

CONTENTS

<i>Introduction to the 2005 Edition</i>	ix
<i>Foreword</i>	xxiii
<i>Preface</i>	xxvii

CHAPTER ONE:

ARCHETYPES AND REPETITION 1

<i>The Problem</i>	3
<i>Celestial Archetypes of Territories, Temples, and Cities</i>	6
<i>The Symbolism of the Center</i>	12
<i>Repetition of the Cosmogony</i>	17
<i>Divine Models of Rituals</i>	21
<i>Archetypes of Profane Activities</i>	27
<i>Myths and History</i>	34

CHAPTER TWO:

THE REGENERATION OF TIME 49

<i>Year, New Year, Cosmogony</i>	51
<i>Periodicity of the Creation</i>	62
<i>Continuous Regeneration of Time</i>	73

CHAPTER THREE:

MISFORTUNE AND HISTORY 93

<i>Normality of Suffering</i>	95
<i>History Regarded as Theophany</i>	102
<i>Cosmic Cycles and History</i>	112
<i>Destiny and History</i>	130

CONTENTS

CHAPTER FOUR:

THE TERROR OF HISTORY	139
<i>Survival of the Myth of Eternal Return</i>	141
<i>The Difficulties of Historicism</i>	147
<i>Freedom and History</i>	154
<i>Despair or Faith</i>	159
<i>Bibliography</i>	163
<i>Index</i>	175

The Problem

THIS book undertakes to study certain aspects of archaic ontology—more precisely, the conceptions of being and reality that can be read from the behavior of the man of the premodern societies. The premodern or “traditional” societies include both the world usually known as “primitive” and the ancient cultures of Asia, Europe, and America. Obviously, the metaphysical concepts of the archaic world were not always formulated in theoretical language; but the symbol, the myth, the rite, express, on different planes and through the means proper to them, a complex system of coherent affirmations about the ultimate reality of things, a system that can be regarded as constituting a metaphysics. It is, however, essential to understand the deep meaning of all these symbols, myths, and rites, in order to succeed in translating them into our habitual language. If one goes to the trouble of penetrating the authentic meaning of an archaic myth or symbol, one cannot but observe that this meaning shows a recognition of a certain situation in the cosmos and that, consequently, it implies a metaphysical position. It is useless to search archaic languages for the terms so laboriously created by the great philosophical traditions: there is every likelihood that such words as “being,” “nonbeing,” “real,” “unreal,” “becoming,” “illusory,” are not to be found in the language of the Australians or of the ancient Mesopotamians. But if the word is lacking, the *thing* is present; only it is “said”—that is, revealed in a coherent fashion—through symbols and myths.

If we observe the general behavior of archaic man, we are struck by the following fact: neither the objects of the external world nor human acts, properly speaking, have any autonomous intrinsic value. Objects or acts acquire a

THE MYTH OF THE ETERNAL RETURN

value, and in so doing become real, because they participate, after one fashion or another, in a reality that transcends them. Among countless stones, one stone becomes sacred—and hence instantly becomes saturated with being—because it constitutes a hierophany, or possesses mana, or again because it commemorates a mythical act, and so on. The object appears as the receptacle of an exterior force that differentiates it from its milieu and gives it meaning and value. This force may reside in the substance of the object or in its form; a rock reveals itself to be sacred because its very existence is a hierophany: incompressible, invulnerable, it is that which man is not. It resists time; its reality is coupled with perenniality. Take the commonest of stones; it will be raised to the rank of “precious,” that is, impregnated with a magical or religious power by virtue of its symbolic shape or its origin: thunderstone, held to have fallen from the sky; pearl, because it comes from the depths of the sea. Other stones will be sacred because they are the dwelling place of the souls of ancestors (India, Indonesia), or because they were once the scene of a theophany (as the *bethel* that served Jacob for a bed), or because a sacrifice or an oath has consecrated them.¹

Now let us turn to human acts—those, of course, which do not arise from pure automatism. Their meaning, their value, are not connected with their crude physical datum but with their property of reproducing a primordial act, of repeating a mythical example. Nutrition is not a simple physiological operation; it renews a communion. Marriage and the collective orgy echo mythical prototypes; they are repeated because they were consecrated in the beginning (“in those days,” *in illo tempore, ab origine*) by gods, ancestors, or heroes.

¹ Cf. our *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (English trans., London and New York, 1958), pp. 216 ff.

ARCHETYPES AND REPETITION

In the particulars of his conscious behavior, the “primitive,” the archaic man, acknowledges no act which has not been previously posited and lived by someone else, some other being who was not a man. What he does has been done before. His life is the ceaseless repetition of gestures initiated by others.

This conscious repetition of given paradigmatic gestures reveals an original ontology. The crude product of nature, the object fashioned by the industry of man, acquire their reality, their identity, only to the extent of their participation in a transcendent reality. The gesture acquires meaning, reality, solely to the extent to which it repeats a primordial act.

Various groups of facts, drawn here and there from different cultures, will help us to identify the structure of this archaic ontology. We have first sought out examples likely to show, as clearly as possible, the mechanism of traditional thought; in other words, facts which help us to understand how and why, for the man of the premodern societies, certain things become real.

It is essential to understand this mechanism thoroughly, in order that we may afterward approach the problem of human existence and of history within the horizon of archaic spirituality.

We have distributed our collection of facts under several principal headings:

1. Facts which show us that, for archaic man, reality is a function of the imitation of a celestial archetype.
2. Facts which show us how reality is conferred through participation in the “symbolism of the Center”: cities, temples, houses become real by the fact of being assimilated to the “center of the world.”
3. Finally, rituals and significant profane gestures which acquire the meaning attributed to them, and materialize that meaning, only because they deliberately repeat such

THE MYTH OF THE ETERNAL RETURN

and such acts posited *ab origine* by gods, heroes, or ancestors.

The presentation of these facts will in itself lay the groundwork for a study and interpretation of the ontological conception underlying them.

Celestial Archetypes of Territories, Temples, and Cities

ACCORDING to Mesopotamian beliefs, the Tigris has its model in the star Anunit and the Euphrates in the star of the Swallow.² A Sumerian text tells of the “place of the creation of the gods,” where “the [divinity of] the flocks and grains” is to be found.³ For the Ural-Altaic peoples the mountains, in the same way, have an ideal prototype in the sky.⁴ In Egypt, places and nomes were named after the celestial “fields”: first the celestial fields were known, then they were identified in terrestrial geography.⁵

In Iranian cosmology of the Zarvanitic tradition, “every terrestrial phenomenon, whether abstract or concrete, corresponds to a celestial, transcendent invisible term, to an “idea” in the Platonic sense. Each thing, each notion presents itself under a double aspect: that of *mēnōk* and that of *gētīk*. There is a visible sky: hence there is also a *mēnōk* sky which is invisible (*Bundahišn*, Ch. I). Our earth corresponds to a celestial earth. Each virtue practiced here below, in the *gētāh*, has a celestial counterpart which represents true reality. . . . The year, prayer . . . in short, whatever is manifested in the *gētāh*, is at the same time

² Our *Cosmologie și alchimie babiloniană* (Bucharest, 1937), pp. 21 ff.

³ Edward Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts*, I (Upland, 1924), p. 29.

⁴ Uno Harva (formerly Holmberg), *Der Baum des Lebens* (Annales Accademiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Helsinki, 1923), p. 39.

⁵ Raymond Weill, *Le Champs des roseaux et le champs des offrandes dans la religion funéraire et la religion générale* (Paris, 1936), pp. 62 ff.

ARCHETYPES AND REPETITION

mēnōk. The creation is simply duplicated. From the cosmogonic point of view the cosmic stage called *mēnōk* precedes the stage *gētlk*.”⁶

The temple in particular—pre-eminently the sacred place—had a celestial prototype. On Mount Sinai, Jehovah shows Moses the “form” of the sanctuary that he is to build for him: “According to all that I shew thee, after the pattern of the tabernacle, and the pattern of all the instruments thereof, even so shall ye make it. . . . And look that thou make them after their pattern, which was shewed thee in the mount” (Exodus 25 : 9, 40). And when David gives his son Solomon the plan for the temple buildings, for the tabernacle, and for all their utensils, he assures him that “All this . . . the Lord made me understand in writing by his hand upon me, even all the works of this pattern” (I Chronicles 28 : 19). Hence he had seen the celestial model.⁷

The earliest document referring to the archetype of a sanctuary is Gudea’s inscription concerning the temple he built at Lagash. In a dream the king sees the goddess Nidaba, who shows him a tablet on which the beneficent stars are named, and a god who reveals the plan of the temple to him.⁸ Cities too have their divine prototypes. All the Babylonian cities had their archetypes in the con-

⁶ H. S. Nyberg, “Questions de cosmogonie et de cosmologie mazdéennes,” *Journal Asiatique* (Paris), CCXIX (July–Sept., 1931), pp. 35–36. But, as Henry Corbin rightly remarks, “we must take care not to reduce the contrast they [the *mēnōk* and the *gētlk*] express to a Platonic schema pure and simple. We are not dealing precisely with an opposition between idea and matter, or between the universal and the perceptible. *Mēnōk* should, rather, be translated by a celestial, invisible, spiritual, but perfectly concrete state. *Gētlk* designates an earthly visible, material state, but of a matter which is in itself wholly luminous, a matter immaterial in relation to the matter that we actually know.” Corbin, “Cyclical Time in Mazdaism and Ismailism,” in *Man and Time* (New York and London, 1957), p. 118.

⁷ Cf. the rabbinical traditions in Raphael Patai, *Man and Temple* (London, 1947), pp. 130 ff.

⁸ E. Burrows, “Some Cosmological Patterns in Babylonian Religion,” in *The Labyrinth*, ed. S. H. Hooke (London, 1935), pp. 65 ff.

THE MYTH OF THE ETERNAL RETURN

stellations: Sippara in Cancer, Nineveh in Ursa Major, Assur in Arcturus, etc.⁹ Sennacherib has Nineveh built according to the "form . . . delineated from distant ages by the writing of the heaven-of-stars." Not only does a model precede terrestrial architecture, but the model is also situated in an ideal (celestial) region of eternity. This is what Solomon announces: "Thou gavest command to build a sanctuary in thy holy mountain, And an altar in the city of thy habitation, A copy of the holy tabernacle which thou preparedst aforehand from the beginning."¹⁰

A celestial Jerusalem was created by God before the city was built by the hand of man; it is to the former that the prophet refers in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch II, 4 : 2-7: " 'Dost thou think that this is that city of which I said: "On the palms of My hands have I graven thee"? This building now built in your midst is not that which is revealed with Me, that which was prepared beforehand here from the time when I took counsel to make Paradise, and showed it to Adam before he sinned . . . ' " ¹¹ The heavenly Jerusalem kindled the inspiration of all the Hebrew prophets: Tobias 13 : 16; Isaiah 59 : 11 ff.; Ezekiel 60, etc. To show him the city of Jerusalem, God lays hold of Ezekiel in an ecstatic vision and transports him to a very high mountain. And the *Sibylline Oracles* preserve the memory of the New Jerusalem in the center of which there shines "a temple . . . with a giant tower touching the very clouds and seen of all . . . " ¹² But the most beautiful description of the heavenly Jerusalem occurs in the Apoc-

⁹ Cf. our *Cosmologie*, p. 22; Burrows, pp. 60 ff.

