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KINGSHIP

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By

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ARTHUR MAURICE HOCART

ARTHUR MAURICE HOCART was born in Guernsey in 1884, and was educated there, at Brussels, and at Oxford, where he was a Classical and Senior Scholar of Exeter College. After studying psychology at Berlin University, he went to the South Pacific, where he conducted anthropological researches, some of them in collaboration with Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, in Fiji, Tonga, Samoa, and elsewhere. He was also for some time headmaster of the native school at Lau, Fiji. His researches produced many learned articles and a book on the *Lau Islands*. After war service in France he was appointed Archæological Commissioner in Ceylon. During the ten years that he held this post he conducted important excavations and wrote many articles on the history and archæology of Ceylon and the customs and beliefs of the Sinhalese and also *Kingship*. After his return to England, he spent his time in writing and lecturing till 1934, when he was appointed Professor of Sociology in the University of Cairo. In this capacity he was not only very successful as a teacher, but made himself very popular with all the Egyptians with whom he came in contact. His researches, in which he received much help and encouragement from his wife, took him to many parts of Egypt; he died in 1939 from the results of an infection acquired in the Fayum.

His later writings included *The Progress of Man, Kings and Councillors* (a continuation of *Kingship*), and a work on caste in India, upon which he was engaged at the time of his death. His long and intimate association with Fijians, Sinhalese, and Egyptians added to his learning a breadth of view too often lacking in scholars. The absence of that recognition to which his talents and attainments entitled him was due as much to his retiring disposition as to the unorthodoxy of his views.

RAGLAN.

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I

THE DIVINITY OF KINGS

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

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

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

Professor S. Langdon tells us that "before 3000 B.C. ancient Sumerian city-kings claimed to have been begotten by the gods, and born of the goddesses. . . . Although the rulers of that period were not deified, and did not receive adoration and sacrifice as gods, nevertheless their inscriptions show that their subjects believed them to be divinely sent redeemers, and the vicars of the gods." Later they are worshipped, but it is most important to note that in Sumer kings were not deified after death, but "worship of dead kings was forbidden unless they had been deified while living. Evidently some kind of consecration of the living mortal alone gave the possession of immortality. Temples

were built everywhere to these kings in Sumer." Ham-murabi called himself the Sun-god of Babylon.

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

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

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

We know less about ancient Roman kingship, and possibly could never guess at the divinity of Romulus, Numa, Tarquin, and the rest, did not other countries show us how to interpret its survivals. The priestly character of the ancient kings is well authenticated; Nettleship and Sandys in their *Dictionary of Classical*

Antiquities define *Rex Sacrorum*, "the King of Sacrifices," as "the name given by the Romans to a priest who, after the abolition of the royal power, had to perform certain religious rites connected with the name of king. He resembles the *archon basileus* of the Athenian constitution. He was always a patrician, was elected for life by the *pontifex maximus* with the assistance of the whole pontifical college, and was inaugurated by the augurs. . . . He . . . had an official residence in the regia, the royal castle of Numa. His wife participated in the priesthood." The title of *Rex Nemorensis*, "King of the Forest," was given to the priest of Aricia, and this dignity Sir James Frazer has successfully traced to the divine priest-king; in fact it is the starting-point of the great theory unfolded in *The Golden Bough*.

The ancient German kings and princes traced their lineage back to individual gods. The Goths "called their chiefs by whose good fortune, as it were, they conquered, not simple men, but semi-gods."

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

True, Manu and the Epics are late, and scholars inform us that there is no trace of divine kingship in the Vedic hymns, our earliest Indian records. It does not follow

that divine kingship was unknown : the Vedas are not a treatise on manners and customs, but allusive lyrics, which assume in the hearer a considerable knowledge of the traditions of the wise men, to say nothing of those fundamental institutions which were familiar to the most ignorant. We must, therefore, fall back on the Vedic prose literature, which, as it makes a special point of stating the why and wherefore of every detail of ritual, will very likely tell us something about kings. We are not disappointed. The king, we are told, "is Indra for a twofold reason, namely, because he is a noble, and because he is a sacrificer." For on the one hand Indra is sovereignty and the royal noble is sovereignty; on the other hand the sacrificer passes from the men to the gods. Thus the king is specially connected with Indra, but his consecration also puts other gods into him; the priest informs him that he is Brahman, Savitri, Varuna, Indra, Rudra. Thus in the age of those ritual treatises known as the Brāhmanas the king was already divine, and as those treatises revolve round the Vedic hymns it seems most likely that kings were already divine when those hymns were written.

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

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

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

Whether we look north, east, south, or west in the Pacific Ocean, everywhere we find divine kings or chiefs.

The sovereigns of the Sandwich Islands "were supposed to derive their origin by lineal descent from the gods." So were those of Samoa, and indeed to this day there is a Samoan chief who bears as title the name of the great god, Tangaloa. The Tokelau group lies north of Samoa: its king shares with the god the title of Tui Tokelau; the king was the high priest and the only one who ever saw the idol of the god. The king of Tonga and another chief, whom Mariner calls the Veachi, were "divine personages, or those who are supposed to be peculiarly of high divine origin." Taylor says that among the Maori of New Zealand "a descendant of the elder branch of the family is *papa* (father) to all other branches, and the eldest child of the main branch is an *ariki*, lord, to all that family and is supposed to have the spirits of all his or her ancestors embodied in himself or herself, and to be able to converse with them at pleasure." In Futuna, a Polynesian island to the north-west of Fiji, the high chief is called *Sau*. "In the olden days the god abode with the *Sau* and revealed to him the things that would happen." So present was this divine and celestial character to the Polynesian mind that they called their chiefs *langi*, heaven, and the same word *marae* is used of a temple and a chief's grave. In Tahiti the king was evidently identified with the sun, since he was called "the man who holds the sun," and on the transfer of his temporal power they said, "The Sun has set." Dr. Codrington quotes a Fijian chief from the North-West as saying, "I am a god" or "spirit." In that same tribe I was told that of old "only the chief was believed in; he is a human god; spirits are useful only in war, in other things no." One intelligent chief of the main island told me he bore the names of all the gods of his tribe. Mr. A. B. Brewster says that among the hill-tribes "the first known progenitor was styled *Kalou vu* or originating spirit. . . . At his death he passed into the realms of the gods . . . while his spirit entered his successor who became his shrine in this world."

One example from North America: the Natchez call

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

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

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

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

There is no harm in trying the hypothesis of common

origin; but numerous scholars and historians of high repute refuse even to go so far. This is partly due to a fear of losing caste by being confounded with those wild men who seized upon the most superficial resemblances in every part of the world to prove that the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel had been there. Partly this reluctance springs from very vague or erroneous notions about the races of the world east of India. We all know that a single family of languages has long extended from Iceland to the Brahmaputra; but we are in continual danger of forgetting that another family, even more homogeneous, stretches from Madagascar through Indonesia as far as Hawaii and Easter Island, and that the eastern or Polynesian dialects of that tongue are spoken by the most wonderful navigators that have ever been, beside whom even Columbus was a timid coaster; for they did not aim with a compass at a vast continent, but sailed in search of tiny islands in the widest ocean of the world where a miss was as good as a thousand miles. Now, if two languages could between them in less than four thousand years cover two hundred and fifty degrees out of the three hundred and sixty that go round the globe, how much easier for a single religion which has had at least six thousand years in which to do so! For we know that religion spreads with far greater rapidity and more widely than languages, as witness Christianity, Buddhism, Mahomedanism; and the reason is that we learn our language as infants, and our religion first as children, but not properly till we reach the age of discretion.

There would be nothing extraordinary in a world-wide diffusion of divine kingship: the doctrine evidently has exercised a great fascination over the human mind. Greece and Rome shook it off in their youth, but returned to it in their old age. When Alexander claimed to be the son of Zeus he was merely continuing, reviving, or borrowing from the East an ancient belief that the first-born of the king was really the son of a god who had assumed bodily form in order to lie with the queen, a belief which was current in Egypt under the Early

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

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

It was a dying effort, and like all dying efforts it was marked by an impracticable exaggeration. As Macaulay says, "At the very moment when a republican spirit began to manifest itself strongly in the Parliament and in the country, the claim of the monarch took a monstrous

form which would have disgusted the proudest and most arbitrary of those who had preceded him on the throne." Monarchists of the seventeenth century were no longer content to claim for the king a reflected divinity, he became himself a god, a "corporeal god." The Bishop of Chartres in 1625 says that kings "are ordained by God; and not only so, but they are themselves gods, which cannot be said to have been invented by the servile flattery and desire to please of the Heathens, but truth itself shows it so clearly in Holy writ that no one can deny it without blasphemy or doubt it without sacrilege."

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

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

Some of these have already been indicated. For instance, the dogma that the king is the Sun-god: we have found in it Egypt, Asia Minor, India, Tahiti, Peru; and we are therefore forced to conclude that it is an original feature of the religion of divine kings. In fact, it could scarcely be otherwise, since the earliest gods known are mostly placed in heaven and connected specially with the sun, or heavenly light in general. Hence the parent Indo-European language in order to express godhead used a root *div*, which meant "to

shine." In the Mongolian language the terms for "sky" and for "god" were the same.

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

The king was the sun and also descended from the sun. Legends of people descended from the sun are too common to detain us. I will content myself with one example related by Hiuen Tsiang: "At this time a king of Persia took a wife from the Han country. She had been met by an escort on her progress so far as this, when the roads east and west were stopped by military operations. On this they placed the king's daughter on a solitary mountain peak, very high and dangerous, which could only be approached by ladders, up and down; moreover, they surrounded it with guards both night and day for protection. After three months the disturbances were quelled. Quiet being restored they were about to resume their homeward journey. But now the lady was found to be enceinte. . . . Then his servant addressing the envoy said, 'Let there be no enquiry; it is a spirit that has had knowledge of her; every day at noon there was a chief-master who came from the sun's disc, and, mounted on horseback, came to meet her.' . . . Her time having come she bore a son of extraordinary beauty and perfect parts; . . . he was able to fly through the air and control the winds and snow. . . . From that time till now his descendants have ever recollected their origin, that on their mother's side they were descended from the king of Han, and on their father's side from the race of the Sun-god."

In early times the solar nature of the king was very real. I will repeat the words of Manu which I have already quoted: "Like the Sun he burns the eyes and minds, nor can anyone soever on earth behold him." These words give support to the opinion held by Egyptologists that in saluting their king with their hands held

out before their faces the Egyptians were protecting their eyes against the glare of his solar radiance. In course of time, however, as religion became more and more spiritualized and the physical sun evaporated, as it were, the solar attributes of the king became less and less real and degenerated into what might sound mere bombast to those who do not know the origins. Sinhalese inscriptions are full of such grandiloquence as this: "He scattered his enemies even as the sun rising over the Orient Mount dispels darkness." Yet the Sinhalese distinctly remembered that their kings were of solar descent, so that such preambles were still far from being mere high-flown compliments. In Europe the sun was so completely eliminated that when the French courtiers hailed Louis XIV as the "Roi Soleil" they probably attributed to their fertile imagination what they really owed to a very ancient religion, forgotten indeed, yet still influencing human speech and thought.

Though the sun is the most important god incarnate in the king, yet he is not the only one. There is the Moon also, and in India we hear of a lunar dynasty which is closely connected with the solar.

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

II

GOD SAVE THE KING !

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

The ancient peoples of Bactria and the Near East were not content with wishing victory to their kings, but ascribed it to them in various titles such as Conqueror, Bearer of Victory, Invincible. In Mongolia the title "king" properly means "conqueror." The Indians perhaps laid more stress than any other people on victory as an attribute of kings. They greeted their monarchs with the exclamation, "Be victorious," as we should say "Good morning"; and "victorious" was the constant epithet of an emperor. Several Sinhalese kings even called themselves at their accession Jaya or Vijaya, that is, Victory; and others named themselves Vikrama or Parākrama, that is, Conquering Advance. This insistence on victory is really extraordinary on the part of a people for the most part very unwarlike, who place their fighting classes very much below their priests and scholars, and who from early times have ever denounced violence and the taking of life as sins which bar the way to heaven. Yet this same people can be heard at the present day greeting one of the most consistent apostles of non-violence with the old acclamation, "May Gandhi conquer." Are they hopelessly inconsistent or have they something different in mind from what the word victory means to us? Victory must

mean something different to them since they call the year of accession of a king "the year of victory" even though he ascended the throne quite peaceably; and the accession of a Cambodian king, which is in Indian style, is described as a "victorious day" and is full of suggestions of a victory, which in our sense never existed, since the king was appointed by the French Government. There is, however, such a thing in India as a peaceful victory; an emperor may "conquer the sea-encircled earth without club or sword by the moral law." Listen to the Buddha:—

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

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

"Then, O Ananda, whatever rival kings there were in the eastern region, these came to the king Mahasudassana and said, 'Come, Great King; welcome, Great King;

¹ Elephants, chariots, cavalry, infantry.

this belongs to thee, Great King; teach us, Great King.'

