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CONCEPTS OF SUPERNATURAL PUNISHMENT FOR  
WORLDLY MORAL MISCONDUCT

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A Thesis

Presented to the

Faculty of

California State University,

San Bernardino

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In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

in

Special Major

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by

Dwight Derrell Wash

June, 1989

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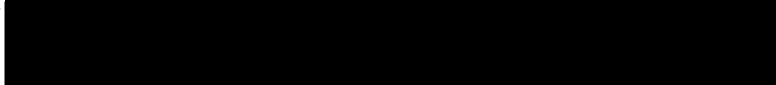
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7/6/89  
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## ABSTRACT

One of the important elements of a cultural group or society is its shared belief in an ethical system and its ideal of proper and improper human behavior. Along with other social sanctions designed to regulate moral conduct, many cultures, through religious belief, employ "supernatural sanctions"; these supernatural sanctions, either in the form of spiritual retribution during the lifetime or after death, possibly help to guide the human conscience into making particular day-by-day decisions as well as maintain a sense of moral order within the group in view. This greatly reflects sociologist Emile Durkheim's belief that the ideals of religion function as aids of social and ethical control.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine how cultures, both past and present, and their religions have fostered the idea that spiritual and divine forces play a role in governing a code of moral order, and that those who choose to behave unethically are in danger of suffering unpleasant consequences, either during one's lifetime or after death in a state of torment. This thesis will also show how these concepts of supernatural moral justice are perpetuated and reinforced via mediums such as sacred scriptures, poetry, mythology, religious sermons, and artwork. Through the presentation of sources derived from literature, religion, history, social psychology, cultural anthropology and art, this thesis will contribute to the study of human morality by focusing upon certain methods that cultures use to establish a sense of ethical order among group members.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my thanks to Dr. James C. Pierson and Dr. Ellen R. Gruenbaum, both of the Anthropology Department, and Dr. Ellen N. Junn of the Psychology Department; the tremendous help that these three fine individuals have unselfishly given me in the preparation of this project is too great to be measured. I would also like to thank Dr. Julius Kaplan for giving me "a shot at the title," so to speak, by helping me to get into the Special Major Program. Last, but not least, I would also like to thank God for His blessings, my good friend Toni Gilkey for her assistance during the final phase of the project, and my family for its support and patience.

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(Both illustrations reproduced from the book *Devils* by J.C. Wall (1904).

London: Methuen and Co., pp. 54-73).

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The goal of this thesis is to examine cross-cultural variations of concepts concerning supernatural moral order and punishment. I will demonstrate how such concepts of ethical government have helped to establish a sense of moral control within a wide variety of groups, as well as guide the individual human conscience into making particular decisions during the course of one's lifetime. In preparing this study, I have organized the chapters in a way that gives the reader a clear view of three different aspects of supernatural ethical sponsorship and retribution which are characteristic of a wide range of religions. In the thesis, I explain that many societies around the world dictate, through religious belief, that either (1) animate objects in the environment may punish wrongdoers; (2) there are deities that specialize in the punishment of sinners; (3) a state of torment after death may await those who behave immorally during the lifetime. This ties in greatly with French sociologist Emile Durkheim's theory concerning religion and its function within a group or culture. In his last book, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1915), Durkheim states that religion is a tool that humans often use in order to maintain a sense of social order and moral cohesion (1915:62). Therefore, this study will apply Durkheim's theory of religion to the material presented by demonstrating that these concepts of supernatural punishment, dictated through religion, help to establish a sense of ethical control within the societies and groups involved.

The beginning portion of this thesis looks into the origins of the idea that many elements of the physical environment have potentially dangerous

powers that may automatically manifest themselves whenever human beings react toward these elements in a certain way. In my research, I have uncovered a great deal of anthropological data concerning the origins of morality and animism, yet most of this data is derived from sources published in the early portion of the twentieth century. Perhaps this observance on my part reflects an intellectual "surge" of interest concerning a subject that prevailed during this period of time.

Nevertheless, while such sources may be considered dated, I have found them to be highly detailed and quite useful for this study; in my opinion, the many years since the publication of such literature has not tarnished the value of the relevant information contained within.

The beginning portion of this thesis will also look into how the simple belief in animism helped to develop the concept of *taboo*. Among many groups, there are established ethical prohibitions based on the idea that an unfortunate occurrence may result automatically from the infraction of such a rule. With the help of ethnographies and other sources from cultural anthropology, this thesis will illustrate how the concept of taboo helps to nurture the belief that mysterious beings or forces demonstrate an interest in the moral behavior of humans. In this section of the study, I have focused primarily upon preliterate, less industrialized cultures such as those of the South Pacific Polynesians of the early 1800's and the Ibo of Nigeria as described by an researcher during the 1920's; through my research I have learned that the idea of taboo seems to play a stronger role in the daily activities of such groups, in comparison to those of a more technologically advanced state.

Within the next portion of this study, more powerful forms of

supernatural forces of earthly moral order are examined; many religious doctrines of both past and present-day cultures have fostered the belief that particular deities and spirits specialize in the guardianship of ethical human conduct, as well as the punishment of transgression. For this section of the thesis, I have focused upon the religions of not only modern societies, but of ancient groups as well. Along with the invaluable data that I have gathered from ethnographies, I have also collected and presented descriptions of punishing deities and their functions through secular literature, traditional hymns of worship, and sacred scripture. For example, during my research, I have realized that the ancient Greeks revealed much concerning their belief in supernatural moral retribution via mythological accounts, traditional dramas, and philosophy. With this in mind, I have included within this chapter excerpts from the works of Hesiod and Aeschylus, because such primary sources reflect the general attitudes and respect toward the the deities worshipped among the Greeks during that specific period in history. The excerpts from these classical works also demonstrate how unethical human behavior was dealt with by these spiritual beings of moral control. Even though such literature was created primarily for the sake of entertainment, it seems to be a reasonable assumption that the examples of supernatural punishment found within these works were at least subtle aids of socialization. The sources used in describing the functions of ancient Babylonian deities of morality include prayers and hymns translated by modern-day historians and other scholars of ancient Middle-Eastern religion; without a doubt, such data also reflect the respect that the worshippers displayed for these divine powers and their roles in the daily activities of the mortals involved. Sources such as

the Old Testament and the Talmud have also proven to be helpful in my research because they present lesson-learning examples of moral disobedience and its potential consequences via traditional stories and other accounts. In presenting the aspects of divine moral control characteristics prevalent in technologically unsophisticated cultures of the twentieth century, I have relied upon collected data from ethnological accounts which also show how the belief in divine punishment for ethical misconduct is perpetuated via the simple medium of oral tradition.

While it is believed in many religions that an immoral person may suffer from misfortunes stemming from supernatural origins during the lifetime, it may also be believed that, after death, one may receive punishment for earthly sins. In the final section of this study, various beliefs of supernatural punishment that a sinner may endure beyond the grave are examined. As in the previous chapter, the sources gathered for this section include excerpts from mythological accounts and sacred scriptures, as well as recorded oral sermons, folktales, and other examples of secular literature that deal with religious themes. In my research, I have found classical works such as Dante's *Inferno* and Milton's *Paradise Lost* to be fine examples of primary sources that reflect the religious attitudes of the eras and cultures within which they were written. To illustrate how the concepts of afterlife punishment may be psychologically reinforced through artwork, I have included the descriptions of sculptures and paintings which graphically depict the afterlife horrors that the immoral may encounter.

Overall, with respect to Durkheim's theory of religious functionalism, this study will show that religious belief is a by-product of a community that represents its particular view of life in relation to the supernatural. I

will demonstrate that there are at least four common elements in the religious beliefs presented: (1) there is a sense of a supernatural control over life; (2) the supernatural power must be obeyed; (3) religion deals with and controls many aspects of life; and (4) the ethical side of religion apparently corresponds with the moral ideas of the group involved. I believe that this thesis is an original contribution to the study of human morality because it applies Durkheim's theory concerning the function of religion while viewing different concepts of superhuman punishment used by a wide variety of cultures.

By taking a cross-cultural approach to studying the religious doctrines of both past and present groups, this thesis will show the reader that the ideas concerning supernatural sponsorship of moral order are not just characteristic of one type of culture or time period. Along with this, I have not limited this study to sources of one discipline; because my intentions are to take an interdisciplinary approach in displaying the ideas of this subject, I have discovered that the examples derived from history, literature, cultural anthropology, social psychology, religion, and art prove to be invaluable aids in presenting a topic such as this.



## CHAPTER 2: RETRIBUTIVE ACTION IN NATURE AND THE CONCEPT OF TABOO

There are many aspects of human life that help a group of people to exist and function adequately. Customs, laws, beliefs, and ideals are but a few of examples, and these are quite important to a society or culture because they help to guide and maintain a sense of order.

Along with customs, laws, and beliefs, a common aspect of a group or civilization is that of a general agreement concerning what is right and wrong behavior among members. Surely, if a culture or a group of individuals is to exist in an orderly and non-chaotic state, a sense of ethics must prevail so that particular attitudes and actions conform with what is deemed proper and respectable.

But how is such a sense of ethics honored and respected by individuals? One concept of sanctions for social control is that of a justice system; such a system would be entrusted with the power/responsibility of not only making particular moral rules known to the public, but also of enforcing such rules and punishing any individuals who may violate or defy established ideals of conduct. However, such a system of guiding moral behavior is limited in the fact that it is only useful in situations where the arm of justice can manifest its power to reach; the threat of punishment may not have much of a psychological effect of deterrence upon the mind of one who commits a moral violation with the satisfaction of knowing that he or she may do so without the chance of getting caught. Aside from this, legal systems often serve the interests of the ruling group, not the general population. Therefore, (1) justice cannot be applied if the crime goes

unnoticed, (2) justice systems are inherently external rather than internal means of control, and (3) an ideal of justice may only reflect the beliefs of those who have the power to rule.

Another system that a group may use is that of a more social nature; a parent may chastise or spank a child for behaving immorally, or, in the act of shaming, disapproving peers may frown upon a person who has committed adultery. Again, if there are no witnesses about to reprimand a transgressor, this fact alone may tempt an individual into behaving immorally. Therefore, an intrinsic punishment such as guilt may not manifest itself within the transgressor's conscience.

It is possible that humans began to feel that forces other than those controlled by mortals can be interpreted as "divine" signs of approval or disapproval for certain types of behavior. In a culture or society where strange phenomena within the environment is observed with curiosity and awe, it follows that many of the rules acknowledged or obeyed often stem from supernatural or divine sources, and that the violation or disregard of such rules may bring misfortune to not only one person, but perhaps multitudes of people. The regard of supernatural punitive action probably derives from mankind's action of habitually differentiating between what is "good" as being that which produces a peaceful or non-threatening reaction within the environment, and what is "bad" as being that which produces an unpleasant or dangerous situation within the environment (Sneath 1927:3). In other words, what could be considered proper ethical behavior is that which, after performed, does not produce an unpleasant reaction from the environment.

Mysterious and unfamiliar occurrences within the environment have

always been regarded with awe, fear, and curiosity by human beings. According to sociologist Edward Westermarck, humans, according to cultural belief, distinguish between two classes of phenomena: "natural" and "supernatural". Thus, there are a class of phenomena which are familiar and are explained via "natural causes", and there are phenomena which seem unfamiliar and are therefore thought to derive from causes of a more "supernatural" character (Westermarck 1924:582). Even animals have the ability to distinguish between what is ordinary and what is extraordinary in the environment. According to Westermarck,

The horse fears the whip, but it does not make him shy; on the other hand, he may shy when he sees an umbrella opened before him or a paper moving on the ground. The whip is well known to the horse, whereas the moving paper or umbrella is strange and uncanny. Dogs and cats are alarmed by an unusual noise or appearance, and remain uneasy till they have, by examination, satisfied themselves by the nature of the cause. Yet, unlike nature, man attributes such strange happenings to magical forces that seem to have lives of their own. Such forces can best be described as those of a supernatural nature; they discharge themselves without the aid of any volitional activity (Westermarck 1924:583).

At times, humankind has observed these supernatural forces as they have acted upon inanimate objects -- such as a rock, a stream, or a bolt of lightning -- and has been lead to believe that such objects are living, intelligent beings. This is what is known as animism -- "...inanimate things are concieved as volitional, emotional, and animate because they are deemed the originators of startling events" (Westermarck 1924:595). The famous anthropologist E.B. Tylor, who had written much concerning the origins of religion, believed that "animism" is the minimum definition of religion

because it consists of the belief in spiritual beings (1871:10). However, many scholars have narrowed down the term to signify the belief that animals or objects within the environment usually considered inanimate may have a spiritual component; anthropologist Paul Bohannan describes animism as the attribution of soul or spirit comparable to the soul or spirit of human beings, to non-human animals, to plants, and even to things and abstract concepts (Bohannan 1966:313).

The belief in animism has often been humankind's attempt to explain strange and mysterious phenomena within the environment by assuming that the cause of such happenings are due to the will of a supernatural being. Anthropologist Ian Hogbin, who has studied various cultures in New Guinea, gives a good example of how the belief in animism helps to determine what is considered proper and improper behavior:

Gase, now an old man, told me that during his childhood he was once inflicted with acute inflammation of the throat. At first nobody took any notice of the complaint, but eventually, after he had lost his voice, his father inquired where he had been playing during the last few days. The boy thought for some minutes and then recalled that when passing through the neighboring settlement at Gwado he had thrown a stone at a bird and missed. From where he was standing at the time, he said that there was some chance that the stone might have gone beyond the limits of the village into the pool at the base of the waterfall on the Bula River. This must be the explanation, the father decided, and within an hour, he had arranged for one of the men from Gwado to hang some dog's teeth<sup>1</sup> on a bush alongside the waterfall. 'From that moment', Gase concluded, 'my throat started to improve' (Hogbin 1951:211).

Because the youthful Gase fell ill after accidentally throwing a stone into an area considered sacred, it was believed by the New Guinea group that Gase committed a "wrongful" act and was consequently punished. Such an

example may help establish the fear that certain elements within the environment may punish those who disregard them. No doubt, such episodes have helped to create the foundation of a moral code of behavior among the members of a certain group.

With the belief in animism comes the knowledge of when animate objects display certain types of behavior and when they display other types. In order to keep these strange forces from becoming harmful, primitive groups have developed particular rules of conduct that must be followed at all times. The Karen tribes of Burma believe that certain stones possess mighty punitive powers. Some of these stones are considered "...so sacred and powerful that none but certain of the wisest elders dare look on them" (Forbes 1878:295). These objects are usually stratified rock set in an unique way or rare pieces of rock crystal. Anything that the Karen finds uncommon is considered to possess occult powers that may also be punitive. The White Mountain Apache of Arizona believe that lightning is a mighty punitive source of the occult; people with guilty consciences fear the approaching lightning season because it is believed that rule-breakers are often struck down by thunderbolts (Goodwin 1938:26). Social psychologists Laura Thompson and Alice Joseph state in their book *The Hopi Way* that the Hopi are not only influenced by human authorities concerning right or wrong behavior, but they also believe that an immoral deed is bound to be followed by punishment, often by non-human forces or beings. Young Hopi children are taught, through religious instruction, that many aspects of nature, e.g. the trees or the sun, may directly respond to human behavior. "Augmented by actual punishment, the reason for which is often but vaguely understood, these beliefs work psychologically like a diffuse and bewildering

conscience, uncrystallized toward definite aspects of 'good' or 'bad'" (Thompson and Joseph 1944:106). Anthropologist Dorothy Eggan, who maintained an intimate association with the Hopi for over seventeen years, states that the Hopi are psychologically conditioned to believe that if they always behave properly, think "good" thoughts, and treat others with respect, good fortune and harmony will naturally result. At the same time, if one misbehaves, maintains "bad" thoughts, or mistreats others, disaster may result for not only the immoral individual, but for everyone in the Hopi settlement. In the article "Instruction and Affect in Hopi Cultural Continuity", Eggan writes:

Of greatest significance in all activities among these people, and particularly in their religious ceremonies, is the fact that everything of importance is done communally. Thus, each individual who has reached maturity is responsible *to* and *for* the whole community. The Hopi speak of this process as "uniting our hearts," which in itself is a form of prayer. A slight mistake in a ceremony can ruin it and thus defeat the community prayer for rain; so too can a trace of "badness" in one's heart, although it may not be visible to the observer. Thus their religion teaches that all distress--from illness to crop failure--is the result of bad hearts... (Eggan 1956:125).