¹⁰ Wisdom of Solomon 9 : 8; trans. in R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English* (Oxford, 1913), I, p. 549.

¹¹ Charles, II, p. 482.

¹² Charles, II, p. 405; Alberto Pincherle, *Gli Oracoli Sibillini giudaici* (Rome, 1922), pp. 95-96.

ARCHETYPES AND REPETITION

alypse (21 : 2 ff.): “And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.”

We find the same theory in India: all the Indian royal cities, even the modern ones, are built after the mythical model of the celestial city where, in the age of gold (*in illo tempore*), the Universal Sovereign dwelt. And, like the latter, the king attempts to revive the age of gold, to make a perfect reign a present reality—an idea which we shall encounter again in the course of this study. Thus, for example, the palace-fortress of Sigiriya, in Ceylon, is built after the model of the celestial city Alakamanda and is “hard of ascent for human beings” (*Mahāvastu*, 39, 2). Plato’s ideal city likewise has a celestial archetype (*Republic*, 592b; cf. 500e). The Platonic “forms” are not astral; yet their mythical region is situated on supraterrrestrial planes (*Phaedrus*, 247, 250).

The world that surrounds us, then, the world in which the presence and the work of man are felt—the mountains that he climbs, populated and cultivated regions, navigable rivers, cities, sanctuaries—all these have an extraterrestrial archetype, be it conceived as a plan, as a form, or purely and simply as a “double” existing on a higher cosmic level. But everything in the world that surrounds us does not have a prototype of this kind. For example, desert regions inhabited by monsters, uncultivated lands, unknown seas on which no navigator has dared to venture, do not share with the city of Babylon, or the Egyptian nome, the privilege of a differentiated prototype. They correspond to a mythical model, but of another nature: all these wild, uncultivated regions and the like are assimilated to chaos; they still participate in the undifferentiated, formless modality of pre-Creation. This is why, when posses-

THE MYTH OF THE ETERNAL RETURN

sion is taken of a territory—that is, when its exploitation begins—rites are performed that symbolically repeat the act of Creation: the uncultivated zone is first “cosmicized,” then inhabited. We shall presently return to the meaning of this ceremonial taking possession of newly discovered countries. For the moment, what we wish to emphasize is the fact that the world which surrounds us, civilized by the hand of man, is accorded no validity beyond that which is due to the extraterrestrial prototype that served as its model. Man constructs according to an archetype. Not only do his city or his temple have celestial models; the same is true of the entire region that he inhabits, with the rivers that water it, the fields that give him his food, etc. The map of Babylon shows the city at the center of a vast circular territory bordered by a river, precisely as the Sumerians envisioned Paradise. This participation by urban cultures in an archetypal model is what gives them their reality and their validity.

Settlement in a new, unknown, uncultivated country is equivalent to an act of Creation. When the Scandinavian colonists took possession of Iceland, *Landnāma*, and began to cultivate it, they regarded this act neither as an original undertaking nor as human and profane work. Their enterprise was for them only the repetition of a primordial act: the transformation of chaos into cosmos by the divine act of Creation. By cultivating the desert soil, they in fact repeated the act of the gods, who organized chaos by giving it forms and norms.¹³ Better still, a territorial conquest does not become real until after—more precisely, through—the ritual of taking possession, which is only a copy of the primordial act of the Creation of the World. In Vedic India the erection of an altar dedicated to Agni

¹³ Cf. van Hamel, cited by Gerardus van der Leeuw, *L'Homme primitif et la religion* (French trans., Paris, 1940), p. 110.

ARCHETYPES AND REPETITION

constituted legal taking possession of a territory.¹⁴ “One settles (*avasyati*) when he builds the *gārhapatya*, and whoever are builders of fire-altars are ‘settled’ (*avasitāḥ*),” says the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 1, 1, 1–4). But the erection of an altar dedicated to Agni is merely the micro-cosmic imitation of the Creation. Furthermore, any sacrifice is, in turn, the repetition of the act of Creation, as Indian texts explicitly state.¹⁵ It was in the name of Jesus Christ that the Spanish and Portuguese conquistadores took possession of the islands and continents that they had discovered and conquered. The setting up of the Cross was equivalent to a justification and to the consecration of the new country, to a “new birth,” thus repeating baptism (act of Creation). In their turn the English navigators took possession of conquered countries in the name of the king of England, new Cosmocrator.

The importance of the Vedic, Scandinavian, or Roman ceremonials will appear more clearly when we devote a separate examination to the meaning of the repetition of the Creation, the pre-eminently divine act. For the moment, let us keep one fact in view: every territory occupied for the purpose of being inhabited or utilized as *Lebensraum* is first of all transformed from chaos into cosmos; that is, through the effect of ritual it is given a “form” which makes it become real. Evidently, for the archaic mentality, reality manifests itself as force, effectiveness, and duration. Hence the outstanding reality is the sacred; for only the sacred *is* in an absolute fashion, acts effectively, creates things and makes them endure. The innumerable gestures of consecration—of tracts and territories, of objects, of men, etc.—reveal the primitive’s obsession with the real, his thirst for being.

¹⁴ Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *The Ṛg Veda as Land-nāma-bōk* (London, 1935), p. 16, etc.

¹⁵ For example, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIV, 1, 2, 26, etc.; see below, Ch. II.

THE MYTH OF THE ETERNAL RETURN

The Symbolism of the Center

PARALLELING the archaic belief in the celestial archetypes of cities and temples, and even more fully attested by documents, there is, we find, another series of beliefs, which refer to their being invested with the prestige of the Center. We examined this problem in an earlier work;¹⁶ here we shall merely recapitulate our conclusions. The architectonic symbolism of the Center may be formulated as follows:

1. The Sacred Mountain—where heaven and earth meet—is situated at the center of the world.

2. Every temple or palace—and, by extension, every sacred city or royal residence—is a Sacred Mountain, thus becoming a Center.

3. Being an *axis mundi*, the sacred city or temple is regarded as the meeting point of heaven, earth, and hell.

A few examples will illustrate each of these symbols:

1. According to Indian beliefs, Mount Meru rises at the center of the world, and above it shines the polestar. The Ural-Altaic peoples also know of a central mountain, Sumeru, to whose summit the polestar is fixed. Iranian beliefs hold that the sacred mountain Haraberezaiti (Elburz) is situated at the center of the earth and is linked with heaven.¹⁷ The Buddhist population of Laos, north of Siam, know of Mount Zinnalo, at the center of the world. In the *Edda*, Himinbjorg, as its name indicates, is a “celestial mountain”; it is here that the rainbow (Bifrost) reaches the dome of the sky. Similar beliefs are found among the

¹⁶ See our *Cosmologie*, pp. 26–50; cf. also our *Images and Symbols: Studies in Religious Symbolism* (English trans., London and New York, 1961), Ch. I.

¹⁷ Willibald Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder* (Bonn, 1920), p. 15; Harva, p. 41; Arthur Christensen, *Les Types du premier homme et du premier roi dans l'histoire légendaire des Iraniens*, II (Stockholm, 1917), p. 42; our *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy* (English trans., New York and London, 1964), pp. 259 ff.

ARCHETYPES AND REPETITION

Finns, the Japanese, and other peoples. We are reminded that for the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula an immense rock, Batu-Ribn, rises at the center of the world; above it is hell. In past times, a tree trunk on Batu-Ribn rose into the sky.¹⁸ Hell, the center of the earth, and the “gate” of the sky are, then, situated on the same axis, and it is along this axis that passage from one cosmic region to another was effected. We should hesitate to credit the authenticity of this cosmological theory among the Semang pygmies if we did not have evidence that the same theory already existed in outline during the prehistoric period.¹⁹ According to Mesopotamian beliefs, a central mountain joins heaven and earth; it is the Mount of the Lands,²⁰ the connection between territories. Properly speaking, the ziggurat was a cosmic mountain, i.e., a symbolic image of the cosmos, the seven stories representing the seven planetary heavens (as at Borsippa) or having the colors of the world (as at Ur).

Mount Tabor, in Palestine, could mean *ṭabbūr*, i.e., navel, *omphalos*. Mount Gerizim, in the center of Palestine, was undoubtedly invested with the prestige of the Center, for it is called “navel of the earth” (*ṭabbūr ereṣ*; cf. Judges 9 : 37: “. . . See there come people down by the middle [Heb., navel] of the land . . .”). A tradition preserved by Peter Comestor relates that at the summer solstice the sun casts no shadow on the “Fountain of Jacob” (near Gerizim). And indeed, Peter continues, “sunt qui dicunt locum illum esse umbilicum terrae nostrae habitabilis.” Palestine, being the highest country—because it was near

¹⁸ Cf. Paul Schebesta, *Les Pygmées* (French trans., Paris, 1940), pp. 156 ff.; other examples in our *Shamanism*, pp. 280 ff.

¹⁹ Cf., for example, W. Gaerte, “Kosmische Vorstellungen im Bilde prähistorischer Zeit: Erdberg, Himmelsberg, Erdnabel und Weltströme,” *Anthropos* (Salzburg), IX (1914), pp. 956–79.

²⁰ Alfred Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* (2nd edn., Berlin and Leipzig, 1929), p. 130.

THE MYTH OF THE ETERNAL RETURN

to the summit of the cosmic mountain—was not covered by the Deluge. A rabbinic text says: “The land of Israel was not submerged by the deluge.”²¹ For Christians, Golgotha was situated at the center of the world, since it was the summit of the cosmic mountain and at the same time the place where Adam had been created and buried. Thus the blood of the Saviour falls upon Adam’s skull, buried precisely at the foot of the Cross, and redeems him. The belief that Golgotha is situated at the center of the world is preserved in the folklore of the Eastern Christians.²²

2. The names of the Babylonian temples and sacred towers themselves testify to their assimilation to the cosmic mountain: “Mount of the House,” “House of the Mount of All Lands,” “Mount of Tempests,” “Link Between Heaven and Earth.”²³ A cylinder from the period of King Gudea says that “The bed-chamber [of the god] which he built was [like] the cosmic mountain . . .”²⁴ Every Oriental city was situated at the center of the world. Babylon was a *Bāb-ilāni*, a “gate of the gods,” for it was there that the gods descended to earth. In the capital of the Chinese sovereign, the gnomon must cast no shadow at noon on the day of the summer solstice. Such a capital is, in effect, at the center of the universe, close to the miraculous tree (*kien-mu*), at the meeting place of the three cosmic zones: heaven, earth, and hell.²⁵ The Javanese

²¹ Cf. Burrows, pp. 51, 54, 62, note 1; A. J. Wensinck, *The Ideas of the Western Semites Concerning the Navel of the Earth* (Amsterdam, 1916), p. 15; Patai, p. 85. The same symbolism in Egypt: cf. Patai, p. 101, note 100.