"The king Mahasudassana spoke thus :

Ye shall slay no living thing.
 Ye shall not take what has not been given.
 Ye shall not act wrongly in sensual pleasures.
 Ye shall not speak a lie.
 Ye shall not drink intoxicating drink.
 Ye shall eat as has been eaten.

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

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

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

he "wheels round in a sunwise direction with the words, 'I have become endowed with energy and vigour!'"

Thus the victory which the king must win on ascending the throne turns out to be really a magical victory in a magical contest. Such contests are common in the Brahmanic writings: the gods and the demons are represented as constantly seeking to get the better of one another by excelling in the performance of the sacrifice. Here is an example: "The gods and the demons, both descended from Prajapati, were contending together. Then the demons, even through arrogance, thought, 'In whom shall we offer sacrifice?' and went on offering it into their own mouths. They, even through arrogance, were worsted. . . . But the gods went on making offerings to one another. . . . Thus the sacrifice became theirs." Here is another: "Now the gods and the demons, both descended from Prajapati, were contending; it was for this very sacrifice . . . they were contending, saying, 'Let it be ours, let it be ours.' Then the gods went on singing hymns and practising austerities . . .; they seized upon the Soma services, they possessed themselves of the whole sacrifice, and excluded the demons from the sacrifice." These legends are merely told as precedents by following which a man can "take possession of the whole sacrifice of his envious adversary, shut out his envious adversary from the whole of the sacrifice." Thus the Vedic sacrifice involves a contest between the sacrificer and his enemy, which if properly conducted will give the victory; but if there be any flaw in the ceremonies he plays into the hands of his adversary.

Koeppen describes a ritual victory such as still takes place in Tibet at the present day. At a certain festival "a monk represents the person of the Dalai Lama; a man from among the people is dressed up as King of the Demons. The latter meets the former in the neighbourhood of the convent of Labrang and says to him mockingly, 'What we perceive through the five sources of knowledge (the five senses) is no illusion; all that you teach is untrue.' The supposed Dalai Lama opposes this thesis: both dispute some time with one another. At last

the dice are used to decide who is right. The Dalai Lama throws sixes three times; the King of the Demons ones three times; for the former's dice bear six sixes, the latter's six ones. Then the Demon is seized with fear and takes to flight. The people follow him with cries."

Magical contests are not confined to the Indian world. It is clear that the great battle between Marduk, the Babylonian god, and the demons was a battle representing "the return of the sun from the regions of winter darkness, the victory of light over the dragon of storm and night." It was won by charms: first, Ea, perceiving the demon's plan, "devised for himself a curse having power over all things and he made it sure. He made skilfully his pure incantation, surpassing all. He recited it and caused it to be upon the waters. . . . Then he bound Apsû and slew him. Mummu he tied and his skull he crushed." The Finnish Kalevala is full of such contests. We expect such things in fabulous epics, but we scarcely expect to find them practical politics in Europe at the time of the Hundred Years' War; yet so it is. When Brother Francis was sent to win over the Venetians to the side of Edward III in the coming struggle against the French Crown he stated that his sovereign had, in order to avoid bloodshed, made to Philip of Valois the following proposal: "If he is, as he asserts, the true king of France let him prove it by exposing himself to hungry lions who never wound a true king; or let him perform the miracle of healing the sick, as other true kings are wont to do; otherwise he will admit himself to be unworthy of the Kingdom of France."

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

so that there may be abundance in the land. It is therefore as sun-god that the king conquers; the regal attribute of victory is really the sun's.

The victoriousness of the sun is not pure inference: to this day it is commemorated in Ceylon in such names as Jayasuriya, Vijayasuriya, "Sun of Victory," or Vikramasuriya, "Sun of Conquest." In more ancient times Jaya, that is, Victory, was one of the names of the sun. The Egyptians also enumerated victory among the qualities of the Sun-god. The Romans adopted from the Phœnicians the worship of Sol Invictus, the Invincible Sun, and the Roman emperors adopted his name as a title. When Diocletian divided the empire between two emperors he gave his colleague the divine title of Herculus with the duty of purging the earth of monsters and tyrants even as the god had done from whom he derived his new name.

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

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

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

Send him victorious,
Happy and glorious,

and to arise and

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

are we quite as free agents as we imagine ourselves to be? If we are asked why we express ourselves in such terms we shall almost certainly answer because it is a perfectly natural thing to do: what could be more natural than to wish victory to our king? But that word "natural" is a most dangerous word which we cannot admit into comparative history: it explains nothing, but serves merely as a cloak to our ignorance; when we look closely into the matter we shall usually find that a custom merely seems natural because we are used to it; it does not seem

natural to those who are not. When we think of it, is it so very natural for us to wish victory to the king? It may have been natural in ancient times and in the East when the king commanded in person, when the wars were his wars, and the mass of the people had no interest in them, but would plough their fields by the side of contending armies; but is it so very natural in these days when the king has no more stake in a war than the meanest citizen? To the French revolutionaries it seemed so contrary to reason that they eliminated the king from their anthem as from their State, and addressed their good wishes to the nation as a whole. Doubtless that is all that we mean when we pray God to grant victory to our king; we are wishing ourselves victory; but why this roundabout way? Can it be called natural to wish victory to someone else on our behalf? It may be solemn, it may be dignified, but it is not the effect of an instinctive reaction which is all we can mean by natural. Would it be considered natural to wish a school good luck on the football field by shouting, "May your Headmaster win"? We cannot help suspecting that when we say the king is merely the symbol of the whole nation and that is why we concentrate our wishes on him, we are really doing what the psychologists call rationalizing. When we are asked the reasons for our actions and cannot tell, either because we do not know them or because we do not want to know them, we rationalize, we invent a reason; subconsciously, for we are quite unaware of the process. In this case we cannot know the reason why we sing "God Save the King," because it is buried under the ruins of the past; and therefore we invent one. It is only after laborious grubblings that we discover that the ultimate cause is a forgotten theology; the immediate cause is the force of habit which compels us to repeat a formula of which sometimes only the meaning, sometimes even the very form, has been handed down to us by that ancient theology. Thus the words, "God Save the King," can be traced directly or through Byzantine rites to the coronation of the Roman emperors or of

Joash, King of Judah. On the other hand the imprecations on the king's enemies play around the theme which the Byzantine ritual expresses more briefly by the formula "Thou conquerest."

It may be objected that the enemies referred to in our national anthem are enemies of flesh and blood, at one time Germans, at another Frenchmen, or it may be Spaniards. The enemies of early kings are rather imaginary demons. How can there be any connection between the two? The gulf between spirits and men seems unbridgable. As a matter of fact, in ancient times it was very easily bridged. Just as the gods are impersonated by the king, so the demons have their human representatives. Thus in India any uninitiated man represents the demons; the fourth caste which is not admitted to initiation stands for the demons; foreigners were so much identified with the demons that they were constantly referred to as *yaksha*, *pisacha*, and such-like terms which describe varieties of demons. An easy way of routing the demons is thus to destroy their human representatives, a sure and visible way, not left largely to conjecture like ceremonial success. The ancients in fact did not distinguish between religious and secular wars. "Even the foreign policy of the Pharaohs," says Mr. Moret, "had no other apparent end than to maintain the sacred buildings: if we believe the official documents, the Asiatic wars undertaken by the Pharaohs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties were conquests of Amon." As a matter of fact the complete separation between spiritual and temporal victory seems to be quite a modern one. In the Roman Imperial Coronation Rite of the ninth century the earlier Byzantine ejaculations of "Thou conquerest" are represented by a series of acclamations: "Christ, our King, conquers; let Christ reign. Christ, our hope, conquers. Christ, our glory, conquers," and so forth. Throughout the mediæval rites, as we shall see in a later chapter, the enemies of the Church are invariably bracketed with those of the king, and both not infrequently with the powers of evil.

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

III

THE KING'S JUSTICE

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

Throughout Polynesia it is believed that the kings or chiefs have power over the crops. So dependent are the crops on the kings that the same word *sau* means king, peace, and prosperity.

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

kings = gods,

that kings can perform wonders.

Both the word and the idea of *mana* extend to Melanesia also. The Fijians believe that the food supply depends on the chief, though they have too much respect for authority to depose their chiefs as the Futunans and Savage Islanders do or used to do. On the other hand, the belief also prevailed that too close a contact of the chief with plants might blast them instead of promoting their growth. Thus the chief of Suva could not go into the plantations, or the crops would die, and when a certain chief of Naitasiri bathed in the river after a war all the fish perished for some distance down stream. The same opposite effects are traceable in the chief's power over disease: if any one lies on the bed of a Fijian chief or uses his clothes the supernatural efficacy of it infects the man so that he gets a swollen neck or belly; the chief touches the belly to remove the swelling.

The Malay king "is firmly believed to possess a personal influence over the works of nature, such as the growth of the crops and the bearing of fruit trees. This same property is supposed to reside even in the person of Europeans in charge of districts."

The supernatural efficacy of kings is writ large over the pages of Indian literature. Pali books call it "the king's *iddhi*." *Iddhi* is a word of which the meaning closely corresponds to that of *mana*; etymologically it means success, which is the most prominent idea in all definitions of *mana*. As examples of the king's *iddhi* the following stories will serve. King Dhananjaya and his court observed so carefully the five commandments which made up the Moral Law of the Kurus, "that in his kingdom it rained every ten days or a fortnight." In the same story when a famine afflicted the kingdom of Kalinga the king consulted his councillors, who said, "The kings of old, if it did not rain, gave gifts, kept a fast, observed the commandments, and entering their royal bed-chamber lay on a wooden couch for seven days; then it rained." The old chronicle of Ceylon relates that Elāra, a Tamil king who reigned about 140 B.C., was exceedingly righteous. A woman complained to him that the rain falling out of due season had spoilt the rice she had spread out to dry.

Elāra reflected, "A king who observes righteousness surely obtains rain in due season." So by penance he obtained from the gods that rain should only fall at night and once a week. As in Fiji, kings bore a title which means prosperity; that title was *Srī*. *Srī* is sometimes defined as food; it is also a goddess. The touch of Indian kings is divinely healing. As in Malaysia so in Ceylon the mantle of ancient kings had descended on the British official: one Government agent tells me he was once thanked on leaving a province for having given them rain in his time.

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

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

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

The invention of a man who did no work with his hands, but merely existed and acted on his environment at a distance, like the sun, was one of the most momentous in the history of man; it was nothing less than the invention of government, and if we cannot always find a scientific justification for the forms which the doctrine of the sun-man has impressed upon the institution of monarchy, yet the extraordinary persistence of those

forms and their amazing vitality suggest that they are less to blame than the imperfection of our moral science, and that monarchical government has a psychological value we are not yet in a position to understand.

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

We have seen the dependence of prosperity upon justice even more crudely expressed in India and Ceylon. The king's justice regulates the rainfall, and hence the crops. Here again I am using an inadequate word to render the Indian *dharma*, which covers much the same ground as the Greek *dikē*; our expression "law and order" perhaps renders best its meaning.

The following story from Khotan shows how much the course of nature was considered to depend on the king's virtue: "To the south-east of the capital about two hundred *li* or so is a great river flowing north-west. The people take advantage of it to irrigate their lands. After a time this stream ceased to flow. The king, greatly astonished at the strange event, ordered his carriage to be

equipped and went to an *arhat* (saint) and asked him, 'The waters of the great river, which have been so beneficial to man, have suddenly ceased. Is not my rule a just one? Are not my benefits (virtues) widely distributed through the world? If it is not so, what is my fault, or why is this calamity permitted?'" The *Mahābhārata* declares that "any king by good conduct can produce the age of bliss and perfection, or that of evil."