Anthropologist Kenelm Burridge mentions in his ethnography *Tangu Traditions* that the Tangu of New Guinea, as well as other cultures, invest natural phenomena such as thunder, floods, lightning, and earthquakes with a corrective punitive role. For instance, when a thunderstorm occurs, guilty consciences are pricked: perhaps not so far as to cause a confession, but definitely into regarding a past misdemeanor seriously. Burridge states that:

Both in life and in narratives, thunderstorms and earthquakes

are associated with the presence, and particularly the killing, of large snakes or snake-like beings. Large snakes are associated with those patches of forest or bushes of forest that are considered to be *imbatekas*<sup>2</sup>; and to enter such a portion of forest or bush is almost sure to bring on a thunderstorm, a flood, or an earthquake. After an earthquake, even a minor tremor, investigations are set on foot to discover who has killed a large snake, or who has entered a portion of forest known to be *imbatekas*, or who may have been to an unfrequented place, which, though not thought of as *imbatekas* hitherto, will in future participate in the *imbatekas* (Burrige 1969:156).

To control moral behavior, the Tangu look for evidence of supernatural reasons to obey particular rules of the group. This is probably the reason behind the existence of customary prohibitions known as *taboos*. *Taboo* is a Polynesian word which is said to mean 'what is prohibited' (Toy 1963:1940). While rules that arise from human relations or recognized judicial authorities constitute civil law, rules that are thought to come from supernatural or spiritual influences may constitute what is known as "taboo". The objects affected by the idea of taboo are quite various; anything from particular bushes in a forest to certain practices regarding childbirth may be affected. Supernatural punishment for the disrespect of a taboo may not just bring misfortune to one individual in particular, but a whole group may be held responsible for the forbidden act. For this reason the observance of rules concerning taboos have become traditional customary acts. There is nothing specifically religious or ethical in the conception of taboo; it may lie just as much outside of religion and morality as thoughts of "unluckiness" among ourselves. Yet, the negative rules which it prescribes after acceptance is binding by the group; from this point, the rules gain involubility and the sacredness which attaches to all customs

long established and of unknown origin. On the other hand, these same rules and prohibitions come to be regarded as expedient for the welfare of the group, and so acquire the moral character of all coercive social regulations. Thus, taboo enters the spheres of both religion and morality (Webster 1942:370).

In many cultures, the transgression of a taboo could result in physical discomfort or sickness considered to be the vengeful act of spirits. The missionary William Ellis who had lived and worked with Polynesians states that:

...as soon as an individual was afflicted with any disorder, he was considered as under the ban of the gods; by some crime or the influences of some enemy, he was supposed to have become obnoxious to their anger, of which his malady was the result. These ideas, relative to the origin of diseases, had a powerful tendency to stifle every feeling of sympathy and compassion, and to restrain all from the exercise of those acts of kindness that are so grateful to the afflicted and afford such alleviation to their sufferings. The attention of the relatives was directed to the gods, and their greatest efforts were made to appease their anger by offerings, and to remove the continuance of its effects by prayers and incantations. The simple medicine administered was considered more as the vehicle or medium by which the god would act, than as possessing any power itself to avert the progress of disease. If their prayers, offerings, and remedies were found unavailing, the gods were considered implacable, and the diseased person was doomed to perish. Some heinous crime was supposed to have been committed (Ellis 1831:181).

Many southwestern American Indian tribes also believe that sickness is due to supernatural punishment for the breaking of a taboo. Navaho children who have attended school away from home and have returned later often fall into bad health, and the illness involved is always attributed to the



violation of taboo while away from home; usually healing ceremonies have to be performed in order to remove the punitive effects of the transgression (Mathews 1848:167).

The Papago, a small group of the southwest United States, also maintain the belief that the violation of specific cultural taboos could produce dangerous results. According to anthropologist Thomas Rhys-Williams, young Papago children are taught, through folk tales, that the desert environment is filled with species of fauna and physiographic features that are quite dangerous for children; the stories that the elder members of the group present to the younger members recount situations of when individuals have become mortally ill because particular elements were disrespected. Papago folk tales may also teach children that certain attitudes and emotions are tabooed by the group. Williams states that

...Personal physical aggression and open displays of temper are almost entirely controlled in children by the supernatural sanction of the mysterious illness and eventual death that may come to the individual who strikes, pushes, or touches another in anger. A child is made aware of this sanction by hearing adults repeat it many times in folk tales. The effectiveness of the sanction in channeling the child's resentment of thwarting by others is quite evident in the general absence of physical quarrels or open expression of violent anger in play groups and in his personal relations with his family, household and nonrelatives (Williams 1958:170-171).

The Ibo of Nigeria believe that if a person is injured by any sacred animal or reptile, or by the fall of a sacred stone or tree, some grievous offense has been committed, and that a particular spirit is giving an appropriate punishment to the taboo-breaker. In such a case, only a shaman can give the proper advice as to the sacrifice to be offered. "If the injury

should be fatal, as it may be when a tree falls upon a person, then the assumption is that the offense was such as could only be atoned for by the god thus exercising his powers of vengeance. The unfortunate person is left to his or her fate, a crowd of spectators probably looking on with callous indifference, in the belief that the sufferer is but getting his just deserts, and that to attempt a rescue, or to interfere in any way would be but to bring retribution upon themselves" (Bagden 1921:218).

There are many other examples of cultures that believe that death can result from the infraction of particular taboos. French author H.A. Junod reports in the book *The Mythology of all Races* that:

The groves surrounding the Thonga group of Africa are taboo to everyone except 'the guardian of the word' or priest, who is the descendent of the chiefs buried there, and has charge of all of the arrangements concerning sacrificing to and propitiating them. Unpleasant things have happened to unauthorized trespassors there. One woman who plucked a *sala* fruit and cracked it against a tree-trunk, found it full of little vipers which addressed her as follows: 'Go on, eat away! Haven't we seen you every day picking *sala* ? And these *sala* are ours and not yours. What shall we gods have to eat? Have we not made this tree to grow?' And she went home and died, because she had been cursed by the gods (Junod 1893:190 ).

The Twi of the Gold Coast believe that if a person is drowned, crushed by a falling tree, or struck by lightning, such a happening would not be considered an accident; a person who met his or her death in one of these ways would be believed to have died through the deliberate act of a vengeful being. For example, when a man has drowned, the Twi believe that the local deity of the sea or river where the accident occurred has 'taken him', possibly for the breakage of a taboo (Webster 1942:27).

The Bechuanas of West Africa believe that an unknown being considered the lord and master of things (Mongalinto) punishes theft in lethal ways. If a thunderbolt strikes a Bechuana, no one complains or mourns; it is believed that such an act is justified and in order (Westermarck 1926:60).

Because of the fear involved in the knowledge that the avenging powers of broken taboos can and will punish those who violate them, the dread of the consequences of disobedience helps an individual to decide whether or not a certain action would be considered right or wrong. Basically, the supernatural forces involved in taboo also serve as external psychological controls of the conscience in making particular choices of behavior. Again, while a person may be safe from a judicial or social sanction after breaking a moral rule, he or she may be quite unsafe from the mighty anger of a spiritual force that is considered by a culture to be all-seeing and all-knowing.

Also, the supernatural forces involved in the violation of taboos do not necessarily punish due to the fact that an intentional moral transgression has occurred; just the mere mistake of carelessly stepping on a particular rock or eating the flesh of a sacred animal may produce the automatic, vengeful action in the same way that the release of a coin in mid-air will cause it to naturally fall to the ground.

Scholars of technologically simple societies have long recognized the fact that a taboo system must be included among the most vital of socializing forces. Even if a person's taboos relate only to himself or herself, their observance imposes a rein on human passions and requires the controlling of actions deemed improper by the group. If taboos are collectively recognized, their disciplinary function is yet more efficient.

The violation of them by a single individual is believed to spell misfortune for everyone; hence, a duty falls upon each member of the group to see that his or her neighbor obeys the rules. The general effect of taboo rules is therefore, to provide a powerful sanction for all those altruistic sentiments which bring about the cooperation of one human with another. It is no doubt that such rules help to establish and maintain social solidarity (Webster 1942: 373).

In summary, along with the customs, basic beliefs, and laws of a group, a sense of ethics is characteristically established within a civilization in order that certain attitudes and actions conform with what may be considered proper. While a justice system can only punish within a limited scope, some societies have promoted the belief that forces other than those under mortal control may signify whether or not an individual behaves morally. Such a belief may stem from the human need to understand and possibly control curious or "unexplained" phenomena within the environment, which, in turn, may propel the idea that particular objects -- such as a rock or a bolt of lightning -- have potentially animistic characteristics. The group of people in view may choose to believe that such phenomena are manifestations of the invisible forces that are believed to exist. Through the belief in animism comes the concept of *taboo* which dictates that objects should be regarded in a culturally prescribed manner, and to violate a sacred rule or prohibition concerning a "tabooed" object could result in sickness or death. Possibly, the observance of both the idea of punitive power in inanimate objects and the idea of a taboo system help to create the inference that "higher" elements may judge what is proper or improper in terms of human deeds, and such elements can and will automatically punish

those who break certain rules established by a society.

From the impersonal, automatic, punitive forces of animated objects in the environment evolved the concepts of traditional spirits and deities of moral order; such beings may be considered to have particular personalities and functions that distinguish them as supervisors and guardians of cultural and religious ethical ideas, as well as the executioners of punishments to be bestowed upon wrongdoers.

### CHAPTER 3: TRADITIONAL SPIRITS AND DEITIES OF MORAL ORDER

While the punishing powers of animate objects and taboo are basically of an automatic, impersonal nature, many cultures, through religious belief, maintain that supernatural forces are due to the presence of spirits or deities who are chiefly concerned with the ethical conduct of mortal beings. It is possible that the belief in such spiritual beings and deities has helped to establish, through such mediums as holy scriptures or philosophy, rules and regulations that have become customary social ideals. Such mediums probably help make cultural rules of conduct more explicit and consistent, while creating a good motivation element. Emile Durkheim, in his book *The Elementary forms of the Religious Life*, states that the observance of religious rules itself functions as a tool that helps to unite members into a cohesive group. According to Durkheim, "A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a church, all those who adhere to them" (Durkheim 1915:62). Other theorists reflect Durkheim's ideas of religion and its function. According to religion scholar J. Kaufman, "the gods normally play a significant role in the social order of all cultures. They are the patrons of families, tribes, and nations; they are ancestors, kings, heroes, founders of civilizations and culture. The social order is under their surveillance, and they are both legislators and guardians of justice" (Kaufmann 1960:37). William Howells, in his book *Heathens, Primitive Man and his Religions*, remarks that "the gods of most religions, if not greatly interested in good for good's sake...are most definitely interested in ideals considered

prosocial, and there are seldom recognized gods whose worship entails actions destructive to the community as a whole" (Howells 1948:230).

Among the many gods and goddesses of ancient Greek religion, the principal deity of justice and moral order in the universe was considered to be Zeus who was the principal god of a host of deities who ruled over the heavens and the earth. In both myth and cult, the god Zeus was considered the ideal statesman of the Greeks, as well as the guardian of family, property, boundaries, and wealth (Fox 1964:160-161).

According to the Greek poet Hesiod, the sovereignty among kings and other leaders proceeded from Zeus alone; wherever order was preserved, or justice administered, Zeus was considered to be present. In his *Works and Days*, Hesiod states that

Often even a whole city pays for the wrong of one person  
who is a doer of evil and  
worker of ruinous folly.

Zeus, son of Kronos, sends terrible  
sufferings from heaven upon them,  
famine together with plague, and makes  
the people to perish.

Nor do their women bear children, but  
they have withering homes  
as the Olympian Zeus devises. And  
sometimes he makes them pay

by giving their broad army defeat  
or bringing their wall down.

Or he, Zeus, son of Kronos,  
destroys their ships on the sea.  
Kings, I beg you to take  
careful note of this punishing justice,  
for there are nearby among men  
immortal spirits who take note of

all who with crooked justice  
trample each other down, having no thought  
of divine retribution.<sup>3</sup>

Because Zeus was considered to be the ultimate authority of higher law and morality, his ability to punish evildoers is evident in the mythological tales of the ancient Greeks. In one story, Zeus punishes two mortals, the impious sons of Lycaon; during a visit to their home, the god Zeus, disguised as a poor traveler, was served a soup of mixed sheep and goat intestines, along with those of Nyctimus, the dead brother of the two villains. Zeus was undeceived and, pulling himself away from the table, changed the evil brothers into wolves and brought Nyctimus to life. On his return to Mount Olympus, where the host of Greek deities dwelled, Zeus, in disgust, let loose a great flood on the earth in order to wipe out the whole race of man (Graves 1981:47). In another story, Salmoneus, the king of Elis, forced his subjects to offer sacrifices to him as a god. Along with this, he pretended to be Zeus himself. Edith Hamilton, the world-renowned classicist, states that Salmoneus

...had a chariot made in such a way that there was a loud clanging of brass when it moved. On the day of Zeus' festival, he drove it furiously through the town, scattering at the same time fire-brands and shouting to the people to worship him because he was Zeus the Thunder. But instantly there came a crash of actual thunder and a flash of lightning. Salmoneus fell from his chariot dead (Hamilton 1942: 198).

Along with the god Zeus, the Erinyes were also considered to be guardians of moral behavior among humans. These three goddesses, Tisiphone, Megaera and Alecto, lived in the underworld and shared the duty of hearing the complaints of mortals concerning the rude actions of children to their parents, of kings to their subjects, or of a rich man to a beggar;



anyone who demonstrated heartlessness to another person was likely to experience the wrath of these fearful goddesses. In literature and art they are depicted as formidable, bearing serpents in their hands and hair and carrying torches and scourges. They were the pitiless and just avengers of crime, especially murder; blood guilt within the family was their particular concern, and they would relentlessly pursue anyone who had killed a parent or close relative (Morford and Lenardon 1977:278).

According to mythology scholars Mark Morford and Robert Lenardon, the Erinyes represented the old moral order of justice within the framework of primitive society, where the code of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" is meted out by the personal vendetta of the family or the clan (Morford and Lenardon 1977:278). This is clearly shown in the trilogy, the *Oresteia*, by the ancient Greek playwright Aeschylus. When the hero Orestes is tormented by the terrible goddesses after killing his wicked mother Clytemnestra. In the *Oresteia*, the Erinyes chant:

We delight in the overthrow  
of houses, when a homebred strife  
kills a kinsman.  
Then Ho! Upon him we rush,  
and, however strong he may be,  
we plunge him in darkness  
with fresh spilling of blood.<sup>4</sup>

Through the entertaining medium of Greek drama, Aeschylus subtly warns mortals that these deities ruthlessly guard moral order without regard for the reason behind the unethical action in view.

The gods and goddesses of ancient Mexico were generally looked upon with terror because they seemed to enjoy vengeance and human sacrifices, but the Aztec god Tezcatlipoca was considered to be the guardian of law and

morality. Tezcatlipoca, or "Smoking Mirror" was a black god who could assume any shape, was omnipresent and omnipotent, and was connected with the night sky, stellar deities, the moon, and with night monsters of evil and destruction. He was the avenger of secret sin, the punisher of crime; a god who could bring life and good things but often took offense and became destructive and evil (Peterson 1962:130).