²² E.g., among the Little Russians; Mansikka, cited by Harva, p. 72.

²³ Theodor Dombart, *Der Sakralturm*, Part I: *Zikkurat* (Munich, 1920), p. 34; cf. A. Parrot, *Ziggurats et Tour de Babel* (Paris, 1949). Indian temples are also assimilated to mountains: cf. Willy Foy, “Indische Kultbauten als Symbole des Götterbergs,” in *Festschrift Ernst Windisch zum siebzigsten Geburtstag . . . Dargebracht* (Leipzig, 1914), pp. 213–16. The same symbolism among the Aztecs: cf. Walter Krickeberg, “Bauform und Weltbild im alten Mexico,” *Paideuma* (Bamberg), IV (1950), 295–333.

²⁴ W. F. Albright, “The Mouth of the Rivers,” *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (Chicago), XXXV (1919), p. 173.

²⁵ Marcel Granet, *La Pensée chinoise* (Paris, 1934), p. 324; our *Le Chamanisme*, pp. 243 ff.

ARCHETYPES AND REPETITION

temple of Borobudur is itself an image of the cosmos, and is built like an artificial mountain (as were the ziggurats). Ascending it, the pilgrim approaches the center of the world, and, on the highest terrace, breaks from one plane to another, transcending profane, heterogeneous space and entering a "pure region." Cities and sacred places are assimilated to the summits of cosmic mountains. This is why Jerusalem and Zion were not submerged by the Deluge. According to Islamic tradition, the highest point on earth is the Kaaba, because "the polestar proves that . . . it lies over against the center of heaven." ²⁶

3. Finally, because of its situation at the center of the cosmos, the temple or the sacred city is always the meeting point of the three cosmic regions: heaven, earth, and hell. *Dur-an-ki*, "Bond of Heaven and Earth," was the name given to the sanctuaries of Nippur and Larsa, and doubtless to that of Sippara. Babylon had many names, among them "House of the Base of Heaven and Earth," "Bond of Heaven and Earth." But it is always Babylon that is the scene of the connection between the earth and the lower regions, for the city had been built upon *bāb apsu*, the "Gate of the Apsu" ²⁷—*apsu* designating the waters of chaos before the Creation. We find the same tradition among the Hebrews. The rock of Jerusalem reached deep into the subterranean waters (*tehōm*). The Mishnah says that the Temple is situated exactly above the *tehōm* (Hebrew equivalent of *apsu*). And just as in Babylon there was the "gate of the *apsu*," the rock of the Temple in Jerusalem contained the "mouth of the *tehōm*." ²⁸ We find similar conceptions in the Indo-European world. Among the Romans, for example, the *mundus*—that is, the trench dug around the place where a city was to be founded—constitutes the point where the lower regions and the terrestrial

²⁶ *Kisā'ī*, fol. 15; cited by Wensinck, p. 15.

²⁷ Jeremias, p. 113; Burrows, pp. 46 ff., 50.

²⁸ Texts in Burrows, p. 49; cf. also Patai, pp. 55 ff.

THE MYTH OF THE ETERNAL RETURN

world meet. "When the *mundus* is open it is as if the gates of the gloomy infernal gods were open," says Varro (cited by Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, I, 16, 18). The Italic temple was the zone where the upper (divine), terrestrial, and subterranean worlds intersected.

The summit of the cosmic mountain is not only the highest point of the earth; it is also the earth's navel, the point at which the Creation began. There are even instances in which cosmological traditions explain the symbolism of the Center in terms which might well have been borrowed from embryology. "The Holy One created the world like an embryo. As the embryo proceeds from the navel onwards, so God began to create the world from its navel onwards and from there it was spread out in different directions." The *Yoma* affirms: "The world has been created beginning from Zion."²⁹ In the *Rg-Veda* (for example X, 149), the universe is conceived as spreading from a central point.³⁰ The creation of man, which answers to the cosmogony, likewise took place at a central point, at the center of the world. According to Mesopotamian tradition, man was formed at the "navel of the earth" in *uzu* (flesh), *sar* (bond), *ki* (place, earth), where *Dur-an-ki*, the "Bond of Heaven and Earth," is also situated. Ormazd creates the primordial ox Evagdāth, and the primordial man, Gajōmard, at the center of the earth.³¹ Paradise, where Adam was created from clay, is, of course, situated at the center of the cosmos. Paradise was the navel of the Earth and, according to a Syrian tradition, was established on a mountain higher than all others. According to the Syrian *Book of the Cave of Treasures*, Adam was created at the

²⁹ Texts cited by Wensinck, pp. 19, 16; cf. also W. H. Roscher, "Neue Omphalosstudien," *Abhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft* (Leipzig), *Phil.-hist. Klasse*, XXXI, 1 (1915), pp. 16 ff., 73 ff.; Burrows, p. 57; Patai, p. 85.

³⁰ Cf. the commentary of Kirfel, p. 8.

³¹ Burrows, p. 49; Christensen, I, pp. 22 ff.

ARCHETYPES AND REPETITION

center of the earth, at the same spot where the Cross of Christ was later to be set up. The same traditions have been preserved by Judaism. The Jewish apocalypse and a midrash state that Adam was formed in Jerusalem.³² Adam being buried at the very spot where he was created, i.e., at the center of the world, on Golgotha, the blood of the Saviour—as we have seen—will redeem him too.

The symbolism of the Center is considerably more complex, but the few aspects to which we have referred will suffice for our purpose. We may add that the same symbolism survived in the Western world down to the threshold of modern times. The very ancient conception of the temple as the *imago mundi*, the idea that the sanctuary reproduces the universe in its essence, passed into the religious architecture of Christian Europe: the basilica of the first centuries of our era, like the medieval cathedral, symbolically reproduces the Celestial Jerusalem.³³ As to the symbolism of the mountain, of the Ascension, and of the “Quest for the Center,” they are clearly attested in medieval literature, and appear, though only by allusion, in certain literary works of recent centuries.³⁴

Repetition of the Cosmogony

THE CENTER, then, is pre-eminently the zone of the sacred, the zone of absolute reality. Similarly, all the other symbols of absolute reality (trees of life and immortality,

³² Wensinck, p. 14; Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Cave of Treasures* (trans. from the Syriac, London, 1927), p. 53; Oskar Daehnhardt, *Natursagen*, I (Leipzig, 1909), p. 112; Burrows, p. 57.

³³ On the cosmic symbolism of temples in the ancient East, cf. A. M. Hocart, *Kings and Councillors* (Cairo, 1936), pp. 220 ff.; Patai, pp. 106 ff. On the cosmic symbolism of basilicas and cathedrals, see Hans Sedlmayr, “Architectur als abbildende Kunst,” *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sitzungsberichte* (Vienna), *Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 225/3 (1948), and *Die Kathedrale* (Zurich, 1950).

³⁴ See our *Images and Symbols*.

THE MYTH OF THE ETERNAL RETURN

Fountain of Youth, etc.) are also situated at a center. The road leading to the center is a “difficult road” (*dūrohaṇa*), and this is verified at every level of reality: difficult convolutions of a temple (as at Borobudur); pilgrimage to sacred places (Mecca, Hardwar, Jerusalem); danger-ridden voyages of the heroic expeditions in search of the Golden Fleece, the Golden Apples, the Herb of Life; wanderings in labyrinths; difficulties of the seeker for the road to the self, to the “center” of his being, and so on. The road is arduous, fraught with perils, because it is, in fact, a rite of the passage from the profane to the sacred, from the ephemeral and illusory to reality and eternity, from death to life, from man to the divinity. Attaining the center is equivalent to a consecration, an initiation; yesterday’s profane and illusory existence gives place to a new, to a life that is real, enduring, and effective.

If the act of the Creation realizes the passage from the nonmanifest to the manifest or, to speak cosmologically, from chaos to cosmos; if the Creation took place from a center; if, consequently, all the varieties of being, from the inanimate to the living, can attain existence only in an area dominantly sacred—all this beautifully illuminates for us the symbolism of sacred cities (centers of the world), the geomantic theories that govern the foundation of towns, the conceptions that justify the rites accompanying their building. We studied these construction rites, and the theories which they imply, in an earlier work,³⁵ and to this we refer the reader. Here we shall only emphasize two important propositions:

1. Every creation repeats the pre-eminent cosmogonic act, the Creation of the world.
2. Consequently, whatever is founded has its foundation at the center of the world (since, as we know, the Creation itself took place from a center).

³⁵ *Comentarii la legenda Meșterului Manole* (Bucharest, 1943).

ARCHETYPES AND REPETITION

Among the many examples at hand, we shall choose only one, which, as it is interesting in other respects too, will reappear later in our exposition. In India, before a single stone is laid, "The astrologer shows what spot in the foundation is exactly above the head of the snake that supports the world. The mason fashions a little wooden peg from the wood of the Khadira tree, and with a coconut drives the peg into the ground at this particular spot, in such a way as to peg the head of the snake securely down. . . . If this snake should ever shake its head really violently, it would shake the world to pieces."³⁶ A foundation stone is placed above the peg. The cornerstone is thus situated exactly at the "center of the world." But the act of foundation at the same time repeats the cosmogonic act, for to "secure" the snake's head, to drive the peg into it, is to imitate the primordial gesture of Soma (*R̥g-Veda*, II, 12, 1) or of Indra when the latter "smote the Serpent in his lair" (VI, 17, 9), when his thunderbolt "cut off its head" (I, 52, 10). The serpent symbolizes chaos, the formless and nonmanifested. Indra comes upon Vṛtra (IV, 19, 3) undivided (*aparvan*), unawakened (*abudhyam*), sleeping (*abudhyamānam*), sunk in deepest sleep (*suṣupaṇam*), outstretched (*aśayānam*). The hurling of the lightning and the decapitation are equivalent to the act of Creation, with passage from the nonmanifested to the manifested, from the formless to the formed. Vṛtra had confiscated the waters and was keeping them in the hollows of the mountains. This means either that Vṛtra was the absolute master—in the same manner as Tiamat or any serpent divinity—of all chaos before the Creation; or that the great serpent, keeping the waters for himself alone, had left the whole world ravaged by drought. Whether this confiscation occurred before the act of Creation or is to

³⁶ Mrs. (Margaret) Sinclair Stevenson, *The Rites of the Twice-Born* (London, 1920), p. 354 and note.

THE MYTH OF THE ETERNAL RETURN

be placed after the foundation of the world, the meaning remains the same: Vṛtra “hinders”³⁷ the world from being made, or from enduring. Symbol of the nonmanifested, of the latent, or of the formless, Vṛtra represents the chaos which existed before the Creation.