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

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

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

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

power seems to have been unconditional in the French royal family. The same change took place in England, beginning with Henry II.

From the Eastern end of our area the evidence is less satisfactory, though some trace of it can be found. A petty Fijian chief told me of his overlord: "Under Finau's rule there have been no famines; perhaps it is that his government is acceptable in Heaven, inasmuch as he has renounced his right of imposing statute-labour and of receiving the first-fruits." Thus the prosperity of the island was ascribed to the chief's remission of two heavy burdens. However, the traces are very faint in the Pacific; and this is not to be wondered at, since South Sea Island chiefs do not dispense justice and can hardly be said to govern in our sense of the word; their main function is to receive and give feasts, and to order people to work for a public festival, to build a nobleman's house or a state canoe; there is scope for benevolence, but hardly for justice; there are also opportunities of making ceremonial mistakes. Among the Wainunu tribes the chiefs were so afraid of making such mistakes that they would after a time abdicate in favour of another. The Fijians laid stress chiefly on right lineage: one tribe were suffering from scarcity when I visited them; they put it down to the fact that the Government had placed over them a man of the herald caste instead of the chiefly caste, and they complained that the late chief "had buried all the food with him when he died." Matrilineal tribes might put down a scarcity to the fact that the chief belonged to the male, instead of the female, line. In India also rightful succession was considered a condition of prosperity because it was bound up with law and order. The Buddhist Revelations thus describe the decadence that is to end this age: "In the course of time kings who are not of the right lineage will become unjust; the ministers and others will become unjust. By their injustice the god will not rain at all, then the crops will not flourish at all." Thus it was considered in India that usurpers could not rule justly, a conviction which the Fijians fully shared. The connection between

justice and right succession is presented to us from a different point of view in the story of the two brothers Devāpi and Santanu : Santanu, the younger, " crowned himself king, and the elder, Devāpi, practised penance. In Santanu's kingdom it did not rain for twelve years. The Brahmans said to him, ' You are guilty of sin, since passing over the eldest brother you got yourself crowned ; therefore the god does not send rain for you.' "

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

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

justice, and merely lead the state ceremonial; as a Fijian would put it, "they merely abide"; we on the other hand once had kings who ruled and administered justice, but we have thought it more expedient to strip them of all judicial and executive power.

Suppose, however, that men have for some reason or other set up a king who really rules, is it so very easy to observe the effects of his rule? As a matter of fact, it is most difficult to appraise the effects of a ruler's policy and character. Historians, who are in a far better position to do so than contemporaries, often find it hard to agree: did Cæsar do more good or more harm? Tiberius was once thought to be a monster, now he is praised for his wisdom. If it is so difficult to judge when time has at once abated passions and enlarged the vision, how much more difficult is it at close range in the turmoil of party feuds? There are those who assure you that Lloyd George won the war of 1914-18; others are equally positive it was no fault of his that we did not lose it. One party blames the Government for the depression of trade; the supporters of the Government hotly retort that their predecessors in office are the cause of the trouble; but the view of the vast neutral mass which swings like a pendulum at elections is very much that of the ancients—namely, that if things go wrong the Government must be a bad one. In all this uncertainty there is one fact that stands out as quite certain, and that is that a just and moral king is seldom the most successful. The character of Louis XI of France cannot be defended, yet the work which he did for France is praised by all historians, whereas grave doubts are expressed as to the benefits conferred on his country by Louis surnamed the Saint. The greatest rulers have seldom, if ever, been saints, yet it is the saint to whom popular opinion looked for successful crops.

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

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

In India the evidence is, I think, not so direct as it was for the king's miraculous efficacy, but it is sufficient. The Indians fully recognized the analogy between the unvarying course of the sun and moon and the seasons on one hand, and of the ritual and the moral order on the other. In fact the Vedic singers used but one word, *ṛta*, for both natural and moral law. Varuna was the celestial god who upheld both, and he was therefore entitled "Lord of Law." Now Varuna was pre-eminently a kingly god; he is constantly referred to as King Varuna; he was the sovereignty just as Mitra was the priesthood; he was one of the gods who entered into the composition of the king; and there was a special sacrifice which identified the king with Varuna. It is inevitable then that sacred kings should also bear the title of Lord of Law, a title which survives to this day in Bhutan. The *Satapatha* directly connects law and order with the sun: "Right is this Fire, Truth is yonder Sun; or rather Right is yonder Sun, and Truth is this Fire." Fire being the earthly counterpart of the sun, both statements are interchangeable. The Buddhist Wheel of the Law is a transparent solar symbol; when the new emperor, as described in our second chapter, performs the ceremony of setting in motion the Wheel of the Law, he is merely launching the sun on an orderly course which beats time for the universe and for man. "The king whose forehead has received the royal consecration," says the *Lalita Vistara*, "having thrown his mantle over one shoulder, and placed his right knee on the ground, with his right hand pushes the divine wheel, saying, 'Turn, venerable and divine treasure of the wheel, with the Law, but not against the Law.'" The conception of the sun as the upholder of law and order has left to the Sinhalese such names as Vimaladharmasuriya, "Sun-of-the-Spotless-Law." It has penetrated even among the aboriginal tribes of India, for to this day the Oraons

worship the sun under the name of Dharmdevatā, God of Right, and address him as Dharmi, the Righteous one.

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

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

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

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

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

the Avenging Goddesses, the helpers of Justice, would find him out." Whether, however, Justice was the Sun or over the Sun its rule extended alike over nature and human affairs.

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

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

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

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

both the philosopher and the poet were merely speaking in terms of an old religion, a religion which has only recently been rediscovered, but which none the less continues to provide men with modes of expression and forms of pageantry, if nothing more. The aroma still hangs about after the substance has disappeared. The ancient

parallel of the heavenly order and the moral law is now nothing more than a beautiful conception susceptible of beautiful expression. The early pioneers of thought who first discovered this parallel were in quest of more solid, if less sublime, results. They were not seeking to give themselves poetic thrills, but to abolish the uncertainty of existence by solving the eternal problem of the weather. To some extent they did succeed in abolishing that uncertainty, not in the way they thought by controlling the forces of nature, but by controlling themselves and by presenting a more united front to the buffets of fickle nature.

IV

THE CORONATION CEREMONY

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

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

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

C. (1) Persons not admissible to the sacrifice, such as strangers, sinners, women, and children, are kept away, and are not allowed to know anything; (2) an armed guard prevents prying eyes.

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

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

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

G. He receives communion in one or two kinds.

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

I. The King is invested with special garments.

J. He is baptized with water,

K. and anointed with oil,

L. when a human victim is killed,

M. and the people rejoice with noise and acclamations,

N. and a feast is given.

O. The King is crowned,

P. puts on shoes,

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

R. and sits upon a throne.

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

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

U. He receives a new name.

V. The Queen is consecrated with the King.

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

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

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

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

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

We shall first pass in review the ceremonial in usage among the Fijians.

"On the day on which the chief drinks kava until the drinking is over it is forbidden to any one to go out of doors or for any child to cry. This lasts four nights.

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

Our narrator has omitted several details which were given me elsewhere, and were said to be universal in Fiji. Thus before the ceremony all the children are removed from the village lest they should cry, and all the women retire also. Men armed with clubs mount guard to see that no one speaks and to prevent any one coming that way after the ceremony has begun. Any one who does is fined. In the course of the ceremony a man, or it may be two, armed with clubs will in some cases come up to the new chief, and offer to fight for the chief and be his defence. The admonition as given in the text is addressed to the people only, but other accounts state that the masters of ceremony, while they tie the cloth on the chief's arm or before doing so, admonish him "to be kind to the people, not to be choleric, to make the people of the land at home, to invite them often, to be kind to them that they may enjoy his company." The crossing of the legs was said to be universal, and elsewhere it was stated that the cup-bearer was deliberately grotesque, yet that any one who laughed would be fined.

The observances at a Fijian chief's consecration have much in common with those that follow a chief's death.

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

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

stream. As they attend the chief on his last journey they hold their great fans close to the ground to shelter him, because 'His soul is only a little child.' The installation of Tui Mavana so far from upsetting the theory of ceremonial death confirms it, for in order to be reborn you must first die.

Reborn as what? The Fijians nowhere explicitly tell us; most probably they do not know. We are thus reduced to inference. We know that a chief represents the god. We know that the ceremonial drinking of kava introduces a god or departed spirit into the man who drinks. Lastly, we know that bark-cloth is frequently used to catch and secure gods and souls, and it was commonly hung in temples as the path followed by the gods when they came down to give oracles. A legend of Matuku makes it quite plain that this is the function of the bark-cloth in the installation ceremony. This legend tells us that a god presented to a man of Matuku a snake which was the ancestor-god of the nobles of that island. The god tied a piece of bark-cloth, saying, "Behold the cloth of sovereignty. If you take the snake and install a chief tie the cloth on his arm." The nobles followed these instructions, and ever since when they install a King of Yaroi they tie a piece of bark-cloth on his arm, and leave it four nights. At the end of that time the cloth is slipped off and the knot is pulled tight. The cloth is then kept in a box as "the cloth of the land." When the chief dies the cloth is buried with him. These facts lead us to interpret the Fijian rites as follows: the god is brought to the chief in the bark-cloth; he is put into the chief in the form of kava; the chief's old self dies and the god takes its place as a new self which is born, nursed into life, and bathed to cleanse it of the impurities of the womb.

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

- A. Theory: death and rebirth as a god.
- C. Exclusion of women and strangers; armed guard.
- D. Silence, quiescence, as at a death.
- E. Champion offers his services to the chief. There is, however, no battle.

F. Admonition to rule kindly.

G. Drinking of ambrosia, and distribution of food.

H. Antics.

I. Tying on the cloth of sovereignty.

J. Ceremonial bathing.

L. A human victim is killed for the bathing.

M. Noise and rejoicing after the bathing.

N. Feast at the bathing.

O. There is no investiture with the crown, but the chief is the only one allowed to wear a turban unless the privilege has been granted to some clan.

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

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

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

Z. There are degrees of consecration.

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

A. It is truly gratifying to find that the theory which was only inferred in Fiji is stated in plain terms in the *Satapatha Brahmana*. We are there told that the officiating priest invests the king with a garment called *tārpya* "and says, 'Thou art the inner caul of sovereignty.' He thus causes him to be born out of what is the inner caul of sovereignty." He then puts on a second garment, "saying, 'Thou art the outer caul of sovereignty.' He thus causes him to be born from what is the outer caul of dominion. He then throws over him the mantle with 'Thou art the womb of sovereignty.' He thus causes him to be born from what

is the womb of sovereignty. As to why he makes him put on the garments; he thereby causes him to be born." Could anything be more explicit? I cannot indeed find any reference to death, but rebirth presupposes death; you cannot be reborn without dying first.

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

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

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

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

G. Soma, which we have identified with the Polynesian kava, figures several times in the Indian consecration; but it is not like kava the culminating point; indeed it would be easy to miss it in the mass of minute prescriptions and endless commentaries.

I. The garments with which the Indian king is invested have already been described together with their function: they represent the various membranes of the

womb into which the king is supposed to enter in order to be born again. They are termed the cauls and the womb of dominion or sovereignty. After putting on the womb the priest hands to the king five dice, saying, "Thou art the master; may these five regions of thine (i.e., the four points of the compass and the zenith) fall to thy lot." Sovereignty is thus acquired by the decision of the dice, and this reminds us of the game played for supremacy between the Dalai Lama and the King of the Demons in Tibet, and thus leads us back to the idea of victory.

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

K. After he has been anointed with various kinds of water the king is anointed with clarified butter. This is evidently part of the lustration, and oil is merely one of the liquids used. In the installation of a king of Kosala's queen, oil was poured out of three conches just like the water in Ceylon.

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

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

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

Q. The king is given a wooden sword which is called

thunderbolt. A thunderbolt is any sacrificial object that repels the demons.