During the feast of this divinity, which took place on the nineteenth of May by the Gregonian calendar, sinners were filled with fear and sadness. According to Diego Duran, the sinners were

...so abashed that they could not conceal their having sinned and during all those days prayed that their transgressions remain unrevealed. In the midst of tearful and strange confusion and repentance, they offered large quantities of incense to placate the god... They prayed, lifting their eyes toward the heavens, sighing and moaning like people who are truly sorrowful for their faults and sins. Nevertheless, their sorrow was, in truth, simply because of fear of worldly punishment to be administered to them... (Duran 1970:101).

In the religion of the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians, there is much evidence of the belief that deities ruled over the moral order of the universe. In the collections of incantations called *Maglu* and *Shurpu*, as well as many of the mythological texts, frequent confessions of sin are to be found. For the ordinary Babylonian, sin meant some failure in cult observance or some breach of a taboo by which the sinner had unwittingly brought upon himself the anger of the gods or put himself into the power of malignant demons. It also appears, from the same texts, that the transgressor is quite aware of having committed moral offences, especially those against family duties and ties; untruthfulness and lack of clemency

are also mentioned (Hooke 1963:98-99).

A good example of this is in a prayer to the goddess Ishtar, which implores:

To Thee have I prayed; forgive my debt.  
Forgive my sin, my iniquity, my shameful deeds  
and my offense.  
Overlook my shameful deeds;  
accept my prayer; loosen my fetters;  
secure my deliverance.<sup>5</sup>

Because there was a sense that humans do not know the will of the gods and is often unaware if a sin is being committed, there are many prayers in these texts that show pleas of mercy. One states that

Man is dumb; he knows nothing; Mankind, everyone that exists,  
what does he know?  
Whether he is committing sin or doing good, he does not even  
know.  
O my Lord, do not cast thy servant down; he is plunged into  
the waters of a swamp; take him by the hand.  
The sin which I have done, turn into goodness; The  
transgression which I have committed, let the wind carry  
away;  
My many misdeeds strip off like a garment...  
Remove my transgressions and I will sing thy praise. May thy  
heart, like the heart of a real mother, be quieted toward  
me; like a real mother and a real father may it be quieted  
toward me.<sup>6</sup>

One of the gods who was responsible for moral order in the universe was the sun god Shamash or Babbar. who was considered to be the patron deity. According to British historian Donald A. Mackenzie, Shamash "was a god of Destiny, the lord of the living and dead, and was exalted as the great Judge, the lawgiver, who upheld justice; he was the enemy of wrong, he loved righteousness and hated sin, he inspired his worshippers with

rectitude and punished evildoers. The sun god also illumined the world, and his rays penetrated every quarter; he saw all things, and dread the thoughts of men; nothing could be concealed from Shamash" (Mackenzie 1930:56).

Shamash is often represented sitting on a throne, holding in his right hand a staff and a ring as symbols of straightness and completeness i.e. justice and righteousness. He was considered to banish darkness and spread light over the whole world. As the representative of justice throughout the universe, Shamash saw everything and punished the guilty. It is Shamash who was considered to have given the great Babylonian king Hammurabi his commission to 'let justice shine in the land', and on the Hammurabi stele (inscription- engraved pillar) Shamash is seen symbolically handing over the law to the king. Mesharu and Kettu, personifications of justice and righteousness, were the attendants of Shamash' personifications of his most important properties (Ringgren 1973:58). Two examples of ancient Babylonian hymns that reflect upon the might of Shamash' righteousness are presented below:

Shamash, when you come out  
of the great mountain,  
When you come out of the foundations of heaven,  
where earth and heaven meet,  
there the great gods appear  
before you to come to judgement...  
All nations and men await for you,  
beasts and cattle, all that moves  
on four feet,  
direct their eyes to your great light.<sup>7</sup>

Strong, most powerful, light of the lands,  
prince of the gods, righteous judge!  
You that lead the people, have

charge of the world,  
judge that which is above  
govern that which is below!  
King of heaven and earth, lord of destinies,  
incorruptible judge!  
You govern mankind, you rule over the  
heavenly beings.  
Evil and wicked you see as clearly as  
the day.<sup>8</sup>

The Hindu of India regard the god Varuna as the superintendent of moral order, "the sustainer of the universe, the lawgiver, the god of moral rectitude, and the sublime sovereign of gods and men" (Mackenzie 1913:26), Because Varuna is feared and regarded as the Omniscient One, he is often prayed to for the forgiveness of sin and to be spared from the consequences of wrongdoing:

May I not yet, King Varuna,  
Go down into the house of clay:  
Have mercy, spare me, mighty Lord.  
O Varuna, whatever the offence may be  
That we as men commit against the heavenly folk,  
When through our want of thought  
We violate Thy laws,  
Chastise us not, O god, for that iniquity.<sup>9</sup>

The *Rig Veda* of the Hindu faith contains a large number of passages illustrating the distinction between right and wrong. The *Rig Veda*'s ethical content expresses divine law, and any sin committed is considered to be an act of opposition to that law.

According to the *Rig Veda*, the spies of Varuna are spirits who "never rest or sleep but go about here on earth", watching those who dare violate the laws of the divine. These "spies" are considered to be everywhere, being in plants as well as among the people:

His messengers descend  
Countless from his abode -- forever traversing  
this world and scanning with a thousand  
eyes its inmates.  
Whate'er exists within this earth  
and all within the sky,  
Yea, all that is beyond, King Varuna perceives.  
May Thy destroying snares, cast sevenfold round  
the wicked.  
Entangle liars, but the truthful spare, O king!<sup>10</sup>

Nothing is hidden from the god Varuna; his pasa, or "noose" catches the wicked. As a judge he rewards righteousness and punishes iniquity (Walker 1968:434-552). Because he inflicts terrible punishments and avenging maladies on the hardened criminal,<sup>11</sup> he is often held responsible for many afflictions, including dropsy.<sup>12</sup>

The god of Israel and the Old Testament is a deity that showed great concern for his people, but also demonstrated severity whenever certain individuals or groups committed particular sins. In the book of Genesis, God's punitive powers are greatly demonstrated when he reproaches Adam and Eve for breaking the moral code that he set for them in the Garden of Eden:

To the woman he said: I will make great your distress in childbearing; in pain shall you bring forth children; for your husband shall be your longing though he have dominion over you.  
And to Adam he said, "Because you have listened to your wife, and have eaten of the tree of which I commanded you not to eat: Cursed be the ground because of you; in toil shall you eat of it all the days of your life; thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to you, and you shall eat bread, till you return to the ground, since out of it you were taken; for dust you are and until dust you shall return"<sup>13</sup>

The Old Testament is filled with many stories of God's wrath upon mortals who had behaved immorally: God destroyed the ancient cities of Sodom and Gomorrah due to the wickedness of their inhabitants - sulfur and fire from heaven was poured upon the cities;<sup>14</sup> because Nadab and Abiu, the sons of Aaron, inappropriately arranged an offering to God, fire quickly consumed the two;<sup>15</sup> when Oza dared to touch the sacred ark of God, "...the indignation of the Lord was enkindled against Oza: and he struck him for his rashness. And he died there before the ark of God."<sup>16</sup> According to British sociologist Edward Westermarck, God's more severe punishments were generally focused on immoral human relationships: "It turned against children who were disrespectful to their parents, against murderers, adulterers, thieves, false witnesses-indeed, the whole criminal law was revelation of the Lord. He was moreover a protector of the poor and needy, and a preserver of strangers" (Westermarck 1924:595).

In Western cultures, the Ten Commandments are the most well-known code of ethical conduct; Judeo-Christian tradition considers the Ten Commandments or the Decalogue to be the basic moral code of conduct revealed to Moses by God. In the book of *Exodus* in the Old Testament, the Ten Commandments are as follows:

1. Thou shalt have no other Gods before me.
2. Thou shalt not make unto Thee any graven images.
3. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord Thy God in vain.
4. Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy.
5. Honor Thy father and Thy mother.
6. Thou shalt not kill .
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.

8. Thou shalt not steal.
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness against Thy neighbor.
10. Thou shalt not covet.<sup>17</sup>

The Ten Commandments insist, above all else, upon the unity of the Hebrew God and his supremacy in heaven and earth, as well as his mercy manifested toward the people of early Judaic history. Previous codes had been often fragmented and brief guides for conduct, but with the Ten Commandments the effort is made to offer a complete guide for the daily life of the Hebrew (Fowler 1916:108).

The Old Testament provides many accounts of individuals who have been punished by God for violations of one or more of the commandments. When a group of Hebrews decided to worship a golden calf instead of God, they were promptly destroyed;<sup>18</sup> when the followers of Moses found a man gathering sticks on the sabbath day, the congregation, upon God's orders, stoned the transgressor;<sup>19</sup> because he contacted the medium of a strange spirit and committed murder, God caused Saul to commit suicide.<sup>20</sup>

According to Hebrew scriptures, the archangel Gabriel represents the strength of God's punitive judgement against evildoers and carries out many of the Lord's punishments (Jellinek 1966:131-132); this archangel is therefore identified with divine justice. In Jewish legend Gabriel demonstrated his punishing abilities when he killed the handmaidens of the pharaoh's daughter for refusing to rescue the infant Moses out of the waters.<sup>21</sup> When God decided to destroy the wicked inhabitants of Sodom, it is Gabriel who was sent to overturn the immoral city.<sup>22</sup> It was also Gabriel's purpose to practice justice during wartime by punishing traitors and dishonest soldiers. The Babylonian Talmud tells of the time when



Gabriel punished the wicked Assyrian king Sennacherib by destroying both him and his entire army:

...Then the angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in camp of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five thousand: and when they arose early in the morning behold, they were all dead corpses... And the Lord sent forth an angel [Gabriel] which cut off all the men of valour, and the leaders and the princes in the camp of the King of Assyria. So he returned with shamefacedness to his own land. And when he entered into the house of his god, they that came forth of his own bowels slew him there with the sword.<sup>23</sup>

The Buddhist and Taoist gods and spirits of China are used as frightening means of moral order enforcement. C.K. Yang states that if a person enters

...any Buddhist or Taoist temple...one encounters many images of gods and spirits with terrifying faces, holding menacing weapons. No child frequenting Buddhist temples could easily forget the images of the four door guards, each over ten feet tall, carrying huge swords, flashing rows of saberlike teeth, and staring down with ferocious eyes. Their gigantic size and horrifying features symbolized to the worshippers the terrible power of supernatural beings, ever ready to punish wrongdoers... Even the image of K'uei-sheng, the star god of literary success, was sculptured with a ferocious face and angry, bulging eyes, probably to warn those who might want to attain literary success through devious, immoral means. These demonic forms may well have represented man's reflections of the wickedness in the will of his own nature, as concretely symbolized in the distorted proportions of such structures as the body, the eyes, the teeth, and the limbs, which posed distinct threats to the solidarity of social relations (Yang 1961:285).

Yang also states that, as the Taoist scripture sets up quotes of good deeds for the encouragement of moral conduct, it similarly warns mortals against practicing evil:

On earth and in Heaven there are gods who oversee the wrongdoings of men and take away the counts (sum) from a person in accordance with the seriousness of the evil deed. When a person's counts are reduced, poverty, sickness, and misfortune will descend on him. When all the counts are gone, the person dies. There are hundreds of wrongdoings, too many to enumerate, for which counts may be taken away (Yang 1961:285).

T'an SsU-T'ung, who lived in China during the 19th century, believed that supernatural forces did indeed deter people psychologically from misbehaving:

Should the power of Heaven and Hell stand out in the people's minds, they will not dare to cheat and act without inhibition. Instead, they will move toward the moral grounds through self-warning... Should there be no supernatural power to control the ignorant public, there will be the danger of absence of restraint against killing, arson, thievery, licentiousness, and all other kinds of evils... (T'an SsU-T'ung 1928:13-14).

The punitive powers exercised by deities in Chinese religions indeed help uphold a sense of moral order and values, which the social institutions, using secular means alone, would not be able to maintain (Yang 1961:285).

The pillar inscription in the Yuan-chun Sheng-mu miao (Temple of The Sacred Mother, The Original Ruler) makes this observation:

The deity is the great mother of all things...hence the universe sacrifices to her... This is why we enshrine her in a building of halls and courtyards, furnish the temple with desks and the altar with stationery, staff it with images of men and spirits, dignify the walls with pictures of fire, grinding stones, knife-studded hills and sword-branched trees... This is the essential idea of guidance by the way of the gods as designed by the Sage. Now, the government has a complex system of reward, but the people do not necessarily become enthusiastic; but if we tell them about the ability of the gods to bring them happiness and benefit, then they all become attracted. The government has all kinds of punishment and threats, but the

people are not necessarily deterred; yet if we tell them about the power of the gods to punish crimes, then they all have fear... This is the way to encourage the good and to punish the evil, and to transform the people by good customs... (Yang 1961:285).

Rt. Reverend John M. Cooper has studied the religion of the Gros Ventres Indians of Montana; he states in his works that this particular group believes in a supreme being who watches over moral behavior. This supreme being, who is referred to as "The One Above, The Master, boss, head, leader of all" is considered to be the ultimate source of the power possessed by other beings (Cooper 1957:5). Gros Ventres children are taught that the supreme being looks down on them from above and notes everything that they do, both good deeds such as charity, to the needy and evil ones such as stealing, even when the children think that they are alone and unobserved. Because the Supreme Being is interested in human moral and social behavior, he is, according to Gros Ventres belief, pleased with such moral and social acts as respect and help to the aged. At the same time, this deity is offended by grave breaches of the moral or social order. This deity is greatly affected by the Gros Ventres ethico-social conscience (Cooper 1957:5-8).

The Andaman Islanders believe in a supreme being called Puluga, or Biluku, who is believed to have created the world and everything within it. Puluga is considered to have infinite knowledge and is aware of the thoughts within every human heart. While Puluga is considered to be pitiful to those in need, he is angered by many sins, including assault, adultery, and murder (Man 1885:157). A.D. Radcliffe-Brown notes that whenever a big storm approaches the islands, the Andamans believe that Biluku [Puluga] is angry. Lightning is explained as being a fire-brand thrown by Biluku across the

heavens when he is angry and thunder is said to be his voice growling. In his ethnography *The Andaman Islanders*, Radcliffe-Brown states that, along with murder, adultery, and other crimes, there are other types of actions that are believed by the natives to arouse the anger of this punitive god and thereby cause storms:

1. Burning or melting bee's wax.<sup>24</sup>
2. Killing a cicada, or making a noise of banging or cutting wood, during the hours when the cicada is "singing" in the morning and evening.<sup>25</sup>
3. The use of certain articles of food, of which the chief are the seeds of the *Entada scandens*, the pith of the *Caryota sobolifera*, two species of *Dioscorea* (yam), and certain edible roots (Radcliffe-Brown 1967:152-183).

Concerning these actions, there is unanimity of belief in all of the Great Andaman tribes. All agree that any of these actions causes the anger of Puluga, and therefore brings bad luck.

In her book, *New Lives for Old*, anthropologist Margaret Mead tells of the Manus Islanders who believed, before acculturation, that the spirit of the most recently deceased household member was capable of punishing family members. This household spirit, better known as a "Sir Ghost", was greatly respected and feared by the living family members because such a spirit had the power to punish those who behaved immorally. If a person squandered his or her finances or carelessly made a sexual advance toward a member of the opposite sex, then chances were that the transgressor or a kinsman would suffer from economic misfortune or severe illness. Mead states that

The attitudes toward property, toward accuracy, and toward excretion and exposure, toward responsibility, and initiative, which

were inoculated in Manus children by direct parental admonition, by example, and by punishment, survived in any environment and were more stable than the moral framework which was enforced on the spot by outraged ghosts. Sometimes individuals, especially young people who had become involved in a sex offense, were extraordinarily stubborn about confessing to a detected lapse, but they usually capitulated when one of their own kin fell ill and the continued refusal to confess was blamed for the illness. So the adult system might be summarized as a set of external sanctions -- Sir Ghost -- enforced and illness -- validated- - against words, acts, and lapses antithetical to the code. Individuals were driven by a fear of failure to do what they ought to do and by the danger that some small sin would be discovered, but the evil that they wrought could only be called sin in the sense that it was supernaturals, not men, who were deemed to be offended. The bad conscience of a Manus adult was not unlike the bad conscience of an individual in a police state where it is believed that everyone is an informer, that wires are tapped, that "crime will out". A man who was in debt, who fell ill, would go over and over his discharged and undischarged debts in a delirium, just as might the man in a modern police state who is fearful that security forces will catch up with him (Mead 1956:320-321).