In our commentaries on the legend of Master Manole (cf. note 35, above) we attempted to explain construction rites through imitation of the cosmogonic gesture. The theory that these rites imply comes down to this: nothing can endure if it is not “animated,” if it is not, through a sacrifice, endowed with a “soul”; the prototype of the construction rite is the sacrifice that took place at the time of the foundation of the world. In fact, in certain archaic cosmogonies, the world was given existence through the sacrifice of a primordial monster, symbolizing chaos (Tiamat), or through that of a cosmic giant (Ymir, Pan-Ku, Puruṣa). To assure the reality and the enduringness of a construction, there is a repetition of the divine act of perfect construction: the Creation of the worlds and of man. As the first step, the “reality” of the site is secured through consecration of the ground, i.e., through its transformation into a center; then the validity of the act of construction is confirmed by repetition of the divine sacrifice. Naturally, the consecration of the center occurs in a space qualitatively different from profane space. Through the paradox of rite, every consecrated space coincides with the center of the world, just as the time of any ritual coincides with the mythical time of the “beginning.” Through repetition of the cosmogonic act, concrete time, in which the construction takes place, is projected into mythical time, *in illo tempore* when the foundation of the world occurred. Thus the reality and the enduringness of a construction are

³⁷ Mephistopheles too was *der Vater aller Hindernisse*, “the father of all hindrances” (*Faust*, v. 6209).

ARCHETYPES AND REPETITION

assured not only by the transformation of profane space into a transcendent space (the center) but also by the transformation of concrete time into mythical time. Any ritual whatever, as we shall see later, unfolds not only in a consecrated space (i.e., one different in essence from profane space) but also in a “sacred time,” “once upon a time” (*in illo tempore, ab origine*), that is, when the ritual was performed for the first time by a god, an ancestor, or a hero.

Divine Models of Rituals

EVERY RITUAL has a divine model, an archetype; this fact is well enough known for us to confine ourselves to recalling a few examples. “We must do what the gods did in the beginning” (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 2, 1, 4). “Thus the gods did; thus men do” (*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, I, 5, 9, 4). This Indian adage summarizes all the theory underlying rituals in all countries. We find the theory among so-called primitive peoples no less than we do in developed cultures. The aborigines of southeastern Australia, for example, practice circumcision with a stone knife because it was thus that their ancestors taught them to do; the Amazulu Negroes do likewise because Unkulunkulu (civilizing hero) decreed *in illo tempore*: “Let men circumcise, that they may not be boys.”³⁸ The hako ceremony of the Pawnee Indians was revealed to the priests by Tirawa, the supreme God, at the beginning of time. Among the Sakalavas of Madagascar, “all domestic, social, national, and religious customs and ceremonies must be observed in conformity with the *lilin-draza*, i.e., with the established customs and

³⁸ A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), pp. 645 ff.; Henry Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu* (London, 1869), p. 58.

THE MYTH OF THE ETERNAL RETURN

unwritten laws inherited from the ancestors . . .”³⁹ It is useless to multiply examples; all religious acts are held to have been founded by gods, civilizing heroes, or mythical ancestors.⁴⁰ It may be mentioned in passing that, among primitives, not only do rituals have their mythical model but any human act whatever acquires effectiveness to the extent to which it exactly *repeats* an act performed at the beginning of time by a god, a hero, or an ancestor. We shall return at the end of this chapter to these model acts, which men only repeat again and again.

However, as we said, such a “theory” does not justify ritual only in primitive cultures. In the Egypt of the later centuries, for example, the power of rite and word possessed by the priests was due to imitation of the primordial gesture of the god Thoth, who had created the world by the force of his word. Iranian tradition knows that religious festivals were instituted by Ormazd to commemorate the stages of the cosmic Creation, which continued for a year. At the end of each period—representing, respectively, the creation of the sky, the waters, the earth, plants, animals, and man—Ormazd rested for five days, thus instituting the principal Mazdean festivals (cf. *Bundahišn*, I, A 18 ff.). Man only repeats the act of the Creation; his religious calendar commemorates, in the space of a year, all the cosmogonic phases which took place *ab origine*. In fact, the sacred year ceaselessly repeats the Creation; man is contemporary with the cosmogony and with the anthropogony because ritual projects him into the mythical epoch of the beginning. A bacchant, through his orgiastic rites, imitates the drama of the suffering Dionysos; an Orphic, through his initiation ceremonial, repeats the original gestures of Orpheus.

³⁹ Arnold van Gennep, *Tabou et totémisme à Madagascar* (Paris, 1904), pp. 27 ff.

⁴⁰ Cf. Gerardus van der Leeuw, *Phänomenologie der Religion* (Tübingen, 1933), pp. 349 ff., 360 ff.

ARCHETYPES AND REPETITION

The Judaeo-Christian Sabbath is also an *imitatio dei*. The Sabbath rest reproduces the primordial gesture of the Lord, for it was on the seventh day of the Creation that God “. . . rested . . . from all his work which he had made” (Genesis 2 : 2). The message of the Saviour is first of all an example which demands imitation. After washing his disciples’ feet, Jesus said to them: “For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you” (John 13 : 15). Humility is only a virtue; but humility practiced after the Saviour’s example is a religious act and a means of salvation: “. . . as I have loved you, that ye also love one another” (John 13 : 34; 15 : 12). This Christian love is consecrated by the example of Jesus. Its actual practice annuls the sin of the human condition and makes man divine. He who believes in Jesus can do what He did; his limitations and impotence are abolished. “He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also . . .” (John 14 : 12). The liturgy is precisely a commemoration of the life and Passion of the Saviour. We shall see later that this commemoration is in fact a reactualization of those days.

Marriage rites too have a divine model, and human marriage reproduces the hierogamy, more especially the union of heaven and earth. “I am Heaven,” says the husband, “thou art Earth” (*dyaur aham, pritivī tvam; Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, VI, 4, 20). Even in Vedic times, husband and bride are assimilated to heaven and earth (*Atharva-Veda*, XIV, 2, 71), while in another hymn (*Atharva-Veda*, XIV, 1) each nuptial gesture is justified by a prototype in mythical times: “Wherewith Agni grasped the right hand of this earth, therefore grasp I thy hand . . . Let god Savitar grasp thy hand . . . Tvashtar disposed the garment for beauty, by direction of Bṛhaspati, of the poets; therewith let Savitar and Bhaga envelop this woman, like

THE MYTH OF THE ETERNAL RETURN

Sūrya, with progeny (48, 49, 52).”⁴¹ In the procreation ritual transmitted by the *Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, the generative act becomes a hierogamy of cosmic proportions, mobilizing a whole group of gods: “Let Viṣṇu make the womb prepared! Let Tvashṭri shape the various forms! Prajāpati—let him pour in! Let Dhātri place the germ for thee!” (VI, 4, 21).⁴² Dido celebrates her marriage with Aeneas in the midst of a violent storm (Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI, 160); their union coincides with that of the elements; heaven embraces its bride, dispensing fertilizing rain. In Greece, marriage rites imitated the example of Zeus secretly uniting himself with Hera (Pausanias, II, 36, 2). Diodorus Siculus tells us that the Cretan hierogamy was imitated by the inhabitants of that island; in other words, the ceremonial union found its justification in a primordial event which occurred *in illo tempore*.

What must be emphasized is the cosmogonic structure of all these matrimonial rites: it is not merely a question of imitating an exemplary model, the hierogamy between heaven and earth; the principal consideration is the result of that hierogamy, i.e., the cosmic Creation. This is why, in Polynesia, when a sterile woman wants to be fecundated, she imitates the exemplary gesture of the Primordial Mother, who, *in illo tempore*, was laid on the ground by the great god, Io. And the cosmogonic myth is recited on the same occasion. In divorce proceedings, on the contrary, an incantation is chanted in which the “separation of heaven and earth” is invoked.⁴³ The ritual recitation of the cosmogonic myth on the occasion of marriages is current among numerous peoples; we shall return to it later. For

⁴¹ W. D. Whitney and C. R. Lanman (trans.), *Atharva-Veda* (Harvard Oriental Series, VIII, Cambridge, Mass., 1905), pp. 750–51.

⁴² R. E. Hume (trans.), *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads* (Oxford, 1931).

⁴³ Cf. E. S. C. Handy, *Polynesian Religion* (Honolulu, 1927), pp. 10 ff.; Raffaele Pettazzoni, “Io and Rangi,” *Pro regno pro sanctuario* [in homage to G. van der Leeuw] (Nijkerk, 1950), pp. 359–60.

ARCHETYPES AND REPETITION

the moment let us point out that the cosmic myth serves as the exemplary model not only in the case of marriages but also in the case of any other ceremony whose end is the restoration of integral wholeness; this is why the myth of the Creation of the World is recited in connection with cures, fecundity, childbirth, agricultural activities, and so on. The cosmogony first of all represents Creation.

Demeter lay with Iasion on the newly sown ground, at the beginning of spring (*Odyssey*, V, 125). The meaning of this union is clear: it contributes to promoting the fertility of the soil, the prodigious surge of the forces of telluric creation. This practice was comparatively frequent, down to the last century, in northern and central Europe—witness the various customs of symbolic union between couples in the fields.⁴⁴ In China, young couples went out in spring and united on the grass in order to stimulate “cosmic regeneration” and “universal germination.” In fact, every human union has its model and its justification in the hierogamy, the cosmic union of the elements. Book IV of the *Li Chi*, the “Yüeh Ling” (book of monthly regulations), specifies that his wives must present themselves to the emperor to cohabit with him in the first month of spring, when thunder is heard. Thus the cosmic example is followed by the sovereign and the whole people. Marital union is a rite integrated with the cosmic rhythm and validated by that integration.

The entire Paleo-Oriental symbolism of marriage can be explained through celestial models. The Sumerians celebrated the union of the elements on the day of the New Year; throughout the ancient East, the same day receives its luster not only from the myth of the hierogamy but also from the rites of the king’s union with the goddess.⁴⁵ It is

⁴⁴ J. W. E. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, I (2nd edn., Berlin, 1904–1905), pp. 169 ff., 180 ff.

⁴⁵ Cf. S. H. Hooke, ed., *Myth and Ritual* (London, 1935), pp. 9, 19, 34 ff.

THE MYTH OF THE ETERNAL RETURN

on New Year's day that Ishtar lies with Tammuz, and the king reproduces this mythical hierogamy by consummating ritual union with the goddess (i.e., with the hierodule who represents her on earth) in a secret chamber of the temple, where the nuptial bed of the goddess stands. The divine union assures terrestrial fecundity; when Ninlil lies with Enlil, rain begins to fall.⁴⁶ The same fecundity is assured by the ceremonial union of the king, that of couples on earth, and so on. The world is regenerated each time the hierogamy is imitated, i.e., each time matrimonial union is accomplished. The German *Hochzeit* is derived from *Hochgezît*, New Year festival. Marriage regenerates the "year" and consequently confers fecundity, wealth, and happiness.