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

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

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

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

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

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

A. The theory of the Cambodian consecration is not indicated. As the Cambodians are Buddhists, doubtless the king's godhead is much attenuated, as in Ceylon and other Buddhist countries, but he is very much in touch

with the gods and there is a special deity that abides in the throne room and gives him good counsel.

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

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

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

I. The ministers place on the king's shoulders a royal mantle, red, with gold embroidery. If this is the old "mantle of dominion" it has got misplaced because the theory has been forgotten: theory requires that the womb garments should come before the lustration, but in Cambodia the mantle comes after.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

R. a throne.

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

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

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

A. The idea that death is a rebirth was so consistently carried out in Egypt that from the earliest period "all

the episodes of the divine nativity, such as they are found applied to kings in the temples," were also applied to the dead: they were conceived and born, Isis suckled them, they became kings. The funerary rites which consecrated the dead as gods were identical with those which made the king a god during his lifetime. We may either say that when the living king is represented on monuments as being suckled by the wife of the principal god after the daily ritual he is imitating the rebirth of the dead, or that when the dead are suckled by Isis they repeat the king's consecration. It is all one, since

death = birth = coronation.

The king was reborn as the result of lustration.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

P. At the Sed festival, after the coronation, the priests tied under the king's feet lotus and papyrus to symbolize

the union of North and South. (Note that in Indian sculpture the gods constantly have lotuses underneath their feet.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

K. The king is anointed with oil.

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

O. The king was crowned.

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

Some protest may be raised when we go on to include the triumphal procession of a victorious Roman general in our collection of coronation rites. Why bring in a ceremony that can so easily be explained as an ebullition of joy over a victory? What need is there of connecting it with Eastern coronation rites? Because mere rejoicing is quite inadequate to explain the details of the ceremony. Mere joy may cause people to jump and dance, to laugh, and possibly shout; it does not make them walk in procession, clothe the victor in a god's garments, or offer a sacrifice carefully regulated by ritual books.

In order to produce this result very definite ideas must be added to the joy, and what are those ideas? We may use as a clue the Tamil custom that a king crowns himself on capturing a city. Is it possible that the triumph owes its origin to the ancient bond between victory and consecration?

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

E. The abolition of kingship in Rome has done away with the main purpose of the ceremony and left the idea of victory in sole possession. It has degenerated into a mere pageant of victory. Yet the old idea of dominion, for which victory was merely the preparation, survives in the fiction that the victorious general holds dominion or sovereignty during his triumph. Normally a general on entering the city loses his *imperium*, that is dominion or sovereignty, the Roman equivalent of the Indian *Kshatra*. But when the general is allowed a triumph, a special law is passed in order that he may retain dominion for the duration of his triumph. Why should all this trouble be taken over an ephemeral and purely nominal sovereignty unless it was a survival of something which was essential to the whole ceremony? In India the attainment of dominion was the very purpose of the whole rite, and we may conjecture that the legally-minded Romans, while abolishing the substance, retained the form.

G. The idea of communion is implied in the sacrifice. Ambrosia seems, however, to have become very much

atrophied in Roman ritual and to reduce itself to pouring wine on the victim.

H. The soldiers make obscene jests.

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

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

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

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

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

P. He wore gilt shoes and

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

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

T. With the abolition of kingship the rite of consecration appears to have dropped out altogether. The Republic could not tolerate a ceremonial which transformed a man into a king. Nothing therefore intervenes between the victory and the final procession: there is no unction; the victor appears clad in divine garments, but we assist at no investiture; he wears a crown, but we are shown no coronation ceremony. Perhaps we may look upon the proclamation of the general as *imperator* after the battle as an atrophied remnant of a once elaborate installation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

G. The communion was naturally no part of the coronation rite, since that rite was originally pagan. It gradually became associated with it and became essential to the Russian rite, which is the modern representative of the Byzantine. It might be argued that we have here a case of independent origin; that the presence of the communion in the Byzantine rite is pure accident, and not a continuous tradition; that what has happened in

Constantinople may well have happened elsewhere, and that many features which we have taken to be evidence of a common origin would turn out to be really intrusive elements if we had a complete documentary record as in the case of the Byzantine Empire. I do not think the argument is sound. The idea of communion was present in the old triumph, though in an atrophied form; it was completely abrogated with paganism; but it was reintroduced by Christianity from the East, where divine kingship and the consecration of kings remained at all times exceedingly tenacious of life. If it was not a case of survival neither was it one of new creation; it was one of revival. Just so the Oxford Movement has resuscitated old English practices that had vanished from the English Church, but were preserved by the Roman.

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

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

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

O. The crown,

P. the purple buskins and scarlet shoes,

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

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

The Abyssinian rite is worth noticing in spite of our

meagre records, on account of one peculiar rite which I take to represent the king's magical victory.

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

G. The Negus receives the Holy Sacrament after

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

O. The crown and

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

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

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

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

The significance of this hymn will be the better understood if we remember that this is the hymn prescribed by the Roman and the Anglican Churches for Whitsun-day, and refers to Acts ii. 2, "And suddenly there came from heaven a sound as of the rushing of a mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them tongues parting asunder, like as of fire, and it sat upon each one of them." Robert Grosseteste declared that the anointed king received "the septiform gift of the Holy Spirit." The mediæval authors found their conception expressed by 1 Samuel x. 6: "And he was turned into another man." The king, in short, was born again and his consecration was a baptism. "As at baptism the sins are forgiven, so also at the entering into religion," says Jean Golein in the fourteenth century, and since, "when the king divests himself, the meaning is that he relinquishes the former worldly estate to take that of the royal religion," therefore it follows "that the king is as much cleansed of his sins" as one who takes orders. Jean Golein further compares the royal unction to the baptism of Christ. The idea of rebirth was therefore clearly present to the minds of mediæval writers. Of the idea of death there appears to be no trace unless we are to see a survival of it in the king's lying prostrate while the Litany is sung before the unction in the Roman Imperial, the Roman Royal, the Old English, and the French rites.

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

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

proper is very likely to be omitted by treatises on the ritual.

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

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

numbered with infidels and devils among the army of Satan and the enemies of God.

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

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

I. There are *three* robes. The third is the *imperial* mantle or pall. I italicize the term imperial. The words which the Archbishop speaks while the Dean of Westminster puts on the mantle contain the idea of universal dominion: "Receive this Imperial Pall, which is formed with four corners, to let you know that the four corners of the world are subject to the power and empire of God, and that no man can reign happily upon earth, who hath not derived his authority from heaven." This imperial mantle is mighty like the womb of dominion of the Brahmana. But if the three robes are the womb, then their putting on is in the wrong place, for in our ritual they follow the unction, and a man cannot be baptized and then enter the womb. The Spanish rite

answers this objection : in its earliest form, which is the earliest recorded Western rite, the king is arrayed in his robes before the unction. The rite of Navarre gives us the reason for the displacement : there the king first "disrobes and is arrayed in white vestments designed with special openings to admit of the anointing." What has happened then is this : the old meaning which required that the mantle should precede the unction, as conception precedes baptism, was lost, and thus a different motive was allowed to assert itself, a disinclination to soil the precious vestments of the coronation ; considerations of a purely material order invaded the place left vacant by theology. A good example of loss of meaning, which is perhaps the commonest cause of change in custom.

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

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

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

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

P. The shoes have been discontinued since George II.

Q. The regalia include the sword, which in most Western rites is brandished three times. The prayer used in the time of Charles V indicates as clearly as possible that the sword is intended to win spiritual victories.

It asks God "to show favour to our most Christian King that all the might of his enemies may be broken by the power of the spiritual sword." This sword is to protect not only the kingdom entrusted to him but also the "fortresses of God." The sword is essentially a sword of justice wherewith the king "enforces the power of justice and with strength destroys the might of injustice. . . . Mercifully helps and defends widows and orphans." The idea of justice is also associated with the verge. The sceptre has become the symbol of royal power. The fact that the ring is placed on the marriage finger will assume considerable importance in the next chapter. It does not appear to be derived from Constantinople.

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

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

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

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

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

V

THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY

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

The Malays have been profoundly influenced by India, and it is probable that in this they are merely following India; for nowhere, perhaps, is the royal state of bride and bridegroom so clearly expressed as in that country. Mrs. Stevenson thus comments on a Brahmanical wedding in Gujerat: "Now if we are to understand the salient points of a wedding, particularly a *Nāgara* wedding . . . we must grasp the idea that on their wedding day . . . the little bride and bridegroom represent Siva

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

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

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

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

Why these royal honours paid to bride and bridegroom? The most obvious explanation is that in the countries under review marriage is of royal origin: originally a ceremony observed by the king and the queen, it spread downwards to the lowest classes; but not always so far down: for instance, in Ceylon there

are various degrees of marriage ceremonial in the upper classes, but the ordinary villagers have none at all; they simply cohabit. In Wallis Island, between Samoa and Fiji, I could find no marriage ceremony, the reason apparently being that Wallis is a plebeian colony from Tonga and has no real aristocracy to speak of.

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

The first point to note is that the king's marriage is constantly associated with his consecration. The old chronicle of Ceylon tells us that when Vijaya, scion of the solar line (I insist on the solar line), landed in Ceylon from Northern India and conquered the island, he took to wife Kuveni, the enchantress, the Circe of Ceylon. After a time "all his companions came together and addressed the prince: 'Sir, be consecrated in the kingship.' Though thus advised, the prince did not desire consecration unless a maiden of royal stock were consecrated as queen." So he sent to Pandu, King of Madhura, and asked for his daughter. Pandu sent her, and then "according to custom all the councillors assembled and consecrated Vijaya in the kingship and held a great festival." We gather from this that in Ancient India a king could not be consecrated without a queen. The rule is actually stated in the *Satapatha* thus: "For she, inasmuch as she is his wife, is half of himself. Therefore as long as he does not find a wife, so long he is not born, for so long he is not complete. But in finding a wife he is born, for then he becomes complete." In other words, a man cannot attain to rebirth in the course of the royal consecration except with his wife, because without a consort he is not complete. We must then add another item to our coronation scheme. We shall call it *V*. It is not surprising, then, that marriage and coronation often coincide. Thus the father of Siddhārtha, who was later to become the Buddha, brought home Yasodharā, his sister's daughter, to be his son's bride; "he appointed Yasodharā to be the principal queen of Siddhārtha;

and placing them upon a mound of silver, he poured the oil of consecration upon them from three chank-shells, one of gold, one of silver, and the third a shell opening to the right hand ; after which he bound upon their heads the royal diadem, and delivered over to them the whole kingdom." A royal marriage is indeed an unction of the queen ; thus when the King of Kosala married a Sākya maiden he " adorned her, placed her on a heap of jewels and anointed her to be his chief queen."

The nobles of Ithaka, confident that their king Odysseus would never come home, decided to replace him by one of themselves. The successor had to be the one selected by Penelope to be her husband ; but as she continually deferred a decision the throne remained empty. There seems, then, at first sight to have been a rule that a man to become king must marry his predecessor's widow. Ædipus followed this rule when he married the widow of the late King of Thebes and succeeded to the throne. It is dangerous, however, to base conclusions on one country only. We must compare the practice of Greece with that of allied nations. India we know is allied to Greece by language and tradition ; furthermore, Odysseus makes his appearance with Circe in Ceylon as Vijaya and Kuvēni. Now Vijaya in order to become King of Ceylon did not marry the widow of a previous king, since there was no such king, but he imported a royal maiden from India. She did not belong to Ceylon any more than he did ; it was in virtue of her royal blood, not of her nationality, that she enabled him to be consecrated King of Ceylon. In the same way Penelope, though not a lady of Ithaka, could with her hand bestow the sovereignty of Ithaka. The mediæval Knight of the Swan, variously called Helyas and Lohengrin, marries the heiress of Bouillon in the French version, of Brabant in the German, and thus becomes Lord of Bouillon or Prince of Brabant. Wolfram of Eschenbach sums up the story thus :—

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

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

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

In France in 856 Judith was married to Ethelwulf, King of England, "and was crowned at the time of her marriage." The coronation prayers were inserted in the marriage rite. Ten years later the coronation of Queen Hermintrude at Soissons was "still more a special adaptation of the nuptial ceremony." As late as Charles V the prayer at the crowning of the queen is worded as if she was for the first time united to the king : "Grant that thy handmaid enter with mercy into a worthy and sublime union with our King." The object of this formal union is fertility : "May she deserve to be made fruitful with the fruit of her womb."