The Thongas of South Africa are another group of people who are guided morally by the spirits of deceased relatives. The Thongas believe that any person who has died automatically becomes a *shikwembu*, a god. Such a god has a great influence over the forces to punish those who commit wrongful acts. If rain falls, it is owing to divine anger; if a tree falls on a person, the ancestor gods have sent it. French anthropologist Henri A. Junod recounts, in his ethnography *Life of a South African Tribe*, a story told to him by a priest of the Thonga religion; it tells of a person who disrespected a sacred wooded area and was punished by household deities:

Spoon assured me that he saw on one occasion a whole herd of goats in the forest, while he was picking *tihulu* nuts. He ran to tell his grandfather, Nkolele and to ask if he might appropriate them.

Nkolele reproved him with bitter words: 'Unhappy man! Don't dare to touch them! They belong to the gods! Don't even speak of them! It is taboo! The young folks of Libombo used to blaspheme in their hearts, saying: 'There are no gods'. 'But,' added Spoon, 'we very soon saw that there were some, when they killed one of us, named Mapfindlen. He was walking along the path, singing and jumping, when he trod on a snake which he had not seen, and hurt it. During the night, the gods came to him. He began to scratch himself all over his body. He saw them against the wall: they were like snakes, and they said: 'Thou hast hurt us!' No one else say them. His mother tried to quiet him, but he shrieked, and said to her: 'Leave me alone! The gods are killing me because I trod on them! Help! They threw the bones. The diviner said: 'This comes from your household gods! Has he not trodden on a snake? His parents procured an offering, and sacrifices to the gods, trying to propitiate them; but the gods were angry and Mapflindlen died (Junod 1962:380).

When the elder members of the Thonga group relate these stories to younger members, the elders usually do so in the evening hours, in low tones, and with frightened looks. Such a method of storytelling helps the younger Thonga generations to understand the importance of respecting traditional moral rules that are considered to originate from divine sources.

The pre-acculturated Maori of New Zealand also had household deities called *atua kahakuhu* who, according to anthropologist Peter Buck,

...defended the family honor by punishing those who transgressed against the various *tapu* (taboo) restrictions of the family, whether wilfully or through ignorance. The spirits entered the body of the transgressor and produced the suffering and abnormal condition now known as disease. Thus they functioned as malignant disease demons, but it must also be remembered that the fault lay with the patient. From their origin, they were *atua ngau tangata* (man-biting gods). Their activities spread beyond the confines of the immediate family, for they attacked any member of the tribe who transgressed against the family *tapu* restrictions. Thus the whole tribe were well aware of the existence of family gods and went in fear of them...(Buck 1950:40).

Whenever someone in the Maori group was afflicted with malaise, weakness, pain, fever, loss of appetite, or delirium, a practicing *Tohunga* (priest) was called in to find out the error committed and to locate the particular deity. If the unfortunate transgressor had visited a particular sacred locality, he or she was questioned as to whether wood was taken from the spot to build a fire or a particular plant was molested. At times, a patient, in a delirium repeatedly mentioned some object considered sacred, yet if a case history or delirium failed to indicate a cause, the priest would ask the unfortunate victim to go home to bed and report of his or her dreams the next day. In the morning, the priest would psychoanalyze the reports, usually finding one which provided a diagnosis (Buck,1950:40-45).

The pre-acculturated Busama village people of New Guinea also considered the spirits of dead relatives to have a considerable amount of punitive powers. Anthropologist H. Ian Hogbin mentions that these spirits took great offense against such breaches of custom as neglect of kinship obligations and willful setting aside of marriage rules; such spirits only punished their own descendents. The whole family group was considered to be at fault for allowing the offense to take place, and all had, in consequence, to pay the price. Responsibility was thus attributed to the ancestors only when two or more members of the lineage fell ill simultaneously. The sacrifice of a pig was considered to be sufficient to assuage the supernatural anger and secure a renewal of goodwill (Hogbin 1951:211).

Overall, the belief in higher spirits helps, in many cultures, to foster the idea that the deeds and thoughts of human beings are actually monitored

by potentially powerful beings. From the simple concept of animism, chilling reactions in the environment, and taboo, rises the religious idea that particular spirits or deities are specialists in various aspects of human life, and among these mysterious beings are those which represent a moral code that mortals should, according to cultural standards, obey. Because religion, according to Durkheim, is used as a means of strengthening social demands upon people, the concept of punitive deities is a useful tool in controlling a sense of ethical order. Perpetuated through the channels of oral tradition, philosophy, poetry, and sacred scripture, the horrifying personalities, physical aspects, and potential powers of these beings come alive in a way that may strongly affect the choice of ethical decisions. From all of this, people may be socialized into believing that, while on earth, elements of a higher order sponsor a moral standard of living, and may punish disobedience through sickness, death, or other misfortunes. Apparently, many of the religions and cultures described consider the supernatural to be the incarnation and expression of moral perfection, and rely upon the instrument of fear to help perpetuate a feeling of ethical harmony among the groups in view.



## CHAPTER 4: SUPERNATURAL PUNISHMENT OF MORAL TRANSGRESSIONS IN THE AFTERLIFE.

Not only may mortals be socialized to believe that the possibility of supernatural punishment exists throughout the lifespan, but they may also be taught that moral wrongdoings are likely to be accounted for after death. Certainly, such a belief in never-ending agonies and tortures during the afterlife, combined with the belief that one may be punished supernaturally while living, contributes to the maintainance of social and moral order within a given group or culture.

Basically, many religions around the world dictate that the souls of the wicked are eternally banished, after death, in a subterranean region or abode known in English as *Hell*. The word *Hell* is a derivation from the Old English *helan*, with a root meaning of "to cover or hide".<sup>26</sup> Hell is usually conceived, by most religious beliefs, as a place of fire and everlasting torment, yet there are many variations in the belief of how violaters of morality are judged and dealt with punitively; in some religions, the concept of Hell may be defined as existing, after death, in the form of a lower life form or object. Nevertheless, with the help of mediums such as sacred scriptures, poetry, mythology, artwork, and vivid sermons, the various concepts of Hell has been kept alive in order to guide the ethical concience for many centuries.

The ancient Egyptians believed that punishment after death was the responsibility of the goddess Ma,<sup>27</sup> who was the personification of the physical and moral law of the universe. To the ancient Egyptians, Ma was more than merely a goddess -- she was the embodiment of an important

concept for the Egyptians. The literal English translation of this concept would be "straight", but it could also mean "right, truth, real, genuine, righteous, steadfast, and unalterable" (Mercante 1978:90). According to ancient Egyptian tradition, whenever a person died, he or she was escorted by Ma into the Hall of Truth. While kneeling, the departed one disclaimed having committed any one of the forty-two sins of the ancient Egyptian moral code. The departed soul stated:

I did not do evil.--I did not commit violence.--I did not torment any heart.--I did not steal. I did not cause anyone to be treacherously killed.--I did not lessen the offerings.--I did not do any harm.--I did not utter a lie.--I did not make anyone weep.--I did not fornicate.--I did not trespass.--I did not commit any perfidy.--I did no damage to cultivated land.--I was no accuser.--I was never angry without sufficient reason.-- I did not turn a deaf ear to the words of truth.--I did not blaspheme.--I did not despise God in my heart (Carus 1969:22, 189).

Afterwards, according to the ancient Egyptian *Book of Truth*, the judged placed his or her heart on the Balance of Truth, an instrument that was considered to be exactly horizontal. The ancient Egyptian was then asked to make his or her heart or conscience to counterbalance and not outweigh the feather of Ma. If the weight of the heart was equal to the feather of truth, then the heart was placed back into the breast of the deceased, who was then returned to life. If the evil works of the dead outweighed the good works, then the dead enters a state of Hell by either being brought back to life in the shape of a pig or by being eaten by Amemti, also known as "The Devourer" or "The Eater of the Dead" who sometimes sits, or stands by the side of the pillar of the Balance.<sup>28</sup> In the Papyrus of Hu-nefer, Amenti is shown in a rather terrifying aspect; her forepart or

head is that of a crocodile, her hindpart is that of a hippopotamus, and her middle is that of a lion.

In ancient Greek religion and mythology, Tartarus was considered to be the punitive place of torment for the souls of those who have behaved immorally during the lifetime. The Greek poet Hesiod, in his *Theogony*, writes that the gloomy Tartarus can be thought of as being as far beneath the earth as heaven is above earth...

..for a brazen anvil falling down from heaven nine nights and days would reach the earth upon the tenth: and again, a brazen anvil falling from earth nine nights and days would reach the Tartarus upon the tenth...<sup>29</sup>

And of the appearance of this dark world, Hesiod says that:

...Round it runs a fence of bronze, and night spreads in triple line all about it like a neck-circlet, while above grow the roots of the earth and unfruitful sea... It is a great gulf, and if once a man were within the gates, he would not reach the floor until a whole had reached its end, but cruel blast upon blast would carry him this way and that. And this marvel is awful even to the gods...<sup>30</sup>

The ancient Greek satirist Lucian, in his work *Menippus*, describes the horrible world of Tartarus through the recounts of Menippus who journeys through the place of punishment. According to Menippus,

...Many a piteous sight and sound was there -- cracking of whips, shrieks of the burning, rack and gibbet and wheel; Chimera tearing, Cerberus devouring;<sup>31</sup> all tortured together, kings and slaves, governors and paupers, rich and beggars, and all repenting their sins. A few of them, the lately dead, we recognized. These would turn away and shrink from observation; or if they met our eyes, it would be with a slavish cringing glance -- how different from the arrogance and contempt that had marked them in life!<sup>32</sup>

The ancient Greek philosopher Plato also gave the public a view of what

the earthly sinner would expect after death in the latter portion of his famous *Republic*, which contains the story of Er. Plato says that Er was a soldier who died on the battlefield and was later brought back to life by the gods in order to give mankind an idea as to what the afterlife could hold for mortals. In Er's report of the immoral and their afterlife punishments, he remarks that...

...For all the wrongs they had ever done to anyone and all whom they had severely wronged they had paid the penalty in turn tenfold for each, by periods of a hundred years each, so that on the assumption that this was the length of human life their punishment might be ten times the crime; as for example that if anyone had been the cause of many deaths or had betrayed cities and armies and reduced them to slavery, or had been participants in any other iniquity, they might receive in requital pains tenfold for each of these wrongs.<sup>33</sup>

Of Tartarus, Er states that the opening of this terrible place is a huge mouth that remains open until a sinner tries to escape:

'...And when these supposed that at last they were about to go up and out, the mouth would not receive them, but it bellowed when anyone of the incurably wicked or of those who had not completed their punishment tried to come up.' And thereupon, he said, 'Savage men of fiery aspect who stood by and took note of the voice laid hold on them and bore them away. But Ardiaeus<sup>34</sup> and others they bound hand and foot and head and flung down and flayed them and dragged them by the wayside, carding them on thorns and signifying to those who from time to time passed by for what cause they were borne away, and that they were to be hurled into Tartarus...'<sup>35</sup>

Ancient Greek legends are full of examples of those who have been sentenced to Tartarus after death for performing a wicked deed on earth. When Odysseus visits Tartarus in Homer's epic poem *The Odyssey*, he spots the unfortunate giant Tityos, who is tied down while two vultures tear out

his liver. This is Tityo's torment for raping a woman named Leto, who was the mistress of Zeus, king of the gods and supreme god of morality.<sup>36</sup> Next Odysseus sees Tantalos, who is everlastingly hungry and thirsty. This transgressor is forced to stand in a pool of water that disappears whenever he tries to drink it; overhead hangs refreshing fruit from trees which are always tossed out of his reach whenever he tries to grasp something to eat.<sup>37</sup> Tantalos endures this torture for serving the gods the cooked flesh of his own son Pelops, to see if the divinities could tell the human flesh from that of an animal. In the poem, Odysseus also recounts his witnessing of the devious Sisyphos<sup>38</sup> punishment in Tartarus. According to Odysseus, Sisyphos is seen

...suffering strong pains, and with both arms embracing the monstrous stone, struggling with hands and feet alike, he would try to push the stone upward to the crest of the hill, but when it was on the point of going over the top, the force of gravity turned it backward and the pitiless stone rolled backed down to the level. He then tried once more to push it up, straining hard, and sweat ran all down his body, and over his head a cloud of dust rose.<sup>39</sup>

Because ancient Roman religion had many aspects borrowed from Greek ideas of worship, descriptions of Tartarus may also be found in the literature of the Romans. In the epic poem *The Aeneid* by Virgil, there are descriptions of the Hell's many horrors and of the evildoers who suffer there. One of the characters in the poem points out that a spirit named Rhadamanthus is the Tartarus judge of the wicked who

...chastises, and hears the tale of guilt, exacting confession of crimes, wherever in the world above any man, rejoicing in vain deceit, has put off atonement until death's late hour. Straightaway, avenging Tisiphone,<sup>40</sup> girt with the lash, leaps on the quilty to scourge them, and with left hand brandishing her grim snakes, calls

on her savage sister band. Then, at last, grating on harsh, jarring hinge, the infernal gates open. Seest then what sentry sits in the doorway? What shape guards the threshold? The Monstrous Hydra, still fiercer, with her fifty black gaping throats, dwells within.<sup>41</sup>

Virgil also states that Ixion and Pirithous, two other evildoers, are among many who suffer in Tartarus for earthly evils. For their punishment, they are forced to sit hungrily at a large banquet table upon which is spread delicious food while one of the Erinyes keeps watch over the two; if either Ixion or Pirithous dares to reach for food, the punitive goddess springs forth with a burning torch to singe their fingers.<sup>42</sup> In the poem *The Aeneid*, the hero Aeneas is guided by a seer through the dark, hellish Tartarus; along the way, the seer remarks that:

...Here were they who in lifetime hated their brethren, or smote a sire, and entangled a client in wrong; or who brooded in solitude over wealth they had won, nor set aside a portion for their kin -- the largest number this; who were slain for adultery; or those who followed unholy warfare and feared not to break faith with their lords-- all these immured, await their doom.<sup>43</sup>

In Hindu religion, it is dictated that Hell is divided into seven different regions collectively named *naraka*. The punitive deity in charge of *naraka* is called Yama, who "is the dread divinity of darkness, death, and hell. He rides a bullalo, and holds a scimitar, with a savage frown. Sacrifices are offered to him, and people are advised...to reflect on the sinful deeds causing transmigration, hell, and torment in Yama's World" (Mew 1971:17). British scholar Sir Charles Eliot, who has studied many religions of the Far East, states that "when a sinner dies he is led before King Yama who asks him if he never saw the three messengers of the gods sent as warnings to mortals, namely an old man, a sick man and a corpse. The sinner under judgement admits that he saw but did not reflect and Yama sentences him to

punishment until suffering commensurate to his sins has been inflicted" (Eliot 1962:338).