The assimilation of the sexual act to agricultural work is frequent in numerous cultures.⁴⁷ In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 2, 2, 5) the earth is assimilated to the female organ of generation (*yoni*) and the seed to the *semen virile*. "Your women are your tilth, so come into your tillage how you choose" (Qur'ân, II, 223).⁴⁸ The majority of collective orgies find a ritual justification in fostering the forces of vegetation: they take place at certain critical periods of the year, e.g., when the seed sprouts or the harvests ripen, and always have a hierogamy as their mythical model. Such, for example, is the orgy practiced by the Ewe tribe (West Africa) at the time when the barley begins to sprout; the orgy is legitimized by a hierogamy (young girls are offered to the python god). We find this same legitimization among the Oraons; their orgy takes place in May, at the time of the union of the sun god with the earth goddess. All these orgiastic excesses find their

⁴⁶ René Labat, *Le Caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne* (Paris, 1939), pp. 247 ff.; cf. the traces of a similar mythico-ritual complex in Israel: Patai, pp. 90 ff.

⁴⁷ See the chapter on agricultural mysticism in our *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, pp. 354 ff.

⁴⁸ Trans. E. H. Palmer, *Sacred Books of the East*, VI, p. 33.

ARCHETYPES AND REPETITION

justification, in one way or another, in a cosmic or bio-cosmic act: regeneration of the year, critical period of the harvest, and so forth. The boys who paraded naked through the streets of Rome at the Floralia (April 28) or who, at the Lupercalia, touched women to exorcise their sterility; the liberties permitted throughout India on the occasion of the Holi festival; the licentiousness which was the rule in central and northern Europe at the time of the harvest festival and against which the ecclesiastical authorities struggled so unavailingly ⁴⁹—all these manifestations also had a superhuman prototype and tended to institute universal fertility and abundance.⁵⁰

For the purpose of this study, it is of no concern that we should know to what extent marriage rites and the orgy created the myths which justify them. What is important is that both the orgy and marriage constituted rituals imitating divine gestures or certain episodes of the sacred drama of the cosmos—the legitimization of human acts through an extrahuman model. If the myth sometimes followed the rite—for example, preconjugal ceremonial unions preceded the appearance of the myth of the pre-conjugal relations between Hera and Zeus, the myth which served to justify them—the fact in no wise lessens the sacred character of the ritual. The myth is “late” only as a formulation; but its content is archaic and refers to sacraments—that is, to acts which presuppose an absolute reality, a reality which is extrahuman.

Archetypes of Profane Activities

TO SUMMARIZE, we might say that the archaic world knows nothing of “profane” activities: every act which has a

⁴⁹ Cf., for example, the Council of Auxerre in 590.

⁵⁰ On the cosmological significance of the orgy, see Ch. II.

THE MYTH OF THE ETERNAL RETURN

definite meaning—hunting, fishing, agriculture; games, conflicts, sexuality,—in some way participates in the sacred. As we shall see more clearly later, the only profane activities are those which have no mythical meaning, that is, which lack exemplary models. Thus we may say that every responsible activity in pursuit of a definite end is, for the archaic world, a ritual. But since the majority of these activities have undergone a long process of desacralization and have, in modern societies, become profane, we have thought it proper to group them separately.

Take the dance, for example. All dances were originally sacred; in other words, they had an extrahuman model. The model may in some cases have been a totemic or emblematic animal, whose motions were reproduced to conjure up its concrete presence through magic, to increase its numbers, to obtain incorporation into the animal on the part of man. In other cases the model may have been revealed by a divinity (for example the pyrrhic, the martial dance created by Athena) or by a hero (cf. Theseus' dance in the Labyrinth). The dance may be executed to acquire food, to honor the dead, or to assure good order in the cosmos. It may take place upon the occasion of initiations, of magico-religious ceremonies, of marriages, and so on. But all these details need not be discussed here. What is of interest to us is its presumed extrahuman origin (for every dance was created *in illo tempore*, in the mythical period, by an ancestor, a totemic animal, a god, or a hero). Choreographic rhythms have their model outside of the profane life of man; whether they reproduce the movements of the totemic or emblematic animal, or the motions of the stars; whether they themselves constitute rituals (labyrinthine steps, leaps, gestures performed with ceremonial instruments)—a dance always imitates an archetypal gesture or commemorates a mythical moment. In a word, it is a repe-

ARCHETYPES AND REPETITION

tion, and consequently a reactualization, of *illud tempus*, "those days."

Struggles, conflicts, and wars for the most part have a ritual cause and function. They are a stimulating opposition between the two halves of a clan, or a struggle between the representatives of two divinities (for example, in Egypt, the combat between two groups representing Osiris and Set); but this always commemorates an episode of the divine and cosmic drama. War or the duel can in no case be explained through rationalistic motives. Hocart has very rightly brought out the ritual role of hostilities.⁵¹ Each time the conflict is repeated, there is imitation of an archetypal model. In Nordic tradition, the first duel took place when Thor, provoked by the giant Hrungnir, met him at the "frontier" and conquered him in single combat. The motif is found again in Indo-European mythology, and Georges Dumézil⁵² rightly regards it as a late but authentic version of the very ancient scenario of a military initiation. The young warrior had to reproduce the combat between Thor and Hrungnir; in fact, the military initiation consists in an act of daring whose mythical prototype is the slaying of a three-headed monster. The frenzied *berserkir*, ferocious warriors, realized precisely the state of sacred fury (*wut*, *menos*, *furor*) of the primordial world.

The Indian ceremony of the consecration of a king, the *rājasūya*, "is only the terrestrial reproduction of the ancient consecration which Varuṇa, the first Sovereign, performed for his own benefit—as the *Brāhmaṇa* repeat again and again . . . All through the ritual exegeses, we find it tediously but instructively reiterated that if the king makes

⁵¹ A. M. Hocart, *Le Progrès de l'homme* (French trans., Paris, 1935), pp. 188 ff., 319 ff.; cf. also W. C. MacLeod, *The Origin and History of Politics* (New York, 1931), pp. 217 ff.

⁵² Cf. his *Mythes et dieux des Germains* (Paris, 1939), pp. 99 ff., and his *Horace et les Curiaces* (Paris, 1942), pp. 126 ff.

THE MYTH OF THE ETERNAL RETURN

such and such a gesture, it is because in the dawn of time, on the day of his consecration, Varuṇa made it.”⁵³ And this same mechanism can be shown to exist in all other traditions, so far as the available documentation permits.⁵⁴ Construction rituals repeat the primordial act of the cosmogonic construction. The sacrifice performed at the building of a house, church, bridge, is simply the imitation, on the human plane, of the sacrifice performed *in illo tempore* to give birth to the world.

As for the magical and pharmaceutical value of certain herbs, it too is due to a celestial prototype of the plant, or to the fact that it was first gathered by a god. No plant is precious in itself, but only through its participation in an archetype, or through the repetition of certain gestures and words which, by isolating it from profane space, consecrate it. Thus two formulas of incantation, used in England in the sixteenth century at the gathering of simples, state the origin of their therapeutic virtue: they grew for the first time (i.e., *ab origine*) on the sacred hill of Calvary, at the “center” of the Earth:

Haile be thou, holie hearbe, growing on the ground;/all in the mount Caluarie first wert thou found./Thou art good for manie a sore, and healest manie a wound;/in the name of sweet Jesus, I take thee from the ground [1584].

Hallowed be thou, Vervein [verbena], as thou growest on the ground,/for in the Mount of Calvary, there thou wast first found./Thou healedest our Saviour Jesus Christ, and stauncest his bleeding wound;/in the name of [Father, Son, Holy Ghost], I take thee from the ground [1608].

The effectiveness of these herbs is attributed to the fact that their prototypes were discovered at a decisive cosmic

⁵³ Dumézil, *Ouranós-Vāruṇa* (Paris, 1934), pp. 42, 62.

⁵⁴ Cf. Moret’s classic studies of the sacred character of royalty in Egypt, and Labat’s of Assyro-Babylonian royalty.

ARCHETYPES AND REPETITION

moment (*in illo tempore*) on Mount Calvary. They received their consecration for having healed the Redeemer's wounds. The virtue of gathered herbs is effective only insofar as the person gathering them repeats this primordial gesture of cure. This is why an old formula of incantation says: "We go to gather herbs to put them on the wounds of the Lord . . ." ⁵⁵

These formulas of popular Christian magic continue an ancient tradition. In India, for example, the herb *Kapithaka* (*Feronia elephantum*) cures sexual impotence because, *ab origine*, the Gandharva used it to restore the virility of Varuṇa. Hence the ritual gathering of this herb is, in effect, a repetition of the Gandharva's act. "Thee that the Gandharva dug for Varuna whose virility was dead, thee here do we dig, a penis-erecting herb" (*Atharva-Veda* IV, 4, 1).⁵⁶ A long invocation in the *Papyrus magique de Paris* indicates the exceptional status of the herb gathered: "Thou wast sown by Cronos, received by Hera, preserved by Ammon, brought forth by Isis, nourished by rainy Zeus; thou grewest by grace of the Sun and dew . . ." For Christians, medicinal herbs owed their effectiveness to the fact that they were found for the first time on the mount of Calvary. For the ancients, herbs owed their curative virtues to the fact that they were first discovered by gods. "Betony, thou who wast first discovered by Aesculapius, or by the centaur Chiron . . ."—such is the invocation recommended by a treatise on herbs.⁵⁷

It would be tedious, as well as purposeless, for this essay to mention the mythical prototypes of all human activities. The fact that human justice, for example, which is

⁵⁵ Ferdinand Ohrt, "Herba, gratiâ plena," *FF Communications* (Helsinki), No. 82 (1929), 17, 18; our "La Mandragore et le mythe de la 'naissance miraculeuse,'" *Zalmoxis* (Paris and Bucharest), III (1943), 1-52, particularly pp. 23 ff., and *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, pp. 296 ff.

⁵⁶ Trans. Whitney and Lanman, VII, p. 149.

⁵⁷ Armand Delatte, *Herbarius* (2nd edn., Liège, 1938), pp. 100, 102.

THE MYTH OF THE ETERNAL RETURN

founded upon the idea of "law," has a celestial and transcendent model in the cosmic norms (*tao, artha, ṛta, tzedek, themis*, etc.) is too well known for us to insist upon it. That "works of human art are imitations of those of divine art" (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VI, 27) ⁵⁸ is likewise a leitmotiv of archaic aesthetics, as Ananda K. Coomaraswamy's studies have admirably shown.⁵⁹ It is interesting to observe that the state of beatitude itself, *eudaimonia*, is an imitation of the divine condition, not to mention the various kinds of *enthousiasmos* created in the soul of man by the repetition of certain acts realized by the gods *in illo tempore* (Dionysiac orgy, etc.): "The Working of the Gods, eminent in blessedness, will be one apt for Contemplative Speculation: and of all human Workings that will have the greatest capacity for Happiness which is nearest akin to this" (Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, 1178b, 21); ⁶⁰ "to become as like as possible to God" (Plato, *Theaetetus*, 176e); "haec hominis est perfectio, similitudo Dei" (St. Thomas Aquinas).

We must add that, for the traditional societies, all the important acts of life were revealed *ab origine* by gods or heroes. Men only repeat these exemplary and paradigmatic gestures *ad infinitum*. The Yuin tribe of Australia know that Daramulun, the "All Father," invented, for their especial benefit, all the utensils and arms that they have employed down to today. In the same way the Kurnai tribe know that Mungan-ngaua, the Supreme Being, lived among them, on earth, at the beginning of time, in order to teach them to make their implements, boats, weapons, "in fact, all the arts they know." ⁶¹ In New Guinea, many

⁵⁸ Cf. Plato, *Laws*, 667–69; *Statesman*, 306d, etc.

