha understands it, then I could say I knew what was bad. But I am an ordinary mortal, full of passion and

desire, living in this transient world like the dweller in a house on fire. Every judgment of mine, whatever I say, is nonsense and gibberish. The Nembutsu alone is true.'

Translation in Wm. Theodore de Bary (ed.), *Sources of Japanese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 216-18. Introductory note based on De Bary

NICHIREN

'ADORATION TO THE LOTUS OF THE PERFECT TRUTH'

Nichiren (1222-82) held that the Lotus Sutra represents the final and supreme teaching of the Buddha Shakyamuni, revealing the one and only way of salvation. While the prevailing schools of Japanese Buddhism emphasize one form of Buddha at the expense of the others, the Lotus Sutra alone upholds the truth of the triune Buddha (i.e., Dharmakaya, Sambhogakaya, and Nirmanakaya). For Nichiren, only in this trinity is the salvation of all assured. So it is the name of the Lotus Sutra, not the name of Amida Buddha, which should be on the lips of every Buddhist.

If you desire to attain Buddhahood immediately, lay down the banner of pride, cast away the club of resentment, and trust yourselves to the unique Truth. Fame and profit are nothing more than vanity of this life; pride and obstinacy are simply fetters to the coming life.....

When you fall into an abyss and some one has lowered a rope to pull you out, should you hesitate to grasp the rope because you doubt the power of the helper? Has not Buddha declared, 'I alone am the protector and saviour'? There is the power! Is it not taught that faith is the only entrance [to salvation]? There is the rope! One who hesitates to seize it, and will not utter the Sacred Truth, will never be able to climb the precipice of Bodhi (Enlightenment). . . . Our hearts ache and our sleeves are wet [with tears], until we see face to face the tender figure of the One, who says to us, 'I -am thy Father.' At this thought our hearts beat, even as when we behold the brilliant clouds in the evening sky or the pale moonlight of the fast-falling night. . . . Should any season be passed without thinking of the compassionate promise, 'Constantly I am thinking of you'? Should any month or day be spent without revering the teaching that there is none who cannot attain Buddhahood? . . . Devote yourself wholeheartedly to the 'Adoration to the Lotus of the Perfect Truth,' and utter it yourself_ as well as admonish others to do the same. Such is your task in this human life.

Masaharu Anesaki, *Nichiren, the Buddhist Prophet* (Cambridge, Mass., 1916), PP. 46-7; as quoted in Wm. Theodore de Bary (ed.), *Sources of Japanese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp 222-23.

REALIZING THE SOLUTION

GENJO KOAN

[Against the notion that enlightenment is a single, momentary experience.]

To study the way of the Buddha is to study your own self. To study your own self is to forget yourself. To forget yourself is to have the objective world prevail in you. To have the objective world prevail in you, is to let go of your 'own' body and mind as well as the body and mind of 'others.' The enlightenment thus attained may seem to come to an end, but though it appears to have stopped this momentary enlightenment should be prolonged and prolonged.

[Against the notion that the objective world is merely a projection of one's own mind.]

When you go out on a boat and look around, you feel as if the shore were moving. But if you fix your eyes on the rim of the boat, you become aware that the boat is moving. It is exactly the same when you try to know the objective world while still in a state of confusion in regard to your own body and mind; you are under the misapprehension that your own mind, your own nature, is something real and enduring [while the external world is transitory]. Only when you sit straight and look into yourself, does it become clear that [you yourself are changing] the objective world has a reality apart from you.

[The fullness of enlightenment.]

Our attainment of enlightenment is something like the reflection of the moon -in water. The moon does not get wet, nor is the water cleft apart. Though the light of the moon is vast and immense, it finds a home in water only a foot long and an inch wide. The whole moon and the whole sky find room enough in a single dewdrop, a single drop of water. And just as the moon does not cleave the water apart, so enlightenment does not tear man apart. just as a dewdrop or drop of water offers no resistance to the moon in heaven, so man offers no obstacle to the full penetration of enlightenment. Height is always the measure of depth. [The higher the object, the deeper will seem its reflection in the water.]

From Hashida, Shobo genzo shakui, 1, 142-64, selections translated in De Bary (ed.), Sources of Japanese Tradition, Op. Cit., Pp. 251-2

SITTING AND THE KOAN

In the pursuit of the Way [Buddhism] the prime essential is sitting (zazen). . . . By reflecting upon various 'public-cases' (koan) and dialogues of the patriarchs, one may perhaps get the sense of them but it will only result in one's being led astray from the way of the Buddha, our founder. just to pass the time in sitting straight, without any thought of acquisition, without any sense of achieving enlightenment -this is the way of the Founder. It is true that our predecessors recommended both the koan and sitting, but it was the sitting that they particularly insisted upon. There have been some who attained enlightenment through the test of the koan, but the true cause of their enlightenment was the merit and effectiveness of sitting. Truly the merit lies in the sitting.