Traditionally there are seven Hindu hells: Put (or Pud) is the hell to which childless men are assigned; Avichi (without joys) is a mild hell lacking in sensual pleasures; Samhata (packed) is a hell for the generality of evil people, which is filled with those who undergo the lesser forms of punishments for minor transgressions; Tamisra (dark) is a hell of eternal darkness that a mythological character named Kausika was assigned to for aiding a band of murderous robbers; Rijisha is a hell where people are tormented by their conscience, which now attacks them mercilessly in the guise of fire, serpents, savage beasts, venomous insects and birds of prey; Kudmala is a hell situated on a river filled with blood where men have leprous 'bud-like' afflictions; the seventh hell, Kakola or Talatala (under-bottomless) is a place of indescribable anguish where some evildoers are slowly roasted in a frying pan or impaled upon thorns and poisonous branches, while others are boiled in oil or torn to shreds by demons with red-hot pinchers (Walker 1968:434, 552).

Some Hindu scriptures claim that there are more than seven punitive hells. In the Sanskrit Puranas, it is said that there are twenty-one hells, and the first of them is named...

Raurava (Horrrifying); it is 2,000 leagues in extent, strewn with blazing coals. Twice the size of this is the second level, therefore called Maharaurava (Most Horrrifying), consisting of melted copper and heated by fire below it. Next is the one called Tamisra (Dark), twice the size of the last one, and the fourth is named Andhatamisraka (Utter Darkness), doubling that. Kalackakra (Wheel of Time) is reported to be the fifth.

The next is Apratistha (Foundationless) and the seventh,

Ghatyantra (Diarrhea). And another, Asipatravana (Forest of Sword-Blades), said to be 72,000 leagues, is the eighth and a most important hell. The ninth is called Taptakumbha (Burning Vat), the tenth, Kutasalmali (Thorny); Karapatra (Sawtoothed) is the next, and another is Svahabhjana (Dog-Eating). And also Samdamsa (Pinchers), Lohapinda (Red Hot Iron Balls), Karambhasikata (Groat-Gravel), Ghora (Horrible), Ksarandi (Ash River), and Krmi-bhjana (Worm-Eating). The eighteenth is said to be the dreadful river Vaitarani. Also there is Sonitapuyabhjana (Blood and Pus-Eating), Ksuragradharo (Razor-Edge Sharp), Nisita (Sharp) and Cakra (wheel); Then one named Samososana (Drying Up) and Ananta (Endless).<sup>44</sup>

And what kind of moral code violators are assigned to these Hindu hells?

Those sinners who have constantly condemned Vedas, gods or brahmins, those who have ignored the beneficial teachings of Purana and Itihasa, those who find fault with their teacher, who obstruct sacred feasts, who hinder donars, all fall into these hells. Wicked people who provoke dissension between friends, between husband and wife, between brothers, between master and servant, father and son, sacrificer and teacher, and those dishonorable men who give their daughter to one man having already given her to another - all these are split in two by Yama's servants with a saw. People who make trouble for others, thieves of sandle-wood, or usira<sup>45</sup> and Yak-tail fans go to the Karambhasikata (Groat-Gravel) Hell. The foolish man who refuses food, eating elsewhere when invited to the *sraddha*<sup>46</sup> for gods and ancestors, is bitten in two by large sharp-beaked birds. Battering them with their beaks, birds alight on those who strike good men in vulnerable spots and abuse them with words. One who is hypocritically slanderous to good men suffers huge birds with horny beaks and claws who pull out his tongue. Those haughty people who treat their mothers, fathers, and teachers with contempt go to hell where they lie with their faces downward in pus, feces, and urine. Those who eat when gods, guests, and servants as well as children, fathers, fire and the mothers have not eaten, these disgraceful hosts will eat spoiled blood, pus and



urine.<sup>47</sup>

In the Hindu belief, the concept of Hell can not only signify a place of punishment for moral crimes committed during a lifetime, but the concept can also be considered in the form of transmigration or reincarnation. This is the idea of *Karma*, which follows from the principle of causality that governs human destiny. According to the idea of *Karma*, every act and thought produces their effect, either good or bad, for which the perpetrator, either in this life or in another, will one day have to face the consequences (Lemaitre 1959:73). According to Kenneth W. Morgan, a scholar of Hinduism,

The present life of an individual is conditioned by the consequences of those acts done by him in his previous life which did not produce their results during that lifetime. The moral consequences of his past conduct are conserved and have their effect in the present life. His past acts, for instance, determine the kind of body which he assumes, the family, society, and position in which he may be born, and the acts which he may do in the present life. Every creature is the creation of his own past deeds. Nothing in this world, either physical or moral, happens as the result of mere caprice or blind chance. Everything which exists has come into being by the operation of an immutable law. Thus, the otherwise inexplicable vicissitudes of life and the inequalities among human beings are explained by the doctrine of karma (Morgan 1953:128).

According to the sacred Manava-dharma-Sastra or Laws of Manu, those who have their terms in Hell are punished by being reborn in various forms. For example, one may return to life in the form of a dog or a pig; those who steal grain or honey may become rats or stinging insects respectively. A moral transgressor may even, in another life, become an object such as a tree, bush, stone, or blade of grass.<sup>48</sup>

Buddhism spread in China beginning around the first century A.D. and with it brought a whole set of moral concepts that even the uneducated

could understand, including the concepts of sin and punishment after death. Buddhist texts, which are attributed to the late century A.D. already enumerated the punishments given to the souls of sinners in different "Hells". A sin committed during a lifetime may not be immediately punished, but the sinner will definitely receive punishment after death (Eberhard 1967:50).

The Buddhist concept of sin and judgement involves a feeling of guilt, and the term for this feeling is *Tsui*. The sinner is well aware that his actions may remain unknown to others, but they are known to the supernatural powers who will give punishment. The Buddhist doctrines also state that no bribery, no attempt to cheat, or to use social status or influence will help to sway the punitive supernatural forces after death; all sinners are of the same rank and worth (Eberhard 1967:19).

Cultures that practice the Buddhist faith dictate that there are eighteen Hells controlled by ten law-courts that judge the souls of evildoers. These courts are supervised by a punitive god called Yen Wang. Buddhism scholar Clifford H. Plopper, states in his book *Chinese Religion seen through the Proverb*, that the god Yen Wang is so powerful that

...under his sway all men must eventually come. Disease and trouble are his friends, as they help to bring men under his control. When the proper time comes he sends Wu Ch'ang for one's soul, and then death is certain. His decisions cannot be delayed by wealth or influence. He judges each case on its merits and then turns the culprit over to his strong, wiry demons, who carry out his instructions. Theirs is the task of punishing spirits and bringing them the just dues for their wicked actions on earth. He is supposed to live in a beautiful palace, with numbers of servants at his command. Three times each day he is held while molten copper is poured down his throat, this done as a punishment for his own sins.

Aside from this, and his administrative duties, he is supposed to pass a life of pleasure. He is known under various names in the different sections of Hell, as each one finds him in a different personification. Yet, in all, the task is to see that man receives an adequate recompense for the evils he has committed. No one wishes to meet the Ruler of the Unseen World (Plopper 1926:323).

In the Buddhist Hell, wicked souls are sentenced to one of the Ten Courts, depending upon the earthly sins committed. After sentencing by the court, the soul is forced to travel through different sections to suffer various tortures. Followers of the Buddhist faith believe that a person who has committed great sins must endure all of the tortures assigned by the court. After each torture, the soul returns to its original form to undergo the next torture. James Mew mentions in his book, *Traditional Aspects of Hell*, that within each of the Ten Law Courts exists about sixteen different torture sections for sinners. In the first torture ward of the Fourth Court...

...The wicked shades [souls of sinners] are hung up, and water is continually poured over them. In the second, they are made to kneel on chains and pieces of split bamboo. In the third, their hands are scalded with boiling water. In the fourth, their hands swell and stream with perspiration. In the fifth, their muscles are cut and their bones pulled out. In the sixth, their shoulders are pricked with a trident and the skin rubbed with a hand brush. In the seventh, holes are bored into their flesh. In the eighth, they are made to sit on spikes. In the ninth, they wear iron clothes. In the tenth, they are placed under heavy pieces of wood, stone, earth, or tiles. In the eleventh, their eyes are put out. In the twelfth, their mouths are choked with dust. In the thirteenth, they are perpetually dosed with nasty medicines. In the fourteenth, it is so slippery, they are always falling down. In the fifteenth, their mouths are painfully pricked. In the sixteenth, their bodies are buried under broken stones, the head alone being left out (Mew 1971:69-70).

Mew also mentions that the types of sinners who are sentenced to endure such punishments in the Fourth Court are...

...those who cheat the customs and evade taxes; those who repudiate their rent, use weighted scales, sell sham medicines, water their rice, utter base coin, get deeply into debt, sell doctored silks and satins, scrape or add size to linen cloth; Those who do not make way for cripples, old and young; Those who delay delivering letters entrusted to them; steal bricks from walls as they pass by, or oil, or candles from lamps; poor people who do not behave properly, and rich people who are not compassionate to the poor; Those who promise a loan and go back on their word; Those who see people suffering from illness, yet cannot bring themselves to part with certain useful drugs they may have in their possession; those who know good prescriptions but keep them secret; who through vessels which have contained medicine, or broken cups and bottles, into the street; Those who destroy their neighbor's crops, or his walls and fences; those who try to bewitch their enemies -- by burning their waxen images or their nativity characters in a candle -- and those who try to frighten people in any way, -- all these shall be punished according to the gravity of their offenses, and shall be thrust by the devils into the great Gehenna<sup>49</sup> until their time arrives for passing into the Fifth Court (Mew 1971:70-71).

Mew states that in the first hell of the Sixth Court sinners

...are made to kneel for long periods on iron shot. In the second, they are placed up to their necks in filth. In the third, they are pounded till the blood runs out. In the fourth, their mouths are opened with iron pincers and filled full of needles. They are bitten by rats. In the sixth, they are enclosed in a net of thorns and ripped by locusts. In the seventh, they are crushed to a jelly. In the eighth, their skin is lacerated, and they are beaten on the raw. In the ninth, their mouths are filled with fire. In the tenth, they are licked by flames. In the eleventh, they are subjected to noisome smells. In the twelfth, they are butted by oxen and trampled on by horses. In the thirteenth, their hearts are scratched. In the fourteenth, their heads are rubbed till their skulls come off. In the

fifteenth, they are chopped in two at the waist. In the sixteenth, their skin is taken off and rolled up into spools. Those discontented ones who rail against heaven and revile earth, who are always finding fault either with the wind, thunder, heat, cold, fine weather, or rain; those who let their tears fall towards the north; who steal the gold from the inside, or scrape the gilding from the outside, of images; those who take holy names in vain; who show no respect for written paper, who throw down dirt or rubbish near pagodas or temples, who use dirty cook-houses and stoves for preparing the sacrificial meats, who do not abstain from eating beef and dog's flesh; those who have in their possession blasphemous or obscene books, and who do not destroy them, who obliterate or tear books which teach men to be good...all these shall be thrust into the great and noisy Gehenna, there to be examined as to their misdeeds, and passed, accordingly, into one of the sixteen wards...(Mew 1971: 76-78).

Much of the folklore of the Buddhist religion reflect the belief in eternal sufferings for moral disobedience. Such an example, with elements of Japanese Shintoism in it, is as follows:

...Now this woman very suddenly died in the fiftieth year of her age, in the twelfth month of the fifth year of the period called *Chisho*. But her body remained warm for three days, so that her relatives would not suffer her to be taken to the burning-ground. And on the evening of the third day she came to life again. Then she related that on the day of her death she had gone before the Judgement-seat of Emma, King and Judge of the Dead.<sup>50</sup> And Emma, seeing her, became wroth, and said to her: 'You have been a wicked woman, and have scorned the teaching of the Buddha. All your life you have passed in destroying the lives of silkworms by putting them into heated water. Now you shall go to the *Kwakkto-Jigoku*, and there burn until your sins shall be expiated.' Forthwith she was seized and dragged by demons to a great pot filled with molten metal, and thrown into the pot, and she cried out horribly...<sup>51</sup>

According to Mew, the Burmese believe that there are a vast number of

small hells for moral transgressors in the afterlife. In Burmese theology, it is believed that

...In the Extrementitions Hell, for instance, there are worms as large as elephants, which bite the damned while they are floating in excrement. There is also a Hell of Burning Ashes. In the Hell of Swords the damned are torn to pieces by the knives, swords, and other sharp instruments amongst which they are rolling. In the Hell of Hooks they have their lungs, livers, and bowels torn out by these cruel instruments; and in the Hell of Hammers, they are miserably beaten with red-hot implements of that kinds. There is a Hell of Thorns and Prickles; a Hell of Biting Dogs; and a Hell of Crows and Vultures. There is a hell in which the damned are constantly obliged to ascend and descend a tree, which is armed with the sharpest thorns; another, in which they are forced to drink putrid gore; and still another, where fiends despitefully use them (Mew 1971:40-41).

Along with the folklore, there are many paintings and drawings of the terrible place of punishment in Buddhist belief; the earliest existing ones are on scrolls dating back to the thirteenth century. These scrolls, of rather serious intent, depict the judges of Hell as stern and relentless officials, with the tortures of the afterlife gruesome and frightening. Along with those pictures found in scrolls, Hell scenes occur also as reliefs in temples, such as in the temple on the outside of the Sen-lo Hall on top of the Shih-T'ou-shau near Shin-chu, Taiwan. The Tung-Yuen Miao temple in Peking, which has sculptures of Hell's jailers and judges, is provided with a hidden mechanism built to put the horrifying sculptures into motion, naturally frightening many temple visitors.<sup>52</sup>

In the religion and legends of the Hebrews, Hell has seven divisions, one beneath the other, called Sheol, Abbadon, Beer Shahat Tit, ha-Yawen, Sha'are Mawet, Sha'are Zalmawet, and Gehanna.<sup>53</sup> According to Louis Ginzberg, a scholar of the Hebrew faith and its legends, it would take three

hundred years to traverse the height, or the width, or the depth of each division, and it would take six thousand three hundred years to travel over a tract of land equal in extent to the seven divisions of Hell. Ginzberg also states that

Each of the seven divisions in turn has seven subdivisions, and in each compartment there are seven rivers of fire and seven of hail. The width of each is one thousand ells, its depth one thousand, and its length three hundred, and they flow one from the other, and they are supervised by ninety thousand Angels of Destruction. There are, besides, in every compartment seven thousand caves, and in every cave there are seven thousand crevices, and in every crevice seven thousand scorpions. Every scorpion has three hundred rings, and in every ring seven thousand pouches of venom, from which flow seven rivers of deadly poison. If a man handles it, he immediately bursts, every limb is torn from his body, his bowels are cleft asunder, and he falls upon his face. There are also five different kinds of fire in hell. One devours and absorbs, another devours and does not absorb, while the third absorbs and does not devour and there is still another fire, which neither devours nor absorbs, and furthermore a fire which devours fire. There are coals big as mountains, and coals big as hills, and coals as large as the Dead Sea, and coals like huge stones; and there are rivers of pitch and sulfur flowing and seething like live coals (Ginzberg 1947:151).

According to Hebrew legend, Rabbi Joshua Ben Levi is credited for having been the first mortal to have visited Hell and returned to Earth to tell of the adventure. After a visit of Heaven, Rabbi Joshua asked permission to see Hell, but his request was denied; the righteous are not allowed in Hell. Eventually, an angel named Kinor accompanied him to the gates of the inferno. The rabbi saw compartments ten miles in length and five in width, and they were full of mountains of fire which consumed the sinners. After this experience, Rabbi Joshua recounted:

I saw at the gates of Gehenna persons hung up by their noses, others by their hands. Some there were who were hung up by their tongues, whilst others were hung up by their eyelids or feet. I saw men devoured by worms but never dying, whilst at other places I saw some whose inner parts were burnt up by coals of fire. There were some whose food was dust which broke their teeth (because upon earth they had lived on stolen goods); whilst others there were who were cast from fire into ice and from ice into fire. And I saw angels appoint to chastise each sin, and the three deadly sins are: adultery, insulting a fellowman in public, and abusing the name of God. And the faces of the inhabitants of Hell are black...<sup>54</sup>

Possibly the most famous of all punitive hells is the one derived from Christian belief; such a hell is not only explicitly described in portions of the New Testament, but it is also widely mentioned in the literature and artwork of later ages. It is no doubt that such chilling descriptions of eternal tortures after death have helped to guide both the young and the old for centuries. While, during the early history of the Christian church, secular authority was aided by the use of military force -- such as that of the Roman State-- a psychological deterrent to moral code disrespect of a more everlasting nature was conceived in the form of a Christian place of supernatural torment. This Christian Hell incorporates the major features of the awful Hells of other religious systems, and the acquaintance with the details of these older Hells helped to intensify the fear of behaving sinfully among the Christians. Because of this, the terror of a punitive afterlife began to dominate the lives of whole communities of men and women as never before (Maple 1966:26).