⁵⁹ See especially Coomaraswamy, "The Philosophy of Mediæval and Oriental Art," *Zalmoxis* (Paris and Bucharest), I (1938), 20–49, and *Figures of Speech or Figures of Thought* (London, 1946), pp. 29–96.

⁶⁰ Trans. D. P. Chase, *The Ethics of Aristotle*, (London, 1934).

⁶¹ Howitt, pp. 543, 630.

A

- Abegg, Emil, 114 *n*
 ablutions, 53
 aborigines, Australian, 21
 Abraham, 108–10, 160
abudhyam/abudhyamānam, 19
 actors, ritual combats between, 53, 56, 69
 acts, human, value of, 4–5, 34
 Adam, 8, 14, 59; creation of, 16–17
 Aeneas, 24
 Aesculapius, 31
 aesthetics, 32
aeua, 89 *n*
 Africa, 21, 26, 40 *n*, 52
 ages, cosmic, 113–16, 117–18, 122, 124–27, 132, 134–37
 Agni, 10–11, 23, 79
 agriculture, 28, 142, 156; rites of, 25–27, 60–61, 63–64, 69 *n*, 152
 Ahriman, 125
 Ahuramazda, 64
aiones, 89 *n*
Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, 32, 79
 Akiba, Rabbi, 59 *n*
akītu ceremony, 55–58, 61
 Akkad, 55, 70
 Alakamanda, 9
 Alaric, 137
 Albertus Magnus, 144, 145
 al-Bīrūnī, *see* Bīrūnī
 Albright, W. F., 14 *n*
 Alexander I, Czar, 42–43
 Alexander the Great, 38, 119, 123
 alimentation, 35, 51, 60–61
 Allah, 62
allgemeine Lebenserfahrung, 150
 altars, 8, 10–11, 77, 78–80
 Amazulu tribe, 21
 America, 3; Indian tribes, 14 *n*, 21, 33–34, 40 *n*, 72–73, 83–84, 88
 Ammon, 31
amor fati, 153
 anachronisms, 40–41
anakuklosis, 89 *n*
 Anath, 108 *n*
 Anaximander, 120
 ancestors, 4, 6, 46–47, 72 *n*, 161; and archetypes of profane activities, 28–34; and archetypes of rituals, 21–22
 Andrija, 40
 animals, 22; freedom of, 90–91, 155; funerary, 67, 70; lunar, 87; totemic or emblematic, 28
 anthropogony, 22
 anthropology, 85
 Antoine, Jean Claude, 146 *n*
 Anu, 84
 Anunit, star, 6
 Aori, 33, 36
aparvan, 19
apeiron, 120
 apocalypses, 60, 66, 116, 124, 126, 128; Jewish, 17; St. John (Revelation), 8–9; Syriac, of Baruch, 8

INDEX

- apokatastasis*, 123, 124
 Apollo, age of, 135
 Apophis, 37
apsu, 15, 57
 Aquinas, St. Thomas, 32, 144, 145
 Arabic writers, 144
 archaic ontology, *see* ontology
 archaic societies, *see* primitive societies
 archetypes: celestial, *see* celestial archetypes; and collective memory, 37–46; and history, 74–75, 85–86, 90–92, 95, 101, 104, 105, 111, 113, 117, 123, 142, 147; of profane activities, 27–34; repetition of, 34–37, 89–92, 148, 153–56, 160–62; of rituals, 21–27
 Arcturus, 8
 Aristotle, 32
 Arnobius, 144
 art, archetypes of, 31
artha, 31
asaṃkhyeya/aśankhyeya, 116
 Asaṃga, 116 *n*
aśayānam, 19
 Ascension, 17
 Ashanti tribe, 52
 Asher, Testament of, 38
 Ashumbethel, 108 *n*
 Ashurbanipal, 128
 Asia, 3, 40 *n*, 151
 Assur, 8
 Assyria, 30 *n*, 84–85, 103
 Astarte/Ahstaroth, 103, 108
 astrology, 19, 125, 126–27; and fatalism; 142–47
 astronomy, 122, 145
Atharva-Veda, 23, 31, 113, 115
 Athena, 28
 Atlantis, 88
 atomic bombing, 151
attualismo, 150 *n*
 Augustine, St., 110, 132 *n*, 133, 137, 143, 145
 Augustus, 135, 136
 Australia, 3, 21, 32
 autochthons, 40 *n*
 Autran, Charles, 40 *n*
 autumnal equinox, 55
 Auxerre, Council of, 27 *n*
avasitāh/avasyati, 11
 axis mundi, 12–13
 Aztecs, 14 *n*, 88
- ### B
- Baal, 103, 108
bāb apsi, 15
 Bāb-ilāni, 14
 Babylon, 9, 10, 88; names of, 14, 15
 Babylonia, 30 *n*, 53, 103, 107; celestial archetypes of cities, 7–8; cosmic cycles, 114 *n*, 120, 122, 128; New Year ceremony, 55–58, 61, 65, 74; and symbolism of the Center, 14, 15
 bacchants, 22
 Bach, Johann Sebastian, 47
 Bacon, Roger, 144
Baḥman-Yāst, 66, 125, 126
 Baiga tribe, 82
 Bakoto tribe, 52
 Balkan countries, 152 *n*
 ballads, historical, 39–46
 Baltic countries, 152 *n*
 baptism, 11, 59, 82, 88
 barbarians, 142
 barley, 26
 Baruch, Syriac Apocalypse of, 8
 Barundi tribe, 52
 Basil, St., 132 *n*, 143
 basilica, symbolism of, 17
 Batu-Ribn, 13
 beatitude, 32

INDEX

- becoming, and cosmic cycles, 89 *n*,
123
being, 3, 4
Belinsky, V. G., 149
Benjamin of Tudela, 56 *n*
Berossus, 57, 87, 122
berserkir, 29
bethel, 4
Bethel, god, 108 *n*
betony, 31
Bezold, Carl, 120 *n*
Bhaga, 23
Bhil tribe, 81–82
Bible: New Testament, 9, 23, 143,
160; Old Testament, 7, 8–9, 13,
23, 38, 60, 61, 66, 103, 105, 121,
127, 129, 142
Bidez, Joseph, 120, 122
Bié, St., 40 *n*
Bifrost, 12
Bignone, Ettore, 120 *n*
birth, new, 11, 54, 80; newborn,
sacrifice of, 109–10
Bīrūnī, Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-,
64 *n*, 65 *n*, 66
Bleichsteiner, Robert, 57 *n*
Bodhisattva, 116
Boll, Franz Johannes, 120 *n*
Book of Apophis, 37
Book of the Cave of Treasures, 16–17
Borobudur temple, 15, 18
Borodino, battle of, 43
Borsippa, 13
Bousset, Wilhelm, 66 *n*
boys, rites of, 27
Brahe, Tycho, 145
Brahmā, 114–15
Brāhmaṇa, 11, 21, 26, 30, 32, 36,
78–80
Brahmanic sacrifice, 68–80
Brailoiu, Constantin, 44–46
Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad, 23–24
Bṛhaspati, 23
bridges, building rites of, 30
Briem, Efraim, 58 *n*
British Columbia, 40
bronze, age of, 125
brothers, enemy, myth of, 40, 43
Bruno, Giordano, 145
Buddhism, 12, 99; Buddhas, 116;
cosmic cycles, 115–17, 120
Budge, Sir E. A. Wallis, 17 *n*
Bundahišn, 6, 22, 124, 125
Burrows, E., 7 *n*, 8 *n*, 14 *n*, 15 *n*,
16 *n*, 17 *n*
byliny, 41–43
Byzantine Empire, 56 *n*, 87
- ## C
- Caesar, Julius, 134
calamities, *see* catastrophes
calendar, 51–52, 61, 66, 68
California, 33, 72
Callaway, Henry, 21 *n*
Calvary/Golgotha, 14, 17, 30–31
Campanella, Tommaso, 145
Cancer, 8, 87
Capricorn, 87
Caraman, Petru, 39, 43
Carcopino, Jérôme, 121 *n*, 123,
133, 134 *n*, 135 *n*
Cardano, Geronimo, 145
carnivals, 67, 68–69
catastrophes: cyclical, 87–88, 121–
28, 132–37; and Hebrews, 102–4;
and suffering, 95, 96–97, 100,
102, 142–43
categories, Platonic, 122, 123
cathedral, 17
causality, universal, 98–100, 117
celestial archetypes, 5; of cities,
7–9, 10; of rivers, mountains,
and places, 6–7, 9, 10; of tem-
ples, 7; of territories, 9–11

INDEX

- Center: and repetition of cosmogony, 17–21; symbolism of, *see* symbolism of the Center
- Ceylon, 9
- Chadwick, H. M. and N. K., 41 *n*, 43 *n*, 44
- Chaldaea, 87, 122, 125, 132
- chaos, 9, 15, 57, 62, 66, 68–69, 71, 88; transformation into cosmos, 10–11, 18, 54, 56, 61; and Vṛtra, 19–20
- Charles, R. H., 8
- Chārvāka school, 99
- Chase, D. P., 32 *n*
- Chiera, Edward, 6 *n*
- childbirth, 25
- chiliasm, 126, 127
- China, 14, 25, 55 *n*, 129
- Chiron, 31
- choreographic rhythms, 28–29
- Christensen, Arthur, 12 *n*, 17 *n*, 63 *n*, 64 *n*, 65 *n*
- Christianity, 14, 17, 23, 40 *n*, 59, 63, 152; and cosmic cycles, 116, 124, 126–27, 129–30, 132–33, 137; and eternal return, 142–45; and freedom, 160–62; and historicism, 148; and history, 104, 108, 110–11; magic herbs, 30–31; and suffering, 96
- Christmas, 62, 65
- Christology, 110; *see also* Jesus Christ
- Chronicles, 7
- churches, building rites of, 30
- circumcision, 21
- cities, 5; celestial archetypes of, 7–9, 10; sacred, and symbolism of the Center, 12–17
- clans, 29
- class struggle, 149
- Clement of Alexandria, 144
- collective memory, 37–48
- collective orgies, *see* orgies
- colonial territories, 152 *n*
- combats, ceremonial, 53, 54, 56, 59–60, 68, 69
- concrete time, 20–21
- confession of sins, 52, 75
- conflagration, universal, 87–88, 120, 122, 125, 127, 134–36
- conflicts, *see* wars
- conquistadores, 11
- conscience, examination of, 150
- consciousness, historical, 47–48
- consecration, 11, 18, 20–21, 28–29
- Constantinople, Hippodrome of, 56 *n*
- constellations, 8
- construction rites, 18–21, 30, 76–77
- Coomaraswamy, Ananda K., 11 *n*, 32, 34 *n*, 40 *n*
- copper, age of, 125
- Corbin, Henry, 7 *n*, 124 *n*
- cornerstone, 19
- coronation rites, 80–81
- cosmic cycles, 86–90, 104, 153; Babylonia, 114 *n*, 120, 122, 128; Buddhism and Jainism, 115–17, 120; and Christianity, 116, 124, 126–27, 129–30, 132–33, 137; and destiny, 130–33; and eternal return, 141–47; Greco-Oriental systems, 87–88, 89 *n*, 118–24, 127; India, 112–15, 117–18, 121, 124, 126, 131; Iran, 116, 120, 121, 122, 124–26, 129, 130; Judaism, 121, 124, 126, 127–28, 129, 130; and regeneration, 129–30; Rome, end of, 133–37
- cosmic mountain, 12–17
- cosmic norms, 32
- cosmicization, 10–11
- Cosmocrator, 11