From the Shobo genzo zuimonki, pp. 98-9, translated in De Bary (ed.), Sources of Japanese Tradition, op. cit., P. 253

THE IMPORTANCE OF SITTING

When I stayed at the Zen lodge in T'ien-t'ung [China], the venerable Ching used to stay up sitting until the small hours of the morning and then after only a little rest would rise early to start sitting again. In the meditation hall we went on sitting with the other elders, without letting up for even a single night. Meanwhile many of the monks went off to sleep. The elder would go around among them and hit the sleepers with his fist or a slipper, yelling at them to wake up. If their sleepiness persisted, he would go out to the hallway and ring the bell to summon the monks to a room apart, where he would lecture to them by the light of a candle.

'What use is there in your assembling together in the hall only to go to sleep? Is this all that you left- the world and joined holy orders for? Even among laymen, whether they be emperors, princes, or officials, are there any who live a life of ease? The ruler must fulfill the duties of the sovereign, his ministers must serve with loyalty and devotion, and commoners must work to reclaim land and till the soil -no one lives a life of ease. To escape- from such burdens and idly while away the time in a monastery-what does this accomplish? Great is the problem of life and death; fleeting indeed is our transitory existence. Upon these truths both the scriptural and meditation schools agree. What sort of illness awaits us tonight, what sort of death tomorrow? While we have life, not to practice Buddha's Law, but to spend the time in sleep is the height of foolishness. Because of such foolishness Buddhism today is in a state of decline. When it was at its zenith monks devoted themselves to the practice of sitting in meditation (zazen), but nowadays sitting

is not generally insisted upon and consequently Buddhism is losing ground.' . . .

Upon another occasion his attendants said to him, 'The monks are getting overtired or falling ill, and some are thinking of leaving the monastery, all because they are required to sit too long in meditation. Shouldn't the length of the sitting period be shortened?' The master became highly indignant. 'That would be quite wrong. A monk who is not really devoted to the religious life may very well fall asleep in a half hour or an hour. But one truly devoted to it who has resolved to persevere in his religious discipline will eventually come to enjoy the practice of sitting, no matter how long it lasts. When I was young I used to visit the heads of various monasteries, and one of them explained to me, "Formerly I used to hit sleeping monks so hard that my fist just about broke. Now I am old and weak, so I can't hit them hard enough. Therefore it is difficult to produce good monks. In many monasteries today the superiors do not emphasize sitting strongly enough, and so Buddhism is declining. The more you hit them the better," he advised me.'

From the Shobo getnzo zuimonki pp. 50-2, translated by Wm. Theodore de Bary, in De Bary (ed.), Sources of Japanese Tradition, op. Cit., Pp. 253-4

CONTEMPT FOR THE SCRIPTURES

There are Zen masters of a certain type who join in a chorus to deny that the sutras contain the true teaching of the Buddha. 'Only in the personal transmission from one patriarch to another is the essential truth conveyed; only in the transmission of the patriarchs can the exquisite and profound secrets of Buddha be found.' Such statements represent the height of folly, they are the words of madmen. In the genuine tradition of the patriarchs there is nothing secret or special, not even a single word or phrase, at variance with the Buddhist sutras. Both the sutras and the transmission of the patriarchs alike represent the genuine tradition deriving from Shakyamuni Buddha. The only difference between them is that the patriarchs' transmission is a direct one from person to person. Who dares, then, to ignore the Buddha's sutras? Who can refuse to study them, who can refuse to recite them? Wisely it has been said of old, 'It is you who get lost in the sutras, not the sutras that lead you astray.' Among our worthy predecessors there were many who studied the Scriptures. Therefore these loose tongued individuals should be told, 'To discard the sutras of the Buddha, as you say, is to reject the mind of the Buddha, to reject the body of the Buddha. To reject the mind and body of the Buddha is to reject the children [followers] of the Buddha. To reject children of the Buddha is to reject the teaching of the Buddha. And if the teaching of the Buddha itself is to be rejected, why should not the teaching of the patriarchs be rejected? And when you have abandoned the teaching of the Buddha and the patriarchs, what will be left except a lot of baldheaded monks? Then you will certainly deserve to be chastised by the rod. Not only would you deserve to be enslaved by the rulers of the world, but to be cast into Hell for punishment.'

From Eto, Shuso to shite no Dogen Zenji, P. 246, translated by Wm. Theodore de Bary, in De Bary (ed.), Sources of Japanese Tradition, op. Cit., Pp. 255-6