The New Testament gives many hints of an agonizing afterlife for those who break particular moral rules. In Matthew 41:42, Jesus states that when the world ends, "The Son of Man shall send forth his angels, and they shall



gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity, and shall cast them into a furnace of fire: There shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth." Because pride, extravagance, and selfishness are considered to be immoral attributes, according to the New Testament, Luke 19:24 tells the story of one who suffers in Hell for demonstrating such attributes during his lifetime:

There was a certain rich man who was clothed in purple and fine linen, and fared sumptuously every day: And There was a certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate, full of sores, and desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table: moreover the dogs came and licked his sores. And it came to pass, that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom: The rich man also died, and was buried; and in Hell he lift up his eyes, being in torments, and seeth Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom. And he cried and said, 'Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and cool my tongue; for I am tormented in this flame.'

For those who lack altruistic feelings, the New Testament gives a special warning in Matthew 25:41-46. On Judgement Day, according to Jesus Christ, the Son of Man will say to such sinners:

...Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels: For I was ahungered, and ye gave me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me not in: naked, and ye clothed me not; sick, and in prison, and ye visited me not. Then shall They also answer him, saying, 'Lord, when saw we thee ahungered, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee?' Then shall he answer Them, saying, 'Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye did *it* not to one of the least of these, ye did *it* to me.' And these shall go away into everlasting punishment: but the righteous into life eternal.

According to St. John's visionary account of the world's end, the

morally wicked and unjust may look forward to a horrible afterlife...

...And I saw a great white Throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away; and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God; and the books were opened; and another book was opened, which is the book of life; and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works. And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them; and they were judged every man according their works. And death and hell were cast into the lake of fire... And whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire.<sup>55</sup>

And what kind of sinners will encounter such a fate?

...The fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable, and murders, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone; which is the second death.<sup>56</sup>

The Christian Hell described by St. Peter is no less horrifying.

According to his account of Hell in a vision, St. Peter states that...

...some people were hung by their tongues; They were those who had blasphemed the path of righteousness; and underneath them a bright baneful fire was lit. And there was a pit large and filled with burning dirt, in which several people stuck who had perverted justice, and the avenging angels assaulted them. There were others there: women hung up by their braids above the seething dirt. They were those who had adorned themselves for adultery; but those who had soiled themselves with the miasma of the adultery of those women were hung up by their feet and had their heads in the dirt...I saw murders and their accomplices thrown into a narrow place filled with evil vermin and tormented by those animals and squirming under this punishment... And there were men and women standing in flames with half their bodies and they were thrown into a dark place and were scourged by evil spirits.<sup>57</sup>

The Christian Gnostics of the third century offer yet another

description of Hell in the *Pistis Sophia*. This lengthy book is full of questions that the disciples and Mary asks Jesus Christ, who answers them on the Mount of Olives after resurrection. In the *Pistis Sophia*, there is a scene where Mary asks Jesus to give her a detailed description of Hell, and Jesus tells her that that Hell is a dragon with its tail in its mouth. Within the dragon is a punitive inferno divided into twelve main dungeons, each ruled by demons with the faces of wild animals. After Jesus Christ gives Mary a description of Hell, Mary exclaims:

'Woe for the souls of sinners! Now, Therefore, O Master, Whether is the fire in the world of human kind or the fire in Amenti<sup>58</sup> the fiercer?'

The Savior answered and said unto Mary: 'Amen, I say unto Thee, the fire in Amenti scorcheth far more than the fire among men, nine times more.

'And the fire which is in the punishments of the great chaos is nine times fiercer than the fire in Amenti.

'And the fire which is in the punishments of the great chaos is nine times fiercer than the fire in Amenti.

'And the fire which is in the judgements of the rulers who are in the way of the midst, is nine times fiercer than the fire of the punishments which are in the great chaos.

'And the fire which is in the dragon of outer darkness, and all the torments which it containeth, are fiercer far than the fire which is in the chastisements and judgements of the rulers who are in the way of the midst,-- This fire is fiercer than they seventy times.'

And when the Savior had said this unto Mary, she smote her breast, she cried out aloud with all the disciples together and said, 'Woe unto the sinners, for their torments are exceedingly numerous!'<sup>59</sup>

The great 16th century Florentine author Dante also gives a terrifying description of Christian Hell in his poem, *The Divine Comedy*. According to Dante, Hell is a funnel-shaped pit that extends downward to the earth's

center. In each of the nine circles that marks the descent are sinners who undergo various forms of eternal punishment by their deeds in life; many of these are figures of mythology and history. In the first portion of the poem, entitled *The Inferno*, Dante, while being escorted by the poet Virgil, takes a tour of Hell; when Dante enters the section of Hell where sexual sinners suffer, he remarks:

...Now again I hear sounds of Pain: I now have come where loud Lamentation distresses me. I have entered a place deprived of all light, which roars as does the sea in a storm, when contrary winds are fighting. The everlasting tempest, Never resting, carries the spirits along with its violence; With whirling and beating it tortures them. When they are exposed to its ravage, then shrieks, cries, Lamentation; here they curse the power of Heaven. I learned that to this torment were damned the fleshy sinners, who submit their reason to their appetite.<sup>60</sup>

To add to these horrors that immoral souls endure, Dante reports in the poem of his witnessing the Devil, with three mouths, eternally chewing upon the three individuals who Dante considers to be the greatest sinners of all time: Judas Iscariot, who betrayed Jesus Christ, and the Romans Brutus and Cassius, who betrayed and murdered Julius Caesar.

During Dante's time, much of the religious preaching and written material emphasized a fiery existence for those who behaved immorally. Very few doubted the existence of such terrible places of punishment; due to the fact that the concept of Hell was generally accepted by Christians, it should come as no surprise that many people believed that Dante may have actually visited the inferno. According to Thomas Page, who has analyzed much of Dante's literature, the celebrated Florentine poet wrote the *Divine Comedy* in a form that went home to every heart and mind of how even the

most influential and powerful people are subject to His dominion and "must stand at last at the Judgement bar of Divine Justice to receive sentencing and possible punishment according to their deeds" (Page 1923:194). Many people of Dante's time who had read the *Divine Comedy* felt as though the poet had actually experienced the horrors described. Dante had a talent of treating certain creative matters as if they existed, so that in his poem, myth rubbed elbows with legend and history and history with the contemporary; this is evidently a method to secure the illusion of actual experience for what is not generally considered the substance of experience at all (MacDonald 1987:60).

Another interesting piece of literature that describes the supernatural torments of Christian Hell is that concerning the famous Doctor Johannes Faustus, in the book entitled *The Historie of the Damnable Life and Deserved Death of Doctor John Faustus*. Faustus was an eccentric German scholar who lived from about 1480 to 1540. What made this individual famous during his time was the persistent rumor that he surrendered his soul to the Devil in order to gain power and to experience many aspects of sensual pleasure. Within the famous book describing the various adventures and experience of Faustus, there is a scene where Doctor Faustus asks a spirit named Mephostophiles to describe the supernatural horrors of Hell in detail to him. To this request, the spirit replies:

...Know, Faustus, that Hell hath many figures, semblances, and names, but it cannot be named or figured in such sort unto the living that are damned, as it is unto those that are dead, and do both see and feel the torments thereof: for hell is said to be deadly, out of the which came never any to life again but one, but he is as nothing for thee to reckon upon; hell is bloodthirsty, and is never satisfied; hell is a valley, into the which the damned souls fall...They fall into

the deepest pit or valley which hath no bottom, into a perpetual fire, which shall never be quenched: for like as the flint thrown into the water, loseth not his virtue, neither is his fire extinguished; even so the hellish fire is unquenchable: and even as the flint stone in the fire being burned is red hot, and yet consumeth not: so likewise the damned souls in our hellish fire are ever burning, but their pains never diminishing. Therefore is hell called the everlasting pain, in which is neither hope nor mercy... Hell hath also a place within it called Chasma, out of which issueth all manner of thunders, lightnings, with such horrible shriekings and wailings, that oft-times the very Devils themselves stand in fear thereof...<sup>61</sup>

English poet John Milton vividly presents a description of Christian post-life torments for the immoral in his epic poem *Paradise Lost*. Like Dante's *Divine Comedy*, *Paradise Lost* gives the reader a frightening glimpse of what supernatural agonies may be in store for him or her for behaving unethically. According to Milton,

Hell bounds high reaching to the horrid roof  
And thrice threefold the gates; Three folds were brass,  
Three iron, Three of adamantive rock,  
Impenetrable, impaled with circling fire,  
Yet unconsumed. Before the gates there sat  
On either side a formidable shape;  
The one seemed woman to the waist, and fair,  
but ended foul in many a scaly fold  
Voluminous and vast, a serpent armed  
With mortal sting: about her middle round  
A cry of hell hounds never ceasing barked.  
With wide Cerberian mouths full loud, and rung  
A hideous peal: yet when they lust, would creep,  
If aught disturbed their noise, into her womb,  
And kennel there...yet there still barked and howled,  
Within unseen...<sup>62</sup>

What is interesting about Milton's description of Hell is the fact that there is a feeling, through the skillful use of the present tense, that makes

the reader believe that the events shown are not happenings of the past, but of the present; this gives the feeling (and possibly a subtle warning) to the reader that activities are *still* taking place, and that events in Hell are continuous and repetitive rather than segmental and finite (MacDonald 1987:60). Below is an example of this detail:

...Another part in squadrons and gross bands  
On bold adventure to discover wide  
that dismal world, if any Clime perhaps  
might yield them easier habitation, bend  
four ways their flying March, along the Banks  
Of four infernal Rivers That disgorge  
Into the burning Lake Their baleful Streams;  
Abhorred Styx the flood of deadly hate,  
Sad Acheron of sorrow, black and deep;  
*Cocytus*, nam'd of Lamentation loud  
Heard on the rueful stream; fierce *Phlegeton*  
Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.  
Far off from these a slow and silent stream  
*Lethe*, the River of Oblivion rolls  
Her watry Labyrinth, whereof who drinks,  
Forwith his former state and being forgets,  
Forgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain.  
Beyond this flood a frozen Continent,  
Lies dark and wild, beat with perpetual storms.  
Of Whirlwind and dire Hail, which on firm land  
Throws not, but gathers heap, and ruin seems  
Of ancient pile; all else deep snow and ice,  
A gulf profound as that *Serbonian* Bog  
Betwixt *Diamata* and Mount Casius old,  
Where Armies whole have sunk: the parching Air  
Burns froze, and cold performs the effect  
of Fire.<sup>63</sup>

One of the many awful features of Christian Hell, according to Milton, is that it contains no past; a reader of the poem may get the feeling that the

suffering that takes place there never ends. This helps to reinforce the idea that Hell is a place of perpetual supernatural torment and discomfort.

Just as terrifying as the exhaustable amount of Christian literature concerning supernatural afterlife punishment is much of the artwork produced by painters that graphically depicts the horrors that could befall a wicked soul after death. Medieval Florentine Andrea Orcagna, in the Church of Sta. Maria Novella at Florence, paints a chilling version of supernatural afterlife punishment; his artwork entitled *Hell* shows unhappy victims being tormented in different sections of the inferno, and the section assigned to each person depends upon the particular moral transgressions committed during the lifetime. Obviously, this painting was inspired by Dante's poem, of which Orcagna follows in his composition. Each section of the painting is numbered and explained in the composition by Orcagna that follows Dante's trip into Hell:

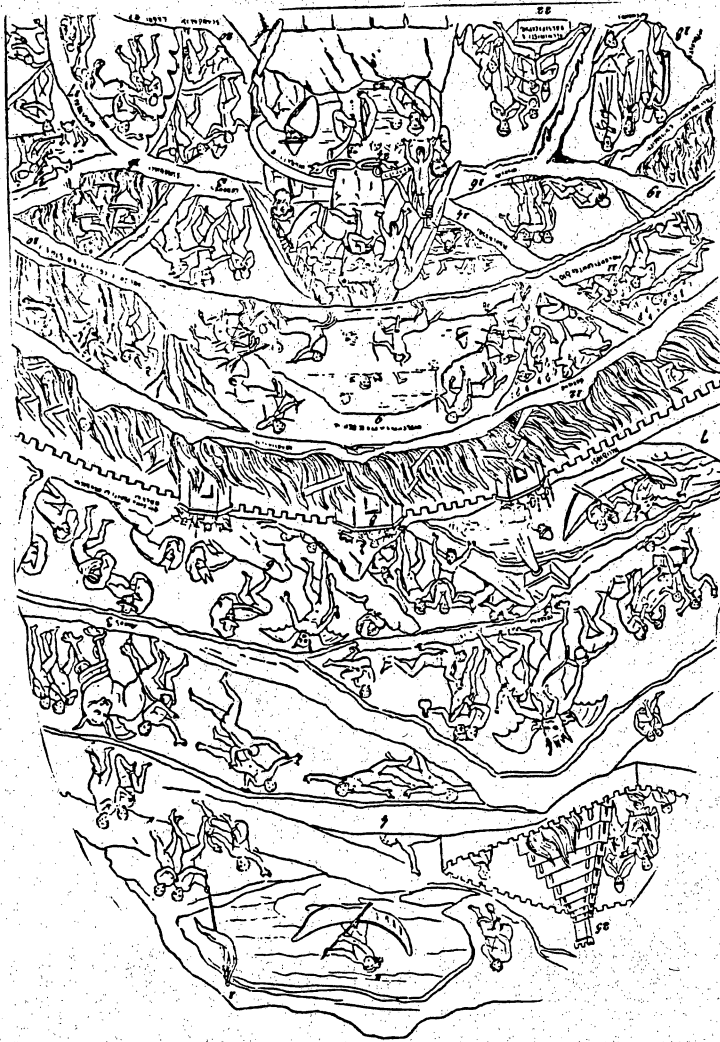
1. Entrance to the confines of Hell (Canto iiv. 52-4).
2. Charon<sup>64</sup> in his bark (Canto iii. v. 83).
3. The Minotaur<sup>65</sup> roaring at the approach of the condemned souls (Canto v. v. 4-11).
4. Souls agitated by the impure breath of evil spirits (Canto v v. 40-3).
5. Cerberus devouring the souls of gormands (Canto vi. v. 40-3).
6. The avaricious and prodigal of all conditions condemned to carry enormous burdens (Canto vii. v. 25, 28, 46, 48).
7. The marshes of the Styx,<sup>66</sup> into which the envious and angry are cast (Canto vii. v. 101-11).
8. One of the towers of the burning confines of the weeping city (Canto ix. v. 31-32).
9. The semicircular pond, in which are those who have sinned against their neighbors. They are tortured by surrounding centaurs (Canto xii. v. 52, 55, 56).