INDEX

- cosmogony, *see* Creation; repetition of cosmogony
cosmology: and embryology, 16;
Iranian, *see* Iran; Semang pygmies, 13
cosmos, transformation from chaos into, 10–11, 18, 54, 56, 61
Council of Auxerre, 27 *n*
countries, and act of Creation, 10–11
Creation, 15, 101, 127; abolition of, 117; epic of, 55; of man, 16–17, 22; periodicity of, 62–73; repetition of, 6, 10–11, 17–21, 105–6, 111–12, 129–30, 136
creativity, 44, 158
Crete, 24
Croce, Benedetto, 150
Cronos, 31, 121, 122
Cross, 11, 14, 17
Cumont, Franz, 66 *n*, 121 *n*, 124, 126 *n*, 127 *n*
curative rituals, 81–85
cycles, *see* cosmic cycles
- D
- Daehnhardt, Oskar, 17 *n*
dance, archetypes of, 28–29
Dante Alighieri, 144, 145 *n*
Daramulun, 32
Darius, 37, 38; calendar of, 66
darkness, Indian age of, 114, 118
Darmesteter, James, 63, 124 *n*
David, 7, 142
dawn, Indian ages, 113, 115
death, 36, 40 *n*, 46–47, 79, 82, 130; and lunar myths, 86–88; and New Year ceremonies, 53, 54, 59, 60, 61, 62–63, 67, 68, 69, 70–71
debts, karmic, 99
decans, 77
decapitation, 19
Delatte, Armand, 31 *n*
deluges, 14, 15, 57–58, 59, 63, 72 *n*, 87, 122
Demeter, 25
demons, expulsion of, 53, 54, 73, 126
Dēnkart, 121, 124–25
deportations, 149, 151
desacralization, 28, 36
deserts, 9, 10
despair, 153; or faith, 159–62
destiny, and history, 130–37, 152
Deuteronomy, 61
Dhāttri, 24
Diaspora, 108 *n*
Dicearchos, 120 *n*
Dido, 24
Dīgha-nikāya, 116
Dilthey, Wilhelm, 150
Dimasqi, 64
Diodorus Siculus, 24
Dionysiac orgy, 22, 32
diseases, expulsion of, 53, 54, 73
dissolution, Indian cosmic cycles, 114
divinities, *see* goddesses; gods
divorce, 24
Dombart, Theodor, 14 *n*
Dostoevski, F. M., 149
dragon fights, 37–42, 69; *see also* serpent
drought, 19, 96, 97, 127
Drower, E. S., 64 *n*, 65 *n*
duels, 29, 105
Duhem, Pierre, 132 *n*, 144
Dumézil, Georges, 29, 30 *n*, 40 *n*, 65 *n*, 66, 67 *n*
Dur-an-ki, 15, 16
duration, 35, 117–18, 125
dūrohaṇa, 18
Dvāpara Yuga, 113, 115
dyaus aham, pritiṇī tvam, 23

INDEX

E

- Ea, 84–85
 eagles, twelve, of Romulus, 134–37
 earth, 22, 42, 77, 91; celestial archetypes of, 6; and marriage rites, 23–24, 36; navel of, 13, 16–17; and symbolism of the Center, 12–17; *see also* world
 earthquakes, 100
 Easter, 59
 eating, *see* nutrition
Eddas, 12
 Edsman, C. M., 126 *n*
 Eggeling, Julius, 78 *n*
 Egori, 42
 Egypt, 14 *n*, 22, 29, 30 *n*, 37, 56, 70, 74; nomes, 6, 9; and solar year, 51–52
ekpyrosis, 87–88, 122, 125, 127, 134–36
 Elburz Mountains, 12
 Elephantine, 108 *n*
 Eliade, Mircea, 4 *n*, 6 *n*, 8 *n*, 12 *n*, 14 *n*, 17 *n*, 18 *n*, 26 *n*, 31 *n*, 69 *n*, 73 *n*, 76 *n*, 81 *n*, 86 *n*, 87 *n*, 97 *n*, 109 *n*, 114, 115 *n*, 116 *n*, 129 *n*, 158 *n*
 Eliezer, Rabbi, 59
 Elijah, 103
 Eliot, T. S., 153
 emblematic animals, 28
 embryo, 16
 Empedocles, 120
 enemy brothers, myth of, 40, 43
 England, 11, 30
 Engnell, Ivan, 56 *n*, 128 *n*
 Enlil, 26
enthousiasmos, 32
Enûma eliš, 55
ephapax, 143
 Ephraem Syrus, 59, 63
 epic ballads, 39–46
 Epic of Gilgamesh, 57–58
 epidemics, 100
 Epiphany, 59, 62, 63, 65, 104
 Epistle to the Hebrews, 143
 eschatology, 60, 73, 106, 107, 111, 124, 125, 141, 142, 144–45, 152
eschaton, 130
 eternal return, 86–90, 112, 120, 122–23, 134, 137; survival of myth, 141–47
 eternity, 8
 ethnography, 53
eudaimonia, 32
 Euphrates River, 6
 Europe, 3, 17, 25, 27, 44, 57 *n*, 65, 84, 97 *n*, 142, 151, 152
 Evagdāth, 16
 evil, historical, 149–51
 evolutionism, 146
 Ewe tribe, 26
 existentialism, 117, 156 *n*, 158
 Exodus, 7, 60
 expeditions, dangerous, 18
 expulsion of demons, diseases, and sins, 53–56, 61, 73, 75, 126
 extraterrestrial archetypes, *see* celestial archetypes
 Ezekiel, 8, 142

F

- fairies, 40–41, 44–46
 faith, 109–11; or despair, 159–62
 famines, 127, 147
 Fascism, 157
 fasting, 52, 53, 56, 61
 fatalism, 130–34, 143, 152 *n*
 fates, festival of, 56, 58, 59, 65, 67, 68
 fecundity, 24–27, 161
Feronia elephantum, 31
 fertility, 86, 109
 festival of the fates, 56, 58, 59, 65, 67, 68
 fields, celestial, 6

INDEX

Fiji Islands, 80, 81
 Finland, 13
 fire: destruction of universe by, 87–88, 120, 122–28, 134–37; extinguishing and rekindling of, 53, 54, 67–69
 fire-altars, 11, 79
 Firmicus Maternus, 125
 first-born, sacrifice of, 109–10
 fishing, 28, 35, 105
 Flavius Josephus, 77
 floods, 87, 96, 97
 Floralia, 27
 folklore, 44–46, 66
 food, 4, 35, 51, 60–61
 forms, 7, 9, 11
 foundation stone, 19
 Fountain of Jacob, 13
 Foy, Willy, 14 *n*
 France, 40 *n*
 Francis of Assisi, St., 145 *n*
 Frankfort, Henri, 55 *n*
 Fravardin, 63
 Frazer, Sir James George, 53, 57 *n*, 64 *n*, 65 *n*, 72 *n*
 freedom, human, 148, 154–59, 160
 funerary animals, 67, 70
 Furlani, Giuseppe, 55 *n*, 65 *n*
furor, 29
 fury, sacred, 29

G

Gaerte, W., 13 *n*
 Gajōmard, 16
 games, 28
 Gandharva, 31
 Gandharvic marriages, 68
gārhapatya, 11
 Gaster, T. H., 67 *n*
 Gate of the Apsu, 15
 Gautama Buddha, 116
gegeneis, 121
 genealogy, 82–83

generation, 35
 Genesis, 23
 Genghis Khan, 142
 Gennep, Arnold van, 21–22
 Gentiles, 38
 geography, 6
 geomantic theories, 18
 Georgē, St., 39, 40 *n*
 Gerizim, Mount, 13
 Germany, 26, 55 *n*, 66, 67, 70, 113, 147
 gestures: paradigmatic, 5, 35–37, 95; profane, 5–6
gētk/gētāh, 6–7, 7 *n*
 ghost-dance religion, 73
 giants, 20, 42
 Gifford, E. W., 72 *n*
 Gilgamesh, Epic of, 57–58
 girls, and rituals, 26, 61, 68, 109
 gnosticism, 88, 101, 102, 119, 122, 131, 133, 134
 God, 8, 9, 16, 23, 46, 99, 103 *ff*, 126, 127, 129, 133, 137, 144, 148, 151; and freedom, 160–62; *see also* Jesus Christ; Yahweh
 Goddard, P. E., 72 *n*
 goddess, 101; ritual union with, 25–26
 gods, 4, 6, 7, 14, 21, 84, 91; and archetypes of profane activities, 28–34; and archetypes of rituals, 21–27; of fertility, 109; modality of, 36; and New Year ceremonies, 55–58, 63, 64–66, 67, 69; and suffering, 96–98, 100–102
 Goethe, J. W. von, 20 *n*
 Gog, 142
 gold, age of, 9, 112, 122, 127, 132, 135, 136, 149, 154
 Golden Apples, 18
 Golden Fleece, 18
 Golgotha/Calvary, 14, 17, 30–31