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

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

All these facts reveal a close connection between royal marriage and royal consecration, so close as to suggest that marriage is nothing but that part of the consecration in which the queen appears alongside the king. It was

quite essential that she should take some part in the ritual. The *Satapatha Brahmana* has given us a reason why; but while we should always give ear to what that book has to say, we should never accept its theories without further confirmation: they may be quite wrong (though I think that will appear to be rarely the case), or the explanation may be incomplete or obscure. In this case the reason it gives is not satisfying: when we are told that the king is not complete without a mate we do not feel that we are much wiser, that we have been led back to an ultimate and adequate cause.

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

King = god.

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

Queen : King = Earth : gods;
 King = god;
 ∴ Queen = Earth.

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

Queen = mahishī,
 Earth = mahishī,
 ∴ Queen = Earth.

This identity is further confirmed by the rite of earth-touching in the *pravargya* sacrifice. The sacrificer “touches the earth and mutters, ‘Thou art Manu’s mare’; for this earth in the shape of a mare carried Manu, and he is her lord Prajāpati, with that mate, his favourite abode, he thus completes him.” The earth in

the *pravargya* takes the place of the queen in the king's consecration, and is united to the king as his consort directly without the intervention of a human representative.

Later Indian thought gave to the idea that the male is heaven and the female earth a development to which we shall have to recur. From the idea of sky they passed to the immaterial and thence to spirit; from the idea of earth to that of matter, body. "The god is the enjoyer, and the goddess the enjoyed, he the soul and she the body," says the *Mahābhārata*. The idea became a favourite theme of Tibetan art. The following equivalences are the result :

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

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

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

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

character of a Malay wedding, whereas sporting conflicts are constantly associated with a king's accession.

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

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

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

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

E. Conflict and victory appeared in that form of marriage which was practised by the nobility and which was known as "the bride's choice": the suitors performed deeds of valour in presence of the princess, who selected the best. The Brahmans, as we might expect,

preferred victory by sacrifice ; thus in Gujerat they make a series of offerings to fire "in order to win bodily strength for the young husband"; these offerings are called *jayahoma*, which means "victory-offering."

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

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

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

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

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

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

When the Ithakan pretendants, weary of waiting, resolved to force Penelope to choose a husband and a king, they resorted to a form of selection which in India, under the name of the bride's choice, was considered typical of the kshatriya or royal caste—namely, a sporting contest. The particular sport which they chose—stringing a bow and shooting with it—figures also in the wooing of Prince Siddhārtha, later the Buddha. Œdipus had to overcome the Sphinx in order to marry Jocasta and succeed to the kingdom. The same form of marriage is illustrated also

by the story of Atalanta, except that here the bride herself is the champion, a variant which also occurs in the Germanic legend of Brunhild. Helyas, alias Lohengrin, wins his wife by a ritual combat. In one old German version his adversary Telramund is a rival suitor to Elsa's hand; in other versions he has become her wicked adversary. The marriage and installation of the Knight of the Swan are followed by a tour of all the fiefs to receive the homage of the vassals:—

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

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

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

A. Of course we do not hold that the bridegroom represents the sky or the bride the earth. That theology has been dead many centuries; but we know that extinct theologies continue, often for ages, to influence the phraseology of their successors; the new wine is often put into the old bottles. Perhaps we can discern such a survival in the form of words which the Prayer-Book has borrowed from St. Paul, describing matrimony as "an

honourable estate, instituted of God in the time of man's innocency, signifying unto us the mystical union that is betwixt Christ and his Church." We know that Christ has succeeded to many of the attributes of the sun-god in a sublimated form. Of that more hereafter. We may be tempted to surmise that the Church on earth has taken the place of the Earth. We see this substitution actually taking place in a modern French communion hymn depicting the union of Christ with the worshipper: "Heaven has visited the earth, my well-beloved reposes in me; of holy love it is the mystery, O my soul, worship and be silent." Thus the old beliefs which began before our earliest written records continue to supply Christianity with its imagery. What was once a practical rite for the securing of posterity and abundance has dwindled to a mere metaphor. We have indirect confirmation that St. Paul was influenced by the old beliefs in his First Corinthians xii. 27: "Now ye are the body of Christ and severally members thereof." And again, "Even so ought husbands also to love their own wives as their own bodies. He that loveth his own wife loveth himself: for no man ever hated his own flesh; but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as Christ also the Church, because we are members of his body." Here the husband is compared to the soul, and the wife to the body, just as in the later mystical phase of Indian religion. There result from this passage of the epistle the following equivalences:—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

N. There is always a feast after the wedding.

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

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

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

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

VI

THE PRIEST

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

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

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

In ancient India the priests were no less divine than the king; both could go through a consecration ceremony called *vājapeya*, which was the same in both cases, but

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

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

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

A. Buddhism does not, as is often imagined, deny the existence of the gods. It looks upon existence as an evil,

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

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

E. Buddhism condemns fighting and rejects ritual as a means of salvation. How, then, is the Buddha, without sword or spells, to win that victory without which no king can be installed? He fights Desire, the arch-enemy of man, the cause of death and rebirth, and of all pain. Desire, as the god Mara, assails him with an army of frightful demons, and, when fear fails, he tries the seduction of his daughters; but the Sage remains unmoved, the victory is won and straightway he attains to that long-sought illumination, and becomes a Buddha. In honour of that victory he is constantly styled the Conqueror, and his reign is the Conqueror's Cycle.

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

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

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

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

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

O. Of the five Indian regalia the crown has to go because the monk must shave his head and go bareheaded. Yet tradition was too strong for orthodoxy ; art insisted

on retaining a knot of hair over the Buddha's forehead, while surrendering the turban which covers it in kings and princes. The sword also has to go because it is contrary to the gospel of peace.

P. There remain the sandals,

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

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

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

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

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

The analogy of Emperor and Sage is kept up to the end of the Buddha's career. When it is approaching, Ananda, his favourite disciple, asks how his obsequies are to be performed, and the Buddha replies, "As the remains of an emperor are treated, O Ananda, so must a Messiah's remains be treated," and he proceeds to give full details how the body is to be dressed, cremated, and the ashes deposited in a round tumulus, for the Buddha and the

Emperor are the two persons entitled to such a tumulus. The Buddha expires on a lion-couch: even so the Egyptian kings long before had been laid out on lion-couches. After an emperor's death his eldest son *may* continue to turn the wheel set in motion by his father; after the Buddha's death his disciple Sariputra continues to turn the wheel of the law set in motion by the Master.

The solar attributes of the Buddha long ago suggested that he was nothing more than a solar myth, nothing but an expression in human terms of solar phenomena. I think his lineal descent from that very real personage, the sun-king, sufficiently explains his halo, his wheel, his miraculous power, in particular that of making flames and water issue from the body (for the sun causes rain), and whatever other solar attributes the Buddha may possess. The analogy of sun, moon, king, priest, and sage was very much present to the Indian mind and is expressed in verse 387 of the *Dhammapada*: "The sun blazes by day, the moon shines by night, the armed prince blazes, the meditating brahman blazes, but all day and night the Buddha blazes with his splendour."

We will not here discuss what is the exact relation between the Christian and the Buddhist cycles; it suffices that they are obviously related. In fact the Christ's career reproduces so many details of the Buddha's that we may be content with a summary. He is a lineal descendant of the ancient kings of Judah. His birth is ushered in by prophecies of victory over the enemies of Israel followed by a reign of righteousness. There is an option between worldly empire and the kingdom of heaven, but this option does not appear till the temptation as an offer of the Tempter. Thus by accident or design Christian thought has avoided the difficulty of an option which either implies that an omniscient god is in doubt about his future course, or which is meaningless because it does not really exist. Christian thought has therefore dropped the pre-natal prophecies of an alternative, and remembers only the efforts of the Tempter to make the Sage choose the worldly career. Then Christ retires into the desert to fast, then follows a spiritual

contest with the Evil One in which Christ is victorious. He then returns "in the power of the spirit" to Galilee and preaches. We might be inclined to identify the first sermon of Jesus with the first sermon of the Buddha, but I think it is in the Sermon on the Mount that we have to seek the equivalent; for that is the occasion of the promulgation of the New Law. But the New Law takes an entirely original turn: it is no longer content to repeat, and perhaps expand, those old-world prohibitions, the Mosaic Commandments and the Buddhist Precepts; they merely supply the form into which a new gospel of positive endeavour is expressed. The original vivifying spirit of Christianity has thus taken us very far indeed from the king's coronation oath, so far that we should never have dreamt of connecting with it the Sermon on the Mount did not India supply the links. Here is an example how things utterly dissimilar in form can have a common origin, while things similar may in reality be independent. But to proceed: the lustration is not omitted, but transposed to the very beginning of Christ's career, and precedes the fasting and the victory; its significance, however, remains the same: "And the Holy Ghost descended in bodily shape like a dove upon Him, and a voice came from heaven, which said, 'Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased.'" The communion has become detached from the consecration and placed towards the end of Christ's career. At the same time it receives an entirely new significance. The investiture is also detached and becomes one of the closing episodes; it also completely changes its meaning: it is a mock investiture with a scarlet robe, a crown of thorns, and a reed for a sceptre. The queen's consecration has vanished entirely; but the idea was, as we have seen, revived by St. Paul as a symbol to express the mystic union of Christ and His Church. The consecration of Christ's apostles does not take place till after His death, at the Pentecost, when they all become "filled with the Holy Ghost."

With the consecration of our own bishops we return to a more rigid observance of the ancient ritual, as may be

expected of a real ceremonial performed for a member of an established hierarchy.

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

B. Fasting is implied by the communion.

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

G. There is a communion.

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

K. There is an unction.

O. The mitre corresponds to the crown.

P. The gaiters are also part of the bishop's outfit.

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

R. The bishop has a throne.

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

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

VII

INITIATION

INITIATION ceremonies throughout the world are usually an introduction to adult life and occur at, or about, puberty. In Fiji we can find in them a number of points in common with the installation of a chief.

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

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

F. There are two admonitions: the first one immediately precedes the feast, after which the initiates become accepted members of the society; they are warned "solemnly against disclosing to the uninitiated any of the mysteries they have seen and heard." The second admonition takes place after the final bathing. The chief priest points out to the new members the duties which now devolve on them, enjoins strict observance of the tribal customs, threatens them with the sure vengeance of the gods if they reveal the mysteries to the uninitiated.

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

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

J. The novices bathe at the very end.

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

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

We next come to Ceram of the Moluccas a westerly outpost of Melanesian civilization. The Black Patasiwa tribes have a secret society called Kakihan.

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

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

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

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

K. Then they are smeared with oil.

Q. They are given staves an ell long.

After an interval of twenty to thirty days they go and have their hair cut in the bush. We have already noticed the hair-cutting ceremony that concludes the Vedic king's consecration.

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

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

second on binding the girdle," the girdle being the most important of the initiation rites.

D. The night before is spent in absolute silence.

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

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

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

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

P. The boy receives an umbrella and shoes.

Q. He is given a staff.

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

T. The boy walks round the fire.

U. He receives a new name.

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

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

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

B. The sincere devotees appear to have fasted for nine

days before the mysteries; others merely abstained from certain foods.

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

E. A sham fight and games took place at the end of the mysteries. If it is the equivalent of the contest and victory of the royal consecration it should come somewhere at the beginning. We are too much used, however, to cases of displacement to regard this as an insuperable objection; yet whenever such displacements do occur they are a difficulty which has to be overcome; we must seek for definite evidence that a displacement has taken place, or, failing that, must show good reason why such a displacement should have taken place. I would suggest here that the tremendous development which the Greek passion for athletics gave to religious contests is the cause of their displacement: they became an end in itself; their original meaning was lost, so that there was no reason to keep them in their proper place at the beginning; but they might easily be moved for the sake of convenience, and it is obviously more convenient to have them at the end than to keep the whole ceremonial in suspense till the sports have been disposed of.