10. A marsh, where those who have sinned against themselves are tormented by harpies<sup>67</sup> (Canto xiii. v. 101, 115, 116, 124, 125).
11. Fire raining upon those who have sinned against God (Canto xiv. v. 19, 20).
12. The soul of the tyrant Gerion<sup>68</sup> cast into the flames (Canto xiii. 19, 20).
13. Debauchees of youth flogged by devils (Canto xviii. v. 64-6).
14. Flatters plunged into the poisonous gulf (Canto xviii. v. 112, 113).
15. Lake of fire, with caldrons, into which Simoniacs are cast (Canto xix. v. 112, 113).
16. Sorcerers and diviners with their faces turned backwards (Canto xx. v. 10, 12).
17. A bog of boiling pitch, for cheats, thieves, and deceivers (Canto xxi. v. 17).
18. The punishment of hypocrites, one of whom is crucified on the earth (Canto xxiii. v. 110, 111).
19. Perfidious advisers immersed in a pit of flames (Canto xxvi. v. 119-22).
20. Punishments inflicted on the scandalous (Canto xxviii. v. 119-22).
21. The torments of robbers (Canto xxv. v. 17, 19, 20).
22. Alchemists and quacks doomed to leprosy (Canto xxix. v. 73, 74).
23. A well of ice, guarded by giants, for traitors and the ungrateful (Canto xxxi. v. 42-4).
24. Pluto<sup>69</sup> in the midst of a glacier devouring the damned (Canto xxxiv. v. 28-56).
25. The Heavenly Jerusalem. <sup>70</sup>

Another Christian artwork by Andrea Orcagna that shows the supernatural activities of Hell is entitled *The Devil Consuming Sinners* which is also on the wall of the Campo Santo at Pisa. In this painting, one sees the devil with a fat body and the head of an ox grasping and mutilating the souls of the damned, while in each of his three mouths he chews on a

HELL, BY ANDREA ORCAGNA





*THE DEVIL CONSUMMING SINNERS, BY ANDREA ORCAGNA*

hapless sinner, those whom he has already consumed on are on fire within his body before being precipitated into undying flames (Wall 1904:72).

Along with graphic descriptions of Hell, the book *The Eternal Prison of Hell for the Hard-Hearted Sinner* by 17th century Italian Jesuit Father Gio. Battista Manni has equally fearful illustrations included within the text. In Manni's Hell, which he describes in his artwork, the sinner is tormented through each of his or her five senses. In one illustration the devils of Hell are seen assuming various shapes to frighten a hapless soul; in the second a demon is shown blowing a loud trumpet into the ears of victim, while ferocious-looking dogs are barking loudly nearby; in the third a victim is shown trying to hold his nose while a devil presents him with a fiery dish of a foul substance; in the fourth illustration, a victim, while having his head forced back painfully by a half-smiling demon, is made to swallow molten lead; in the illustration presenting the torment of touch, an unhappy soul is shown being pricked in the forehead with a pitchfork while trying to wrestle off sharp-fanged serpents, two of which are chewing upon his right shoulder and his waist.

*The Last Judgement*, a painting of vivid colors and high details, is one of Peter Paul Ruben's most interesting works. Examining the painting by the famous, 17th century Flemish artist can be a chilling experience for the Christian eye; the viewer sees Jesus Christ sitting upon a throne, which is situated on a cloud, with only a few "saved" individuals standing or kneeling to his right. Below the cloud, seemingly hundreds of voluptuous, naked and half-naked bodies of the damned are tumbling down into a fiery abode where demons await to torment and inflict eternal misery... No doubt, such Christian artwork reflect the strict Christian beliefs and doctrines of the

times in which they were created.

During the 18th and 19th centuries, there were many Protestant "fire and brimstone" religious leaders who tried to scare their congregations out of sinning by supplying them with colorful and highly detailed descriptions of Hell's eternal torments. One such preacher boasted of how he could bring his audience "to the edge of the pit and let them sniff the brimstone." Listeners were led to believe that the floor under their feet would give way any second, and that they would be plunged into the fires of eternal damnation (Cohen 1979:109). One such preacher was the Reverend Sam P. Jones of Georgia. In his book entitled *Quit Your Meanness*, which was published in 1886, there are many examples of his sermons which reflect his religious ideas concerning sin and the supernatural punishments that a sinner may endure for committing them. One such sermon, which was recorded through a stenograph, is as follows:

God pity you living in sin. What is to become of you? Let this book [The Bible] speak out, and this is the only book that says anything of the other side of the tomb. I will keep to this book until you find us something better, for this book says that the wicked shall be turned into hell with all the nations that forget God: I believe in a bottomless hell, and I believe that the wicked shall be turned into hell. I do believe that the righteous have hope after death, and eternal life is the legitimate end of a good man. I mean to say that God will not punish a single person except he fly in the face of the required law laid down on every page of this book; except he lay his hand over every scar in his heart and says there is no scar there. I do believe if a man lives right he will get to heaven, and those who do wrong will go to hell (Jones 1886: 159).

Even in more contemporary literature, the idea of Christian afterlife punishment is demonstrated. In the novel, *A Portrait Of The Artist as a Young Man*, by Irish author James Joyce, a "fire and brimstone" type of

preacher gives a description of Christian Hell during a sermon:

...Now let us try for a moment to realise, as far as we can, the nature of that abode of the damned which the justice of an offended God has called into existence for the eternal punishment of sinners. Hell is a strait and dark and foulsmelling prison, an abode of demons and lost souls, filled with fire and smoke. The straitness of this prisonhouse is expressly designed by God to punish those who refuse to be bound by His Laws. In earthly prisons, the poor captive has at least some liberty of movement, were it only within the four walls of his cell or in the gloomy yard of his prison. Not so in hell. There, by reason of the great number of the damned, the prisoners are heaped together in their awful prison, the walls of which are said to be four thousand miles thick: and the damned are so utterly bound and helpless that, as a blessed saint, Saint Auselem writes in his book on similitudes, they are not even able to remove from the eye a worm that gnaws it.<sup>71</sup>

The Hell of the Islamic faith has many elements similar to those of other religions; it is an abode of fiery, terrible torment and afflictions of every kind. The Qur'an, the holy book of Islam that is considered to be the divine word of Allah (God) via the prophet Muhammad, mentions the term *al'akhira*, 'the hereafter' one hundred and thirteen times. Belief in the hereafter plays a prominent role in the desired earthly behavior for the follower of Islam (Seale 1976:125). The descriptions of Hell in the Qur'an are exact and vivid; they show affinities with Jewish and Christian scriptures, apocalyptic literature, and rabbinic and theology (Russell 1984: 53). Along with this, the descriptions of supernatural afterlife punishments are presented with a certain dramatic force similar to that found in Dante and Milton's writings and in much of Christian literature: relentless supernatural punishment and eternal misery is promised to the immoral after death. For instance, to the slanderer, the Qur'an warns:

Woe to every slanderer, back-biter,  
who amases wealth  
and hords it.  
Does he think his wealth  
will abide for ever with him?  
By no means.  
He will be thrown into *Hutama* .  
How will you comprehend  
What *Hutama* is?  
It is the fire kindled  
by God.  
Which penetrates the hearts  
and vaults them over  
In extending columns.<sup>72</sup>

But, according to the beliefs of the orthodox Muslim, before a slanderer or any other sinner undergoes the punishment of Hell an article of faith must be undergone by the individual soon after death. Two angels of justice, called Munkir and Nakir serve as inquisitors of the soul; They are traditionally described as awful, horrible creatures with black skin and blue eyes. This terrifying duo asks the soul various questions concerning his or her faith, including "Who is your Lord?" and "What is your religion?" If the answers prove to be unsatisfactory to Munkir and Nakir, they punish the poor soul by striking him or her with heavy strokes of iron mallets between the ears. Children are prepared for this harsh examination by learning, at an early age, to say, "Allah is my Lord," "Islam is my religion," and "Muhammad is my prophet," (Mew 1971:372).

Of Hell's description, Muslim scholar Wahb ibn Munabbih states:

...There are seven gates to Hell, and it would take five hundred years to travel between any two of the seven. Through each gate are seventy thousand kinds of torture: cords, fetters, shackles, chains, poisons, hot water and bitter fruit. The first is Gehenna.<sup>73</sup>The

second is Laza, which is for idolators. The third is Hutama, which is for the Gog and Magog<sup>74</sup> and infidels like them. The fourth is Sair which is for the devil, as God hath said: *For whom we have prepared the torment of burning fire*.<sup>75</sup> The fifth is Saqar, which is for those who do not pray and give alms, as He hath said: *What hath brought you into hell? They shall answer, 'We were not of those who were constant at prayer, neither did we feed the poor; and we waded in vain dispute with the fallacious reasoners; and we denied the day of judgement ,until death overtook us'*.<sup>76</sup> The sixth is Jahim, which is for Jews, Christians, and magicians. The seventh is Hawiya, which is for hypocrites, as he Hath said: *The hypocrites shall be in the lowest bottom of hell fire*.<sup>77</sup> This is all taken from His Word: *It hath seven gates; unto every gate a distinct company of them shall be assigned*.<sup>78</sup>

Another Islamic scholar, Kaab al-Ahbar, states that Hell...

...has seven layers, seven gates, and seven heads, each of which has thirty-three mouths. In each mouth are innumerable tongues of fire which which praise God in various manners. There are trees of fire, the thorns of which are like long spears and blaze with flame. Upon them are fruits of fire, and on each fruit is a serpent which takes the infidel<sup>79</sup> by the eyelashes and lips and strips off his skin down to his feet. There are also Myrmidons that hold iron bludgeons, on the ends of each of which are three hundred and sixty rods of fire such that neither the djinn<sup>80</sup> nor men could bear even one. Over them are nineteen angels, as God hath said: *It scorcheth men's flesh: over the same are nineteen*<sup>81</sup> who do not disobey God and carry out their orders.<sup>82</sup>

Similar to Christian tradition, the doctrines of Islam dictate that there will be a great day of judgement when the dead will again have to answer for their earthly transgression. Muslims believe that the world as we know it will end in divine destruction followed by a Day of Resurrection during which all of mankind, past and present, will be brought to harsh account for the degree to which they have kept the faith and practice enjoined upon them by their prophets. Those who obeyed God, his



messengers and the Qur'an will henceforth enjoy Paradise; those who did not will suffer in Hell (Martin 1982:17). In the chapter entitled *The Cave*, the Qur'an says that the deeds of every human being is accounted for, and on the Day of Judgement:

...They will be arranged before their Lord row on row, (and He will say): "Well, you have come to us as We had first created you, even though you imagined We had fixed no time for this meeting".

The ledger (of their deeds) would be placed before them. Then you will see the sinners terrified at its contents, and say: "Alas, what a written revelation this, which has not left unaccounted the smallest or the greatest thing!"

They will find in it whatsoever they had done. Your Lord does not wrong anyone.<sup>83</sup>

And what will happen to the immoral?

And those who disbelieve Our revelations shall be cast into Hell: and when their skin is burnt up and singed, We shall give them a new coat that they may go on tasting the agony of punishment, for God is all-mighty and all-wise.<sup>84</sup>

Twentieth century Lebanese poet Mikhail Naimy, in his *A Book of Mirdad* writes of Judgement Day:

The day of disentangling is at hand. And  
What a fearful day it is!  
With heart and soul-veins  
have the nets of men being woven  
over the course of, lo, so many centuries  
to tear men free of their nets, their very bone must needs be  
crushed.

And men themselves shall do  
the tearing and the crushing.

When the lids are lifted -- and surely they shall do -- where would men hide their shame, and whither would they flee? In that day the living shall have envy of the dead, and the dead shall curse the living.

Men's words shall stick within their throats, and the light shall freeze upon their eyelids. Out of their hearts shall issue scorpions and vipers, and they shall cry in awe, 'Whence come these vipers and these scorpions?', forgetting that they lodged and reared them in their hearts (Naimy 1962:60-61).

Along with the religious doctrines of more complex societies, the religious beliefs of many technologically simple groups have also fostered the belief in an afterlife state of torment for those who have sinned during their days on earth. The pre-acculturated Caroline Islanders of the Western Pacific believed that their legendary god Olofat drags the souls of sinners into a place of doom and casts them into a great pit called *Setepwolis* or the Sea of Filth. While suffering in this great pit, the soul remains in a lying position without the power to move (Frazer 1924:119).

The pre-acculturated Matlov Islanders of Central Melanesia also made a distinction between the fate of the moral and the immoral after death. The islanders believed that the souls of murders, sorcerers, thieves, liars, and adulterers may not enter *Panoi* or Heaven. For example, the soul of a murderer is met at the entrance of *Panoi* by the ghost of his victim who withstands him and turns him back. From this point, the soul goes away to suffer in a horrible place where it is in a constant "state of physical pain and homelessness" (Frazer 1924:354).

The Lakota Indians of North America also maintain traditional beliefs concerning afterlife retribution for ethical misconduct. According to anthropologist James R. Walker, the Lakota believe that when a person dies,

his or her shade (another word for soul) travels to the land of shades in the northern skies. In the land of the shades, the soul dwell there in peace without sickness or sorrow of any kind; singing, dancing, and riding fine horses are among the activities that a person may participate in. Yet, "if one has been a coward or a very mean person when alive, the Spirit of the North meets him at a narrow place on the trail to the land of the shades and trips him up so that he falls into the waters, and *Unktehi*, the Spirit of the Waters, does with him as he will" (Walker 1980:122-123).

The pre-acculturated Taovayas (Wichitas) also believed that those of the group who neglected to behave during the lifetime would be assigned in the hereafter to a place different from that to which righteous people go. Athanase de Mezieres, an Indian agent of the eighteenth century, made a trip in 1772 to visit the Taovayas on the Red River and made a report concerning their beliefs. He states that

They firmly believe in the reality of another life, in which the good (in whose front ranks will be the warriors), will be rewarded and removed to a certain country where they will enjoy perpetual youth and strength, crystalline waters, exquisite fruits, and other delicacies known to them in this world. On the contrary the bad will be forever cast out among briars and rocks, surrounded by poisonous snakes, and exposed to thirst, hunger, disease, and the worst calamities thinkable.<sup>85</sup>

As one can see, in many religions and cultures there are ideas of supernatural punishments after death for moral sinners, and these ideas may possibly help in deterring a person from breaking specific moral code rules during the lifetime. Either through mythologies, sacred writings, oral sermons, religious hymns, secular and contemporary literature, or artwork, the concept of an uncomfortable existence after death has been used to

show that a person may also receive divine retribution after the lifetime for sins committed on earth, and that powerful elements constantly keep watch over the earthly actions committed by an individual. Without a doubt, such concepts of punitive Hell exist in order to persuade those of a particular group to respect the ethical requirements established, and to realize that forces, aside from those controlled by mortals, have a high regard for human thoughts and behavior.

## CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

One of the many characteristics of a culture or group is its ability to maintain and enforce particular rules and ideals for proper conduct. Because punishments for moral transgressions such as those found through judicial and social means are only useful when an immoral act is known to others within the group, alternatives are also used to guide the conscience. One such alternative is the religious belief in supernatural forces that may give punitive responses to actions that counter particular cultural rules. According to French sociologist Emile Durkheim, religion plays a great role in maintaining a sense of social control and moral order, because the institution of religion itself reflects society's rules and demands for proper behavior. Therefore, the belief in supernatural punishment for moral behavior, perpetuated via religious doctrine, plays a role in reenforcing moral behavior.

The origins of such a belief in supernatural retribution against an established moral code probably stem from primitive ideas of proper human behavior in relation to elements within the environment. The sights and sounds of strange phenomena such as thunder and lightning possibly helped form the notion that many of nature's wonders are due to the anger of an animated object. From the belief in animism stems the idea of taboo, which dictates the notion that certain objects within the environment are potentially dangerous if mishandled or disrespected in any way, and the violation of a taboo object could automatically result in the manifestation of an unfortunate event that may involve sickness or death.

From the impersonal, revengeful forces of animism and taboo comes a

more complex order of supernatural moral control. Through religious belief, the injunctions of certain deities and spirits demonstrate the desire for humans to behave within the limits of a special ethical code, and the disobedience of any rule of the code could result in terrible earthly consequences at the powerful hands of such beings. One example of a deity who was considered to be the sponsor and guardian of such an ethical code of conduct was the god Zeus of ancient Greek religion, and his representation of higher law and morality is clearly shown in the mythology and legends of the culture. Another example is found within the Buddhist religion, where the stern punitive god Yama, along with a host of other horrifying spirits of moral control, are represented in temple sculptures in order to remind worshippers that the divine are able to see every action and deed that a mortal undertakes within his or her lifetime. Some cultures, like the Manus of the South Pacific, believe that the spirits of deceased family members punish misbehaving individuals by cursing them with severe illness or economic misfortune.

Along with the belief that mortals may be punished for ethical transgressions at the hands of all-seeing beings during the lifetime, there may also be the belief that evildoers can suffer torments after death in a place or state of being such as *Hell*. In many religions, the concept of an afterlife of everlasting tortures is used to further thwart worshippers from committing immoral actions. Via mediums such as secular literature, sacred scripture, artwork, and oral sermons, the terrifying aspects of Hell come alive to perpetuate the belief that unethical behavior may be held accountable sooner and/or later. *A Divine Comedy* by Dante is a fine example of a poetic work that describes the horrors of Hell,

and reflects the Christian religious beliefs of afterlife punishment held during his era. The Muslim Qur'an, considered to be the word of God through the teachings of Mohammad, tells of the supernatural plight that may befall the immoral during the events of Judgement Day. The paintings of Orcagna and Rubens graphically display visual accounts of afterlife punishments, while "fire-and-brimstone" preachers such as Sam Jones orally depict hellish agonies. All of these examples serve to reinforce the idea that some societies believe that divine elements do have a high regard for the conduct of humanity.

Based on my interpretations of this research, religions and the consideration that humans have for the mysterious side of the environment have a definite psychological influence upon both simple and complex groups. Regardless of whether a culture is "primitive" or "civilized", an awe for the unknown and a sense that supernatural elements may influence mortal behavior seem to be universal features, because all people recognize, in some form or other, awe-inspiring, extraordinary displays of what is real. Through this observance, the respect and possible worship of unknown yet potentially powerful elements emerge.

The system of placing ethical control in the hands of unknown, extraordinary forces or established and specialized deities may be based upon fear and a strong human desire to exert some amount of understanding and/or control over the temperamental environment and the uncertain future. The fear of falling sick or roasting within a pit of fire for all eternity by insulting a moral code rule established by divine demand helps to nourish the belief that one cannot behave unethically without paying a price. At the same time, a person may develop a yearning to comprehend

why earthquakes or floods occur in order to gain a sense of mastery over present and future happenings. Both the fear of punishment and the desire to control fate, as I hope this thesis has shown, make the idea of divine guidance such a time-honored feature of human culture in relation to the social surroundings.

It is also interesting to note how religion is used to develop the ideas of spiritual and divine punishment. This should come as no real surprise, as religion is a by-product of a community and represents, according to Durkheim, its particular view of life in relation to the supernatural. From what I have attempted to demonstrate, there seem to be at least four common elements in the religious beliefs presented: (1) there is a sense of a supernatural control over life; (2) the supernatural power must be obeyed; (3) religion deals with and controls many aspects of life; and (4) the ethical side of religion apparently corresponds with the moral ideas of the group involved. For example, the Hindu belief maintains that the god Varuna and his "spies" are supernatural forces that control the lives of mortals and that the forces must always be recognized and honored. Along with this, the Hindu religion is concerned with the control of human transgressions such as lying, and this concern reflects the general moral ideas of Hindu society as a whole. This clearly helps to support Durkheim's theory of religious functionalism.

With many religions, especially those approaching the organized church form, there are many writings which are considered to be sacred; the teachings and instructions found within these writings are looked upon as originating from "higher" sources. I believe that these sacred books certainly help to propagate the belief in higher moral retribution because of



their assumed divine origins, and perhaps because they are considered to have been handed down to and interpreted to the masses by leading and charismatic mortal authorities, such as St. John and Muhammad. Because these sacred writings and their lessons of life find a place in the settings of homes, schools, and among personal possessions, it is no wonder that the knowledge of the supernatural dangers involved with unethical behavior has survived throughout the centuries.

The secular literature, which I have presented to show the belief in divine ethical punishment, also helps to fuel the idea of supernatural guidance of moral order. Even though masterpieces like Dante's *The Divine Comedy* were written basically for the sake of entertainment, they also reflect the religious beliefs of the times within which they were written; such secular descriptions of spiritual penalties, coupled with the warnings presented by local 16th century religious authority could perpetuate the idea of divine retribution even further. I have also presented a scene from James Joyce's *A Portrait of The Artist as a Young Man* because it also reflects the religious ideas of divine ethical sponsorship of a particular time. Possibly, this novel also, in a subtle way, delivered a message to the reader stating that sooner or later all earthly sins may be accounted for.

Along with sacred and secular literature, the belief in higher elements of moral retribution has also found its way in the mythologies of certain groups, such as those of the ancient Greeks. Because mythology stems from the human desire to understand the "how and why" of happenings within the universe, so it is no wonder that tales and legends of immoral individuals being punished by all-seeing and all-knowing elements have survived for ages. I believe that, for many cultures, mythology is a religious source

which helps human beings to understand what pleases or angers the governing gods or higher beings, and that the characters involved in mythological stories are used as examples to illustrate what is considered to be right or wrong behavior in the eyes of such forces.

The concept of divine punitive forces also helps to socialize through visual mediums presented in artwork such as sculptures and paintings. Without a doubt, images of unearthly torments and of the superhuman beings of morality who sponsor such torments are greatly magnified within the mind if certain representations of them can be seen. The terrifying statues of angry gods of moral justice found in Buddhist temples may very well help to guide the conscience of a Chinese youngster, even though he or she may be too young to understand and respect religious scripture or lectures given by parents or priests. I can easily imagine what kind of thoughts may have traveled through the mind of a 15th century, illiterate, Catholic commoner who might have gazed at a painting of Christian Hell's fires and demons while they tormented helpless souls; the visual effects could have possibly had more of an effect upon his or her ethical make-up than a sermon spoken in Latin, or a detailed, complicated volume of scripture that he or she could not read.

Overall, by studying the various forms and aspects of supernatural punitive forces, I am convinced that they are parts of a method of maintaining social control and order; surely, without a good sense of ethical justice, it is doubtful that a group of people could co-exist for very long without a durable system of moral government. Based on what I have studied, the belief in supernatural beings and their retributive powers is instrumental in at least two ways: it helps to establish and maintain a

sense of social and moral order within a cultural environment, and it allows human beings to develop at least a small understanding of the uncertain universe. Possibly, from this belief comes a sense that a group of people have the potential to live together within an established code of behavior and a sense of knowing that strange elements in the world can be made, to some extent, controllable, and the future can be made, to some extent, less uncertain.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>The pre-accultured Busama of New Guinea believed that a short string of dog's teeth, which were considered to be valuable, could appease the "anger" of a supernatural force considered to be insulted due to a moral transgression. Whenever such an incident happened, the leader of the group carried the dog's teeth to a sacred place or area and hung the teeth from a tree for a couple of days. After this period of time, forgiveness was then assumed, yet if the transgressor continued to suffer from sickness, a new course of action usually followed; other forces were assumed to be at work. Hogbin 1951:211.

<sup>2</sup>According to Burrige, *imbatekas* has a wide range of possible translations: uncontrollable, odd, eccentric, unusual, useless, unfortunate, awesome, queer, remarkable, evil, wicked, bad, etc. "It is a word which may be used of almost any act, situation, being, place, or thing which does not belong to the normal, preferred, expectable, commonplace order of society or nature" Unusually severe storms, thunder, lightning, and earthquakes "may also figure as *imbatekas*". Burrige 1969:134.

<sup>3</sup>Hesiod, *An Exhortation to Justice*. 240-250.

<sup>4</sup>Aeschylus, *The Orestia: The Eumenides*. 367.

<sup>5</sup>Reproduced in *Babylonian and Assyrian Religion* by Samuel Henry Hooke, 1963:98.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid, p. 99.

<sup>7</sup>An ancient Babylonian hymn reproduced in *Religions of the Ancient Far East*, translated by Helmer Ringgren, 1973:58.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid, p. 9.

<sup>9</sup>*Rig Veda*, 7-89. Reproduced in *Indian Myth and Legend* by Donald Mackenzie, 1913:26.

<sup>10</sup>*Rig Veda*, 7-16 (Ibid, p. 26).

<sup>11</sup>*Rig Veda*, 1, 24, 25 (Ibid, p. 26).

<sup>12</sup>*Atharva-Veda*, 4-16, 7. Reproduced in *Religions of India* by Auguste Barth, 1932:17.

<sup>13</sup>*Genesis*, 3: 16-19.

<sup>14</sup>*Genesis*, 19: 1-25.

<sup>15</sup>*Leviticus*, 10:1-3.

<sup>16</sup>*2 Kings*, 6: 6-7.

<sup>17</sup>*Exodus*, 20: 2-17.

<sup>18</sup>*Exodus*, 32: 27.

<sup>19</sup>*Numbers*, 15: 32-36.

<sup>20</sup>*Chronicles*, 10: 13-14.1

<sup>21</sup>*Exodus Rabba*, I, 23. Reproduced in *The Midrash Rabba* (Vol.II). The Socino Press, 1977:29.

<sup>22</sup>*Genesis Rabba*, (Vayera). L, 2. Ibid. (Vol. I), p. 434.

<sup>23</sup>Reproduced in *The Babylonian Talmud* (Vol. III). The Soncino Press, 1935:466.

<sup>24</sup>According to Radcliffe-Brown, magical properties are attributed to bee'swax (Radcliffe-Brown 1967:183).

<sup>25</sup>The North Andaman believe that the cicada is the "child" of Puluga; any disrespect to this insect would be considered to be an insulting act to the god. Such a breach may bring bad weather (Radcliffe-Brown 1967:154).

<sup>26</sup> *Webster's New International Dictionary, Unabridged*  
(1950:1159).

<sup>27</sup> Also called Maat, or Maa't, or "The Two Truths," ( of The Upper and Lower World)

<sup>28</sup> Reproduced in *Book of the Dead* by Earnest Alfred Budge (translator), 1923:32-33.

<sup>29</sup> Hesiod, *Theogony*. 720-725.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, 725.

<sup>31</sup> In Greek mythology, the Chimera was a creature with the features of a lion, goat, and dragon, while Cerberus was a three-headed dog who guarded the entrance of the Underworld, or the basic realm of the dead.

<sup>32</sup> Lucian, *Mennippus*. Translated by H. Fowler and F.G. Fowler, 1905 (Vol. I):163.

<sup>33</sup> Plato, *The Republic*. X, 615.

<sup>34</sup> According to Plato, Ardiaeus was a tyrant in the city of Pamphylia who, along with other dastardly deeds, killed his father and elderly brother. *Ibid*, 615.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, 615.

<sup>36</sup> Homer, *The Odyssey*, XI, 576.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*, 582- 593.

<sup>38</sup> In ancient Greek legend, Sisyphus, who was considered to be the founder of Corinth, performed many crafty and cunning deeds throughout his life.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*, 593-600.

<sup>40</sup>Tisiphone was one of the Erinyes, the punitive goddesses of the ancient Greeks (Virgil, *The Aeneid*, VI., 566.).

<sup>41</sup>The Hydra was a huge water serpent with a hound's body, and from five to five hundred heads.

<sup>42</sup>Virgil, *The Aeneid*, VII, 600.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid, 608.

<sup>44</sup>Reproduced in *Classical Hindu Mythology: A Reader in the Sanskrit Puranas* by Cornelia Dimmit and Johannes Adrianus Bernardus Van Buitenen, 1978:49-50.

<sup>45</sup>A kind of plant.

<sup>46</sup>The *shraddha* are Hindu funeral ceremonies for ancestor worship.

<sup>47</sup>Dimmit and Van Buitenen 1978:49-50.

<sup>48</sup>Reproduced in *The Laws of Manu* by George Buhler, 1886:2, 282.

<sup>49</sup>*Gehenna* is a section of Hell, according to some ancient texts.

<sup>50</sup>A variation of *Yama*.

<sup>51</sup>Hearn 1966:161.

<sup>52</sup>Description found in *Li-tai hsiao-shuo pi-chi shuan: Ming* (Vol I). Hong Kong: Commercial Press, p. 34. Reproduced in *Guilt and Sin in Traditional China*, by Wolfram Eberhard, 1967:50. 3

<sup>53</sup>*Midrash Kohen* 30: 35-36. The *Midrash Kohen* is a cosmological and cosmogonical midrash written by four different authors.

<sup>54</sup>From the *Beth-Hanidrash*. Reproduced in *Myth and Legends of Ancient Israel* ( Vol. I) by Angelo Rappaport, 1966:132.

<sup>55</sup> *Revelation*, 20: 11-15.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid*, 21: 8.

<sup>57</sup> Reproduced in *The History of the Devil and the Idea of Evil* by Paul Carus, 1969:179-182.

<sup>58</sup> Because the *Pistis Sophia* was written in Egypt during an age when the Syrian Gnostics had much influence within the country, the ancient Egyptian name *Amenti* for Hell is used throughout the book.

<sup>59</sup> *Pistis Sophia, Fourth Book*, pp. 268-269.

<sup>60</sup> Dante, *The Divine Comedy: The Inferno*, Cantos 24-40.

<sup>61</sup> Reproduced from *The Historie of the Damnable Life and Deserved Death of Doctor John Faustus* (1592) by William Rose (editor), 1963:92.

<sup>62</sup> Milton, J. *Paradise Lost, Book II*, 644-652. Reproduced in *The Poems of John Milton*, by J. Carey and A. Fowler (editors), 1968:538-539.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid*, 570-595.

<sup>64</sup> Charon was considered to be the Guardian of the Underworld in Greek mythology. In his boat, Charon carried the souls of the dead into the dark abode via the river Styx.

<sup>65</sup> The Minotaur was a mythological monster with the body of a man and the head of a bull.

<sup>66</sup> The river of the Underworld upon which Charon's boat traveled to take dead souls into the Underworld.

<sup>67</sup> These creatures of Greek mythology were birds with women's heads and sharp claws that often carried off children, as well as the souls of the dead.



<sup>68</sup>A three-headed giant, according to ancient Greek tradition.

<sup>69</sup>Pluto was the Roman god of the Underworld.

<sup>70</sup>Reproduced in *Devils*, by James Charles Wall, 1904:53-55.

<sup>71</sup>From *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* by James Joyce, 1916:119-120.

<sup>72</sup>*Qur'an*, 104: 1-9.

<sup>73</sup>The mentioning of Gehenna (a section of Hell in Hebrew scripture) demonstrates the fact that Islam's concept of afterlife punishment has Hebraic elements within it.

<sup>74</sup>In both Christian and Islamic tradition Gog and Magog are either two individuals or two nations, led by Satan, that will rise in power during the Last Days.

<sup>75</sup>*Qur'an*, 67: 5

<sup>76</sup>*Ibid*, 74: 42-47.

<sup>77</sup>*Ibid*, 4: 145.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid*, 15:44. Quoted in *The Tales of the Prophets* by Muhammad Al-Kibai and translated by Wheeler McIntosh Thackston, 1978:18-19.

<sup>79</sup>An infidel is a non-believer of Islam. According to Islamic belief, to practice a religion other than that of Islam is considered to be an immoral act within itself.

<sup>80</sup>Demons or malicious spirits.

<sup>81</sup>*Qur'an*, 74: 29-30.

<sup>82</sup>Al-Kibai 1978:18-19.

<sup>83</sup>Qur'an, 18: 48-49.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid, 82: 4-56.

<sup>85</sup>Athanase de Mezeires to the Baron de Ripperda, July 4, 1772. AGN Historia, vol. 51, fol. 33. Reproduced in *The Hasinai*, by Herbert Eugene Bolton, 1987:147.

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