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

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

H. "They had a bridge between Athens and Eleusis, and, as the people passed it in solemn procession, they had an old custom of abusing whom they would." It is not certain whether this was on the way in or out from

Athens. The Eleusinian legend also relates how Iambe succeeded in making Demeter laugh, and thus put an end to her fast.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A. The initiates underwent a baptism of blood which

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

O. Q. The neophyte who aspired to the rank of soldier "was presented with a crown on a sword. He thrust it back with his hand and caused it to fall on his shoulder, saying that Mithra was his only crown." This rite, then, has undergone the same change as the Armenian matrimonial coronation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C. The candidate lives in seclusion.

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

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

O. Hats are used, of which one type is crested and distinctly recalls the helmet worn by Hawaiian chiefs. The same type of crested helmet forms part of a secret society mask from New Britain.

X. The hats are combined with masks. This would appear at first sight to be peculiar to secret societies, for we have nowhere found it in the king's consecration.

But there is nothing really very new in masks. The chief object of masks is to complete the resemblance of the consecrated person to the spirit he impersonates, in the Banks Islands to the spirits of the dead. But we have already seen that the king frequently achieves this end by dressing up like a god : Pharaoh at the Sed festival, the King of the Kurus at the festival of Citraraja, the victorious Roman general at his triumph. There is no new principle involved in a mask ; it is doubtful whether even the application of this principle is new.

Y. These masks in the Banks Islands often have the form of animals, and in these cases it is from animals that the societies take their names. I know of no direct evidence that kings disguised themselves as animals, but priests certainly did, and priests are admissible as evidence, since they share a common origin with kings. The Babylonian priests occasionally dressed up as fishes. M. Moret agrees with Sir Gaston Maspero that the scenes engraved on the walls of Egyptian temples " corresponded to pure reality ; that for his union with the queen the king assumed, originally, the costume and the person of Amon ; that for the delivery of his daughter the priests and priestesses put on the costumes, masks, and insignia of the gods Bes, Apit, Hathor, Khnumu, etc." These gods were animal-headed. Elsewhere we see on the monuments a priest dressed up like the hawk-headed Horus, a character that also belongs to the king. The king himself had something of an animal nature, since he was called snake-lord of Buto and hawk-lord of Hieraconpolis ; and in pre-dynastic times we hear of a scorpion king. Ancient India swarmed with cobra-kings, nor were bird-kings uncommon. The Sinhalese kings, who styled themselves emperors, traced their descent from a lion who carried away a human princess and by her begot a son who had the hands and feet of a lion ; this was in accordance with the Indian belief that the Great Man, the genus of the two species emperor and sage, had the jaw of a lion, and was a lion in the front part of the body. The secret societies have in their animal impersonations merely preserved a very archaic feature

which divine kingship lost at a very remote period before the beginnings of our records. There was an excellent reason why it should be lost, for it was quite inconsistent with the growing dignity and temporal power of kings.

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

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

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

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

J. The initiates bathe.

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

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

A. A god, who is father's father to the tribe, comes down from heaven for the purpose of making the boys

into men. How this is done is not clear, either by reason of the ignorance of the natives themselves or because of the imperfection of our records. We can, however, infer it thus : a novice during probation may not look at a woman, even his mother, or at an emu ; the emu is the god's mother ; hence the equations

$$\begin{aligned} \text{emu} &= \text{god's mother ;} \\ \text{emu} &= \text{initiate's mother ;} \\ \therefore \text{ initiate} &= \text{god.} \end{aligned}$$

This much is certain, that the novices die and are reborn ; for they are "laid to sleep as boys, in order to be awakened as men." It is "some kind of magic sleep, not like the ordinary sleep of mankind." There can be no doubt as to the meaning of this sleep, since the mothers and sisters of the boys are wearing a band of white clay across their faces as a sign of mourning when the boys return to camp.

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

C. Strict secrecy is observed.

D. The mourning of the women has been mentioned.

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

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

G. We have no direct statement that the Kurnai practised communion, but we can infer it. The men kill a kangaroo ; the novices sit down with their heads covered ; then the blankets are thrown off and an old man points first to the sky, then to the kangaroo, which the novices then eat. Now exactly the same procedure is followed in revealing the bull-roarers which represent the ancient god from the sky and his wife. The latter rite is called "showing the grandfather," so that there

cannot be any doubt as to its meaning; it is: "You see the sky? These bull-roarers are the sky." On this analogy we conclude that the kangaroo is the sky-god, that the novices eat the god, and so become the god.

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

J. The new initiates bathe.

O. They are invested with a head-band.

U. They receive a new name.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

J. The boys pass through water.

K. They anoint their heads with butter.

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

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

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

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

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

A. The leader of the society becomes L'angombe, who is the living god; others impersonate L'angombe's companions called Imandwa. "The cult of L'angombe has the privilege of transforming everything, men and things." L'angombe is a king. The candidate is told

at the outset that he himself has become a king; he also becomes an Imandwa.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q. L'angombe has a sword.

R. He also sits on a seat.

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

U. The novice receives a new name.

X. The members wear "strange costumes."

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

Z. There are degrees of initiation.

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

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

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

If the matter were put to the vote there is no doubt on which side the overwhelming majority would be. It would be in favour of the view that installation is derived from initiation; and why? For the reason I have given above—namely, that initiation is best known to us from the study of naked savages, and it is a deep-rooted conviction that naked, or half-naked, savages must be as primitive in their customs as in their lack of clothes. We cannot, however, base a whole science on an assumption which not only has never been proved, but is demon-

strably false. If it were true, then the Vāddas of Ceylon should be primitive in language, kingship, and religion, for they live a primitive hunting life without clothes or metals, except such as they import, and with caves as dwellings; but we know as a matter of fact that their language is Aryan, their kingship the same as covers the whole of South India, and that they worship their god under a perfectly good Sanskritic name. There is no correspondence, then, between the crafts of that people and their culture: one *may* be primitive, if it is not degenerate, the other is largely derived from one of the foremost civilizations of the world. We have no right to assume that any greater correspondence exists in Australia, in Terra del Fuego, or among the Bushmen of South Africa: it has to be proved or disproved by the ordinary methods of comparative history such as have so long been practised among philologists.

When a comparative philologist finds himself in presence of numbers of words in different languages all obviously descended from a common root, he does not say, "The Kelts were far less advanced in their arts and crafts than the Romans; therefore the Keltic form of the word comes nearest to the parent form," or "The Aryan invaders of India were far less advanced in literary technique than Homer; therefore the Vedic form is more archaic than the Homeric." That is not his way of proceeding. First of all he compares the related words in all the languages and postulates the only parent form from which all can be derived. By degrees he thus establishes laws of sound-change, which enable him to proceed with increasing rapidity and certainty, and these laws will keep confirming themselves by producing consistent results.

We must follow the example of the philologist. Only we are not so far advanced that we can yet set up laws of custom changes. He can say with absolute confidence: "Wherever you find an *o* in Greek you will find an *a* in Sanskrit." We can only suggest that to a god in Greek or Indian initiation there will always correspond a ghost in Melanesian initiation. We must therefore content

ourselves with accomplishing the first task that is set before us, and that is to discover what form of consecration will satisfactorily account for all its derivatives.

Let us first see whether we can derive installation from initiation. I fail to see how on that hypothesis we are going to explain the Ruanda initiation satisfactorily. If the king is derived from the initiate, why is the Ruanda neophyte told that he has become a king? It is quite simple if the initiate is copied from the king. Again, why should a king be required to induct the candidates? It is difficult to explain on the first hypothesis, easy on the second. We can understand the use of a crown at the consecration of a king: it represents the sun-disc; the sun-disc belongs to the sun-god; thus the sun-god is invested with his disc; but what is the crown doing in initiation? If the initiates became sun-gods nothing could be more natural; but it is nowhere claimed that they do; yet there are indications that they are derived from personages that did. The Kipsiki neophytes are circumcised facing the sun at sunrise; there is no apparent reason why they should do so; therefore it is a survival; the Indian king faces the east at his lustration, obviously because he is reborn as the rising sun; therefore it is a living custom. The survival is derived from a living custom, but not the living custom from the survival. This one case does indeed sum up the whole situation: the rites of a king's consecration mostly bear their own explanation writ large across them: death, fasting and quiescence, battle and victory, oath to preserve law and order whether it be in the calendar, in the ritual, or in civil life, rebirth and lustration in the waters of ocean, crown, shoes, and throne, circumambulation, marriage, are all episodes in the career of the sun who, overcome and slain by the powers of darkness, is mourned for, but again battles with his foes, defeats them, and can thus be reborn again to maintain order in the universe, is washed free from the impurities of the womb and is anointed for strength, assumes his disc, and, leaving the earth, ascends the sky, takes possession of the whole world in his circular course, and by his beams

unites himself with the earth to produce offspring and crops. All these rites flow logically from the equation

king = sun-god;

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

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

The hypothesis which we favour is thus quite in accordance with known processes. Those who would derive installation from initiation are, on the other hand, obliged to postulate a process which is far more difficult to accept: they have to suppose that what once was

common has gradually become restricted to a single man and his court. We want certain precedents before we can believe this. In the meantime Egyptian evidence most strongly opposes it. Dr. G. A. Reisner tells us that "whatever gain in skill or knowledge there is appears first in the service of the royal family." To take an instance, the *ka*, or double, "in all probability was originally the exclusive possession of kings," and "by a process of slow development the privilege of possessing a *ka* became universal among all the people." Again, "the nobles imitated the tombs of Pharaoh and obtained grants in aid from him so that the formula 'the offering which the king gives' became a stereotyped formula of offerings which spread to the lower classes." To conclude with a last example: originally only the king became Osiris at his death; later every man on dying became Osiris "and was conceived as king," and amulets representing the royal insignia of the Pharaoh were painted on the inside of the coffin or laid beside the body.

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

If initiation is derived from installation, where did this first come about? From where did the popular form spread throughout the world? It is here that we need to remember what was said at the beginning about convergence: the same processes are continually at work throughout the world, and when they happen to act upon similar situations they lead to similar results. Now divine kingship covers a very vast area, much vaster than that to which the present studies have been limited;

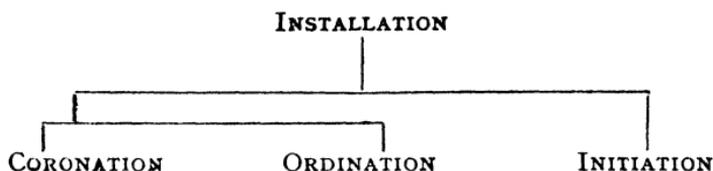
on the other hand the vulgarization of customs is everywhere going on incessantly; every new custom or idea begins with the leaders, whether kings, priests, professors, or merchants, and spreads to the crowd. Royal ritual must therefore constantly have been exposed to this process, of which the result would inevitably be some sort of initiation ceremony. In view of the great variety in the types of initiation ceremony, I think this is most probably what happened, and that a study at once more extensive and more minute of structure than is possible here, will probably lead us back to several independent archetypes, independent, that is, in so far as they are not derived from one another, not independent in the sense that they have no connection with one another; for through the royal installation ceremonies they ultimately go back to a common origin.

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

Since initiation ceremonies are popularized forms of installation it will follow that on the whole they will be degraded forms, and we shall scarcely look to them for representatives of the earliest type of installation, but rather to coronation and ordination rites. But that is by no means always the case. The coronation and ordination ceremonies which we know have undergone changes more or less profound since they branched off from the parent stem. Those changes, so far as we can see, have been in the direction of greater dignity and solemnity. They appear to have discarded at a very early date the grotesque elements such as masks and

buffoonery, or retained them only as symbols, as in the case of animal impersonations. It is here that initiation ceremonies come to our aid and fill in the blanks : being for the people and largely by the people, they do not stand on dignity ; on the contrary, grotesque performances and hysterical outbreaks flourish in a crowd and are emphasized rather than suppressed.

The evolution of the three species or sub-species we have been considering may therefore best be represented in the following manner :—



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A real unction is used only for the dying.

L. Christ is conceived as a human victim offered for the redemption of the world, and it is this sacrifice which the mass daily enacts symbolically.

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

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

Melt, my soul, with love and ecstasy,
Thy Well-Beloved comes down to thee !

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

Y. The early Christians followed the example of the surrounding sects in using animal symbols. The only animal symbol that now survives is that of the Lamb, as being the only one consistent with the feelings of reverence which modern Christianity insists upon.

VIII

THE CREATION

THE coronation ceremony at first appeared to us as a system of rites complete in itself. A Rotuman legend suggests that this system is itself part of a larger system which includes the heaping-up of the sacred mound; for in that legend the king's installation and the building of the mound were both carried out at the place where the new-comers landed; they were incidents in a ceremony which we may provisionally call "the inauguration of the land."

The Fijian hill tribes of Viti Levu bear out the Rotumans. They do not carry out the installation ceremony for each new chief. They know of only one installation ceremony, the installation of the ancestor of the supreme chief and of his chieftains, when they heaped up the mound and the history of the tribe began. This installation, like the recurrent installation of the coastal chiefs, is called *veimbuli*. Now *mbuli* means "to fashion," "to mould," it may be a pot, or a heap of earth; the word also describes what we translate "the creation of the world"; it is also used of the installation of a chief. When this verb is used there is always an object which makes the nature of the action perfectly clear, but the noun *veimbuli* has no object, and we are thus left in doubt whether it refers to the heaping-up of the mound or the consecration of the chief. The natives of Western Vanua Levu are more definite: they have installation ceremonies at irregular intervals, whenever the crops are bad; these ceremonies they call *mbuli vanua* or *tuli vanua*, "fashioning the land," or "creating the earth." Perhaps the reason why the hill tribes of Viti Levu do not trouble to specify whether they mean an installation, a heaping-up of a mound, or a renovation

of the earth, is that there is in their minds no such distinction, because there is none in fact : it is all one and the same ceremony.

The idea of men creating the world, or even an island, by means of a ceremony, is so incompatible with our notions of the universe that it may at first seem impossible that such ceremonies should ever have existed. Yet what the Fijian and the Rotuman merely suggest the Indian boldly proclaims, so boldly as to shock the earlier generations of Sanskritists who had not that vast range of information and that truer appreciation of ancient beliefs which have fallen to the lot of their successors. "The most preposterous of all the ideas connected with the sacrificial act," says Monier-Williams, "was that of making it the instrument of creation." The world would come to grief but for the Brahman, who is the expert in sacrifice; in fact the Brahman was, according to *Manu*, created "for the preservation of burnt offerings and offerings to ancestors, and for the protection of the world." The *Satapatha* describes at great length the method to be followed for the creation of the world. A lump of clay has been dug up and prepared with most elaborate observances, each accompanied by appropriate formulæ. With part of this clay a firepan is then fashioned. This process reproduces point for point the first and original act of creation described at the beginning of the same book. Water is poured on the clay with a verse mentioning water; the clay thus becomes water as it was in the beginning. Then foam is produced and placed upon it, just as in the creation foam was produced out of the waters, and thus by degrees the clay is made to be like the earth: the officiant spreads the clay to form the bottom of the pan, "for the bottom part is this earth," and just as the gods, "having made this earth, invoked this blessing upon it, even so does the sacrificer, having made this world, now invoke blessings upon it." By marking the lower part of the sides with suitable verses such as, "Thou art the atmosphere," he makes the atmosphere. The upper part of the sides becomes the sky. As to why he thus creates

the universe, I think the reason is indicated by verse 22 of section two, where it is said that some people make more than one firepan; but this is wrong, because the firepan represents the whole universe, and so a second firepan would be in excess, and "whatever is done in excess that excess goes to the sacrificer's hostile adversary." Thus it would appear that by creating the universe a man gets control over it. The sacrificer then goes on to fill the universe by means of the clay left over after making the pan; by means of this clay he even creates the gods.

The act of creation is not confined to the creation ceremony; it might be said that every sacrifice is a series of creative acts. Why does the ocean encircle the earth? Because the sacrificer encloses the householder's altar, which represents the earth, with enclosing stones, which are the waters. Why are there plants in the world? Because sacrificial grass is offered: "the sacrificial grass consists of plants; he thus places plants in the world." The sacrificer even prescribes to the sun its course: he holds up fire, which is the same as the sun, towards the north-east, then towards the south-east; that is why the sun instead of staying in the north turns back in a southerly direction. The whole purpose of the king's coronation is to gain control of the world and thus "create abundance and creatures."

The Egyptian Pharaoh had in him "the energy of the demiurges which enabled him to renew every day, without ever exhausting nature, the mystery of the creation." This he apparently did by "offering to the god his father the whole universe under the shape of offerings." The Babylonians had a big creation ritual connected with the return of the spring sun, and therefore celebrated it at the beginning of the year. The Eleusinian mysteries included a "representation symbolical perhaps of creation in which the hierophant used to assume the part of the creator, the torchbearer that of the sun, the altar priest that of the moon, and the sacred herald that of Hermes."

These various peoples all justified their creation ceremonies by an appeal to precedents, and these

precedents were the original acts of creation performed by the gods. I think it is quite clear that those original acts were themselves conceived as ceremonies in no wise different from the ceremonies of later days. "That which is this sacrifice from which these creatures are produced is Prajāpati. In like manner are they produced from that time till now," says the *Satapatha Brahmana*. It is quite definitely of opinion that the world was originally produced by the sacrifice; that sacrifice is Prajāpati, the father of the gods and the demons, the lord of creatures. The creation sacrifice, then, or at least one form of it, is a human sacrifice real or symbolical. The *Rig-Veda* makes this even clearer, describing how the gods cut up and sacrificed Purusha, that is, Man, and formed the whole universe from his head and limbs.

It is perfectly clear, then, that the *Rig-Veda* conceived the creation as a sacrifice, and equally clear that this sacrifice did not make the world, or at least the earth, in our sense of the word make, since the earth existed before Purusha was sacrificed. A comparison of mythologies shows that idea to be vastly older than the *Rig-Veda* itself. The Babylonians believed the world to have been made out of the slain Tiamat, a female monster. They also believed that man was fashioned by breaking off a piece of clay and mixing it with the blood of a slain deity. The parallel is not, however, as close a one as the Germanic. The ancient Germans believed that the Ases began to create as the All-Father willed that they should. They slew the giant Ymir and dragged his body into the middle of the chasm of chasms, "and created out of his blood the sea and water, of his flesh the earth, of his bones the mountains, of his teeth and broken bones the rocks and crags. Then they took his skull and made of it the sky." To guard the inland parts of the earth against the giants a castle was built of Ymir's brows, Midgard the abode of men. His brain was thrown into the air and became the clouds. The trees were formed out of his hair.

Is it credible that man should have speculated and speculated as to the origin of things, and as the result of it all come to the extraordinary conclusion that the hills

were made out of a giant's bones, and the clouds of his brains? Is it not much easier to believe that then as now man sought in his traditions to preserve the facts, so far as he understood them, and that the ancient Germans merely put on record the details of a human sacrifice? We can understand how such a sacrifice, having travelled about the world, should have similar memories behind it in remotely distant places. But, if these myths are merely the outcome of wild and uncontrolled imaginings, how do we explain the remarkable agreement of the modern Gilbert Islanders with the ancient Indians and Germans? The islanders relate that Na Arcan slew his father with the latter's consent, took his right eye, and flung it to the Eastern sky, where it became the sun; the left eye, and flung it to the Western sky, and behold! the moon. The brain he scattered over the sky and it became the stars. The flesh he sowed over the waters. Behold the rocks and stones. He took the bones and planted them on the first land, even the land of Samoa; and from the bones of Na Atibu grew the Tree of Samoa, the Ancestor.

Here again the sacred tree turns up quite close to Fiji, where we found it associated with the ceremonies of settlement of the tribe. The conclusion is obvious. Here again the world was already in existence when the act of creation took place: there was already rock before Na Arcan created rocks out of the bones of Na Atibu. Must we really believe that the Gilbert Islanders or their teachers were intelligent enough to speculate concerning the origins of the world, yet so stupid as completely to lose sight of what they had set out to explain? that in consequence they produced a myth which assumes the existence of that which it was going to show us coming into being? Is it not much easier to believe that the creation story merely represents a method of treating the world, of acting upon it? such a treatment as is referred to in the *Satapatha*, where it says that the country east of Sadanira used to be uncultivated until the Brahmans caused Agni Visvakarman—that is, All-creating Fire—to taste it through the sacrifices.

All our difficulties arise from our refusal to accept the clear statement of the *Veda* and the *Brahmana* that the original creation was a sacrifice of which creation ceremonies are but a constant repetition, just as the Mass is merely the daily repetition of an original sacrifice. By rejecting the advice of the ancient Indians we land ourselves in a quagmire of false psychology : we are obliged to assume a primitive mind constituted like no other mind of which we have ever had experience anywhere from pole to pole ; we are obliged to postulate mental processes for which observation gives us no warrant. No hypothesis can possibly be correct which has to invent processes in order to support itself. There is no need to invent any if we follow our earliest Indian record : we have not invented creation ceremonies, since we can actually watch them in India, Babylonia, and Egypt ; we know from actual cases that a human or animal victim can be dismembered in order to vivify the earth ; we also know that the custom of dismemberment is at least as ancient as prehistoric Egypt. We are assuming nothing that we do not know to be, or to have been, at one time practised when we suggest that these creation myths are nothing but historical records of methods of vivifying the universe, of renewing its vigour.

The complete creation ceremony, then, is an extensive system of rites which includes the building up of the cosmic mound, the altar-tumulus, the planting of the sacred tree, the repelling of the hostile powers, the installation of the king, the queen, and his vassals, and the mystical taking possession of the essence of the earth and all it bears for the benefit of the community.

If this theory is correct, then myths of creation and cosmologies cease to be mere curiosities of fancy, fit to while away some idle hours, then to be laid aside for the more serious tasks of the historian ; they become invaluable evidence as to ancient and long-disused ritual and belief. The story of the slaying and dismemberment of Ymir will give us a very fair idea of the succession and intention of the creation ceremonies of remote Germanic, possibly pre-Germanic, times. The first

chapter of Genesis will teach us that the Hebrews, or their forerunners, had a rite which lasted six days, like the coronation of a Cambodian king, and we shall even venture to conjecture what was done on each day:—

First, lighting of lights with new fire;

Second, separation of heaven and earth. This is a widespread myth, extending at least from Egypt to New Zealand; but what the purpose or the nature of the rite was I cannot suggest;

Third, renovation of the earth and putting vegetation into it by suitable hymns and the planting of the sacred tree;

Fourth, fixing the course of the sun, moon, and stars until the next ceremony;

Fifth, putting life and vigour into fishes and birds, and ensuring their propagation;

Sixth, the same process is repeated with the beasts of the field. Culminating point of the ceremonial: installation of king, queen, and chieftains;

Seventh, period of quiescence so that nothing may injure the new-born world.

I must offer some justification for identifying the creation of man with the installation of king and chieftains: in Babylonia in early times the term men meant the nobles, and we know that the Hebrew myth comes from those parts. In the Egyptian feudal period the Vizier was termed "The Man" as opposed to "The God"—that is, the king. In ancient India, too, the term Man was constantly used in a special sense, not of man in general, but of a shadowy prehistoric personage whom we have seen sacrificed in the *Rig-Veda* and to whom the Buddhist scriptures have introduced us, sometimes the more expressive term Great Man, as the original of Emperor and Supreme Sage.

It would be premature to try to fix the details of the ancient Semitic ritual. It is sufficient to show that it is in a measure possible to do so, and that he who sets himself this task will do so with good hopes of success.

IX

PERSONIFICATION

IN the foregoing pages we have again and again been led to conclude that myths, even of the most fantastic character, were after all no more than sober history. A result so completely at variance with received opinions needs some justification. It is universally held that myths are the outcome, not of a faithful memory, but of a most lively imagination which does indeed draw its inspiration from facts, but so transforms them that we can scarcely recognize them. If we can at all trace them to facts it is because every now and then fragments of fact resist transformation and appear scattered about in their brute form. The facts are the phenomena of nature, the sun, the moon, the clouds and the winds, the ocean and the rivers, all that is in this material world, together with such abstract entities as mind, speech, justice. The process that transforms them is called personification because it clothes these inanimate objects with a human personality, gives them hands, and face, and speech, and all the actions and belongings of man. Now there is no doubt that in India at least the gods are natural or moral phenomena personified. When they are not actually called Sun, Dawn, Fire, Speech, we have very definite statements that they are some such object, that Indra is the sun, Soma the moon, Sarasvati speech; when even these statements fail, epithets such as "brightly lustrous," "golden-handed," "golden-eyed," proclaim the god to be no other than the sun.

The product of the transformation is thus patent to the eye, but no effort is made to describe the process. To our questions the mythologist usually answers that primitive man was addicted to personification, but the

term personification merely describes the results and in no way enlightens us as to the way in which they are reached. We are left under the impression that the process is a mysterious one, that it is a mental alchemy so immediate in its workings, that those workings cannot be seen, that the eye of man perceives the sun disc and the imagination straightway conceives it as a man with golden hands riding on a golden chariot, sees it so as immediately as we perceive a certain group of colour sensations to be a house. Now we know that our own minds, the minds of European men, certainly do not act in this way, that we see the sun as a round shining circle, and do not endow it with human form, nor ever speak of it in human terms except when writing poetry, and then we are speaking the language of tradition rather than expressing what we see. Anthropologists have now for some time been scouring the whole world without having yet found a human being who sees natural phenomena in a way different from our own way. If savages differ from us it is in their lack of interest in natural phenomena, and in their complete lack of personification even when in the throes of poetic inspiration. Not only does the Fijian fail to personify, but if you were to do it for him he would suppose that it is your ignorance of the language that makes you unintelligible. Perhaps you might occasionally chance to express a metaphor which he could interpret in a literal sense, like the missionary who told his flock that the Church was burning with zeal, and was understood to mean that the chapel was on fire; but if you could so far overcome the unsuitability of the language as to translate consistently a whole hymn of the *Rig-Veda*, say to the sun or to the dawn, I doubt whether your reputation for sanity would survive the test.

If this automatic personification is nowhere to be found on earth, where shall we find it? Some time in the remote past? But we have no right to postulate mental processes which have never been observed, unless they succeed in explaining facts where all existing processes have been tried and failed. Personification

explains nothing at all : it is merely a convenient term to describe the effects. It does not therefore fulfil the first requisite of a postulate, and if it did we have not really tried first what could be done with processes known to exist.

Among the myths which seem to resolve themselves in a plain statement of fact was that of the marriage of Heaven and Earth. The union of the firmament with this terrestrial expanse actually takes place ; but how ? By proxy only : the proxies are the king and queen, then any bridegroom and bride. Their embraces are the embraces of sky and earth. May we not have here the solution of the whole problem ? Once admit that a man can become one with the sun and it follows that the actions of the one are the actions of the other, that at one time the man will be described in terms of the sun as refulgent, as ascending the heavens, as vivifying the earth, at another time the sun will be described in terms of man as having a head and limbs, a house and a chariot. There is a double process going on : a solarization of man, and a humanizing of the sun, not in consequence of any mysterious working of some unknown mind, but by virtue of the equivalence

man = sun.

The sun will not only be humanized, he will be animalized, or partake of the nature of any object with which he may happen to be identified for the better fulfilment of the sacrifice, with a horse, or a wheel, or a gold disc, or a brick of the altar, or whatever the case may be.

To understand the point of view of the ancient bards we must always turn our eyes into our very souls, and there we shall perhaps find methods of thought and expression not very unlike those of the Vedic singers. I have already invoked the analogy of our own hymns in order to help us to understand the ancient ones. Let us take a concrete example. *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, No. 310, in rapid succession describes Christ as

Truth the ancient type fulfilling,
Isaac bound, a victim willing,
Manna to the fathers given.

Very Bread, Good Shepherd, tend us,
Jesu, of Thy Love befriend us.

The succession of metaphors, if we may so call them, is even more bewildering than in the *Veda*: Truth, Isaac, manna, bread, shepherd. The ramblings of many inmates of lunatic asylums are scarcely more incoherent than these lines would seem to the ancient Indians. Yet it never even occurs to us that the writer of this hymn may have been mad, or even that he was endowed with a special faculty called personification. Why? Because we know exactly what he is talking about; we know that his lines are an extreme condensation of Biblical legend, Christian ritual and dogma, all of which the audience is supposed to be familiar with. That does not make it good poetry, but it makes it good sense. Why should we apply an entirely different method to the Vedas, especially when that method yields most unsatisfactory results?

Perhaps we shall the better understand this process of personification if we repeat it ourselves, if we adopt the premises of the ancient Indians for our own and work them out to a logical conclusion. Let us suppose that our sovereign Lord King George. has by virtue of the unction and its accompanying rites become the sun-god's other self, that his Queen is the earth-goddess, and his courtiers are various minor deities. We might then read in the Court News something like this: "Rosy-fingered Dawn opened the portals of the sun's chamber this morning, and he arose in his splendour; he came forth wielding his thunderbolt, with which he dispersed the demons and set the sun free to shine. The assembled gods sang the praises of the victor, whose radiance dazzled the eyes of all beholders, so that their eyes could not endure it. Then he bestrode the three worlds and at his third step fixed in heaven the eye of day. The earth came forth to greet him, and together they mounted his chariot drawn by four tawny horses, and he set the shining wheels in motion over the vault of heaven towards the four quarters of the world." Without any commentary on or knowledge of our religion a Martian

might easily interpret this as a poetic effusion; he might ascribe to us a peculiar and inexplicable gift of personification which transmutes all objects of nature into human personalities, just as Midas's touch turned all things into gold. As a matter of fact, all the Court News means is that a Lady-in-Waiting, who personifies dawn, opened at peep of day the king's bed-chamber in order to call him for the daily ritual which has to be timed exactly to the sun's movements. The king comes out and consecrates the offering with a blow of his sceptre, thereby smiting the powers of darkness, so that the sun can arise and shine on the world. The court officials representing the gods of the four quarters, and others, sing "God save the King," shading their eyes from the glare that the king is supposed to emit just like the sun which is at that moment rising. The king then takes a firepan which represents the sun, and takes three steps which thus trace the sun's course from the horizon to the zenith. The queen then comes forth to greet him. Together they mount the gilt chariot of the sun, the wheels of which represent the disc of the sun and are therefore resplendent with gold and precious stones. Thus they go the deasil* round the royal city.

Thus we are forced to the conclusion that the gods owe their personality not to any extinct and unintelligible mental process, but to the most ordinary mental processes working on the doctrine that men can become the other selves of the gods.

* *I.e.* clockwise.

X

EPILOGUE

THESE studies, originally undertaken at random, merely in order to satisfy a spirit of curiosity as to the why and wherefore, have invariably led us back to the institution of divine kings and have gradually revealed it, not as an isolated proposition, or as an accidental conglomeration of ideas, but as an organism of many parts, mutually interdependent. Just as in organisms of flesh and blood the various members may persist almost unchanged, or develop out of proportion to other parts, or become atrophied and even disappear, or else become so altered by the need of adaptation to new circumstances as to be scarcely recognizable, so in this social structure which we call divine kingship the various parts persist, expand, shrink, or lose their old function, and with it their old form, in order to acquire a new one; yet through all those changes we can recognize the same structure. When the form has completely changed we can often identify the part only by its relation to other parts and by its own intimate structure; for the parts themselves can be dissected into smaller elements.

Let us take an instance. From one end of our area to another the monarchical system includes the coronation ceremony. In importance and development this varies greatly, to the point of disappearing altogether, for instance in certain states of Europe. It has dropped out because it has ceased to play any useful function. The original function was to turn a man into a god; but when a prince succeeds his father on the throne automatically, and is a king by the mere fact of his father's demise, the coronation ceremony ceases to fulfil any practical purpose and succumbs as soon as it enters into conflict with anti-

ritualistic or other antagonistic motives. The coronation ceremony in its turn can be analysed into component rites such as the communion, the unction, the investiture, the oath. These again are discovered to have a structure, and it is only by a careful examination of the structure of the Sermon on the Mount and its relation to other members that we can identify it as the equivalent, the homologue as the naturalists would say, of the coronation oath.

Thus, as soon as we begin to dissect, we fall almost unconsciously into the methods of comparative history as they have long been practised by philologists. Linguists have for a century or so been accustomed to treat words as systems of sounds and meaning, to accept obvious resemblances of structure as evidence of a common origin, to deduce from these cases laws of change, to apply these laws to less obvious cases, and so proceed from the known to the unknown. They have been driven to do so, not by any philosophical arguments, but by the constant pressure of the facts which they accumulated in the course of a minute analysis of the Indo-European tongues. Even so as we analyse monarchical institutions from Europe to the Pacific we shall gradually find ourselves tracing all the manifold variety to the same original: the institution of Divine Kings.

The phrase is high sounding: for Divinity is sublime and kings are majestic. Yet it would be an error to ascribe to the founders of that institution, in its earliest forms, the feelings of later times, or to seek in an appetite for the grandiose the origin either of gods or kings. We have seen reason to believe that gods were at first quite impersonal, more useful than impressive. We have also seen reason to think that the original priest-king was not a person of great majesty; prosaic, at times grotesque, his humdrum function was to ensure a regular supply of food and a satisfactory birthrate by the best means inference could suggest, whether dignified or undignified. He was probably not much more august than the divine kings of the island of Futuna who, notwithstanding that upon them depends the prosperity of the people, are often

threatened with deposition if they express opinions distasteful to their unruly subjects; or than the sacred Sau of Rotuma, who during his annual reign was distinguished above the people chiefly by sitting on a stool and eating three meals at night as well as by day.¹

If the king raised himself by degrees to a station of pomp and grandeur it was doubtless due largely to the expansion of his functions and of his realm, and to that ambition which impels every man to magnify himself in the eyes of his fellows whenever the opportunity offers; and the priest-king did not lack opportunity: controller of weather, he had favours to bestow which placed him at a great advantage with his people; supporter of the eternal order of nature, he had to bear himself with a restraint such as always inspires respect, and had to be provided with authority to impose the same restraint on others; impersonator of deities, his fortunes rose as the gods rose from being impersonal doubles of natural objects to the greatest heights of ideal personality. It was through the king and his lesser satellites that the gods acquired that personality, but by combining it with the vastness of their attributes and workings they became more than the men who lent them human form, became ideal figures that in turn reflected lustre on their earthly representatives.

The sun, whether from the beginning or in the course of later speculations, took the lead in this glorification of gods and kings. It has been thought that glory is such an obvious attribute of the sun that men fell down and worshipped it by natural impulse, yet to that great portion of mankind which lives in the torrid regions the sun is more of a nuisance than a blessing, a necessary evil perhaps, but one to whose evening decline men look forward through the blazing day. It is only in the more northern climes that its appearance can be hailed with delight, but that delight among the masses is inarticulate and expresses itself in such banal phrases as "a fine day," "glorious weather"; it requires the exceptional

¹ Probably because if the king enjoys plenty his people do also.

sensibility of the poet to clothe those feelings in richer forms, the poet

hidden
 In the light of thought
 Singing songs unbidden,
 Till the world is wrought
 To sympathy with hopes and fears it heeded not.

Of old he had to extract his honey from the insipid materials of a prosaic cosmology, just as at the present day the mathematical theory of sound-waves enables him to hear

The holy organ rolling waves
 Of sound on roof and floor ;

and the doctrine of natural selection moves him to a passionate outburst of doubt when he considers the ruthlessness of nature,

So careful of the type she seems ;
 So careless of the single life.

It is not the poet who made religion, but the plodding search after material benefits that gives both poetry and religion their opportunity. They seize upon the crude ore, refine it into pure gold, and reject the dross. We have seen the victory of sunshine over bad weather and cold spiritualized into a triumph of good over evil ; the rays of the sun sublimated into miraculous power, and thence into omnipotence ; the regular succession of the seasons transfigured as the moral law ; the draught which imparted vigour to resist decay and death is transmuted into an emanation of the divine which confers spiritual eternity ; a rite to secure the proper interaction of sky and earth is refined into a sacrament which invests the mating of sexes with a dignity and a permanence which has contributed not a little to the progress of civilization.

To follow out in detail this process of sublimation lies beyond the scope of the present work, which aims merely at providing materials for such a study.