INDEX

- Götze, Albrecht, 55 *n*, 56 *n*, 120 *n*
 Gozon, Dieudonné de, 39, 44
 Granet, Marcel, 14 *n*, 65 *n*, 67 *n*
 Great Goddess, 101, 161
 Great Time, 112
 Great Year, 87, 107, 122, 134–36, 146
 Greece, 24, 40, 47, 102; cosmic cycles, 87–88, 89 *n*, 118–24, 127
 Gregory, St., 132 *n*, 143
 Gudea, King, 7, 14
 Guerre, E., 58 *n*
 Gundel, W., 120 *n*
- H
- hag hasuk-kôt*, 61
 hako ceremony, 21
 Hamel, Anton Gerard van, 10 *n*
 Handy, E. S. C., 24 *n*, 82–83
hapax, 143
 Haraberezaïti, 12
 Harambethel, 108 *n*
 Hardwar, India, 18
 Hare Hongi, 82–83
 Harrington, J. P., 33
 Harva, Uno, 6 *n*, 12 *n*, 14–*n*
 harvest, 26–27, 51, 60–61, 68–69, 72
 Hasluck, F. W., 39 *n*
 Hasteen Klah, 83 *n*
 Hastings, James, 67 *n*, 114 *n*, 128 *n*
 Hatrali, 83
 heaven, 42, 77, 91; and marriage rites, 23–24, 36; and symbolism of the Center, 12–17
 Hebrews, *see* Judaism
 Hebrews, Epistle to, 143
 Hegel, G. W. F.: and repetition, 90–91; and historicism, 141, 147–49, 154
 Heidegger, Martin, 150, 152
 hell, 56; and symbolism of the Center, 12–16
 Hera, 24, 27, 31
 Heraclitus, 88, 120, 122
 Herakles, 37, 40
 Herb of Life, 18
 herbs, archetypes of, 30–31
 heroes, 4, 6, 21, 22, 105; and archetypes of profane activities, 28–34; dragon fight, 37–42; and historical prototypes, 41–47, 142, 147
 Hertel, Johannes, 67
 Hesiod, 122, 129
 Hierapolis, 61 *n*
 hierodule, 26, 57
 hierogamy, 23–27, 57, 58
 hierophany, 4, 59, 95, 105, 109 *n*
 Himinbjorg, 12
 hindrances, 20
 Hippodrome of Constantinople, 56 *n*
 historical consciousness, 47–48
 historical truth, 43–44
 history, 5; abolition of, 53, 76; and archetypes, *see* archetypes; and collective memory, 37–48; and cosmic cycles, *see* cosmic cycles; despair or faith, 159–62; and destiny, 130–37; and freedom, 154–59, 160; eternal return, survival of myth, 141–47; and historicism, 141, 147–54, 159–62; and repetition of archetypes, 34–37; suffering, normality of, 95–102; as theophany, 102–12
 Hittites, 55 *n*, 56, 128
 Hocart, A. M., 17 *n*, 29, 80
Hochzeit/Hochgezît, 26
 Höfler, Otto, 66
 Holda, 67
 Holi festival, 27
 Holmberg, Uno, *see* Harva, Uno
 Holy Ghost, 145
 Homer, 25, 42, 129

INDEX

- Hooke, S. H., 7 *n*, 57 *n*, 60 *n*
Hopi Indians, 54, 67 *n*
Horace, 134
horses, 67, 70
Hottentot, 97
houses, rituals of, 5, 30, 76–77
Howitt, A. W., 21 *n*, 32 *n*
Hrungnir, 29
Hubaux, Jean, 133, 135 *n*
Hume, R. E., 24 *n*
humiliation, 56, 57, 96, 149
hunting, 28, 35
Huntington, Ellsworth, 146 *n*
Hunyadi, John, 40–41
Hupa Indians, 72
hurricane god, 55 *n*
Huth, Otto, 67
- I
- Iasion, 25
Iceland, 10
ideas, Platonic, 6, 7 *n*, 123
ideologies, 159 *n*
Ikkareyavs, 33
Illuyankas, 55 *n*
Ilya of Murom, 42
imago mundi, 17
immortality, 36, 91
impotence, 31
incalculables, Buddhist cosmic cycles, 116, 120
incantations, 30–31, 84–85
Incarnation, 143
incendiarism, 96
India, 4, 40 *n*, 55 *n*, 65, 75, 88, 158; archetypes of profane activities, 29–30, 31, 32; archetypes of rituals, 21, 23–24, 26, 27; celestial archetypes of cities, 9; construction of cosmic time, 78–80; construction rites, 19–20; cosmic cycles, 112–15, 117–18, 121, 124, 126, 131, 146; curative rituals, 81–82; repetition of act of Creation, 10–11; and suffering (karma concept), 98–100, 117; and symbolism of the Center, 12, 16
Indians, American, *see* America
individuality, 46
Indo-European mythology, 15–16, 29, 54, 66, 86 *n*
Indonesia, 4
Indra, 19, 37, 40
Industrial Revolution, 156
infants, sacrifice of, 109–10
initiation, 18, 40 *n*, 80, 86; ceremonies, 53, 66, 67, 69–72; military, 29
injustices, 96
invasions, 96, 104
Io, 24, 82–83
ióm ha-kippûrîm, 61
Iran, 6, 12, 22, 55 *n*, 88; cosmic cycles, 116, 120, 121, 122, 124–26, 129, 130; New Year festival, 63–66, 74
Iraq, 63
Irenaeus of Lyon, St., 143
iron, age of, 125, 135
Isaac, 109, 110
Isaiah, 8, 66, 105, 121, 127, 132
Ishmael, Rabbi, 59 *n*
Ishtar, 26
Isis, 31
Islam, 15
Israel, *see* Judaism; Palestine
Iviri, 33
- J
- Jacob, 4; Fountain of, 13
Jacobi, H., 114
Jaeger, W., 120 *n*
Jainism, cosmic cycles, 115–17
Japan, 13, 54; secret societies, 67, 70–72

INDEX

Jastrebac, dragon of, 41
Jātaka, 116
 Java, 14–15
 Jean, C. F., 55 *n*
 Jehovah, 7
 Jeremiah, 38, 103
 Jeremias, Alfred, 13 *n*, 114 *n*, 128
 Jerusalem, 56 *n*, 107; celestial archetypes of, 8–9; New Year festival, 60; and symbolism of the Center, 15, 17, 18; Temple of, 77–78
 Jesus Christ, 11, 14, 17, 23, 30–31, 59, 130, 143
 Joachim of Floris, 145
 Joannes Malalas, 56 *n*
 John, St., 9, 23
 Johnson, A. R., 60
 Jordan River, passage of, 105
 Josua, Rabbi, 59
 Joyce, James, 153
 Jubilees, Book of, 127
 Judaism, 17, 23, 37–38, 160, 161; celestial Jerusalem, 8; cosmic cycles, 121, 124, 126, 127–28, 129, 130; and dragon fight, 37–38; and historical calamities, 102–12; New Year ceremonies, 53, 58–62, 63, 65 *n*, 66, 70, 74; prophets, 8, 104, 108, 133, 148; Yahweh, *see* Yahweh
 Judges, Book of, 13, 61
 Jupiter, 135
 justice, archetypes of, 31–32

K

Kaaba, 15
 Kali Yuga, 113–14, 115, 118, 131
 Kalpa/*kappa*, 114, 115–16
Kapitthaka, 31
 Karlowitz, Peace of, 43
 karma concept, 98–100, 117
 Karuk Indians, 33, 72

Katti, 128
 Kepler, Johann, 145
 Khadira tree, 19
ki, 16
kien-mu, 14
 Kierkegaard, Sören A., 110
 Kiev cycle, 41–42
 kings, 7, 9, 11, 106, 136; consecration ceremonies, 29–30; and dragon fight, 37–38; enthronement ceremonies, 80–81; marriage rites, 25–26; and New Year ceremonies, 55–57, 60, 64–65
 Kingu, 55
 Kirfel, Willibald, 12 *n*, 16 *n*
Kisā'ī, 15
 Kivavia, 33
 Knights of St. John, 39
 knowledge, sociology of, 159 *n*
 Koppers, Wilhelm, 82 *n*
 Koran/*Qur'ān*, 26, 62
 Kossovo, first battle of, 41
 Krickeberg, Walter, 14 *n*
 Kroeber, A. L., 72
 Kṛta Yuga, 113, 115
 Kurnai tribe, 32
 Kutusov, Prince Mikhail, 43

L

Labat, René, 26 *n*, 30 *n*, 56 *n*, 57 *n*
 labyrinths, 18, 28
 Lactantius Firmianus, 66, 126–27
 Lagash, 7
 Lain Entralgo, Pedro, 150 *n*
 Lamotte, Étienne, 116 *n*
Landnāma, 10
 language, 3
 Lanman, C. R., 24 *n*, 31 *n*
 Laos, 12
 Larsa, 15
 Lassy, H., 64 *n*
 La Vallée-Poussin, Louis de, 116 *n*

INDEX

law, 32, 95, 105
 Lazar, 41
Lebensraum, 11
 Leibniz, Baron G. W. von, 145
 Leeuw, Gerardus van der, 10 *n*,
 22 *n*, 106 *n*
 Lehmann, F. R., 63, 72 *n*
 Leunclavius, 39
 Leviticus, 61
 Lévy-Bruhl, Lucien, 33 *n*
 Li Chi, 25
 libations, 59
 lightning, 19
lilin-draza, 21–22
 linearism, historical, 145–46
 Little Russia, 14 *n*
 liturgy, 23
 Liungman, Waldemar, 57 *n*, 64 *n*,
 66–67
 “living dead,” 62
 Lods, A., 40 *n*
 Lokāyata school, 99
 Löwith, Karl, 150 *n*
 Lucan, 134 *n*
 Lucian, 61 *n*
 lunar, *see* moon
 Lupercalia, 27

M

MacLeod, W. C., 29 *n*
 Macrobius, Ambrosius Theodosius,
 16
 Madagascar, 21–22
 magic, 4, 28, 69 *n*, 158 *n*; herbs,
 30–31; and suffering, 96–98
 Magog, 142
Mahābhārata, 42, 113
 Mahāpralaya, 114, 115
Mahāvastu, 9
 Mahāyānic literature, 116, 117
 Mahāyuga, 113–15
 Malay Peninsula, 13
 Malkoś Pasha, 39

Malpasso, dragon of, 39
 Mamurius Veturius, 53
 man: archaic, *see* primitive socie-
 ties; creation of, 16–17, 22;
 modern, and history, 78, 141,
 154–62
 mana, 4
 Mandaeans, 63–64, 65, 101–2
maṇḍalas, 83
 Manichaeans, 101–2
 Mankad, D. R., 115 *n*
Männerbunde, 66
 Mannheim, Karl, 150, 159 *n*
 Manole, Master, 20
 Mansikka, Viljo Johannes, 14 *n*
Manu, 113
 Manvantāra, 114
 Maori myths, 40 *n*
 Maramures, 44–46
 March, symbolism of, 64
 Marduk, 37, 55–56, 58, 101
 Marguerite, St., 40 *n*
 Mark, St., 160
 Marko Kraljević, 39–40, 43, 44
 Marquart, Josef, 64 *n*
 marriage rites, 4, 23–27, 28, 61,
 105
 martyrs, 152
 Marxism, 147, 149, 152, 156 *n*,
 157
 masks, 53, 70
 massacres, 149, 151–52
 matter, 7*n*
 Mauss, Marcel, 34
 Mayas, 88
 Mazdean cosmology, 22, 124–26
mbuli vanua, 80
 Mecca, 18
 medicine men, 83
 Meineke, Friedrich, 150
 Melanesia, 32–43, 36
 memory, collective, 37–48; histori-
 cal, 75

INDEX

- mēnōk*, 6–7, 7 *n*
menos, 29
mensis, 86 *n*
Mephistopheles, 20 *n*
Meru, Mount, 12
Mesopotamia, 3, 6, 13, 16, 100–102, 106
messenger, 101, 102, 152
Messiah, 38, 127
Messianism, 60, 105–12, 127, 132
metacosmesis, 123, 134
metallurgy, 156
metanoia, 129
metaphysical concepts, archaic world, 3
metior, 86 *n*
Mexico, 14 *n*, 88
Michael of Potuka, St., 42
Middle Ages, 17, 129, 142–45
midrash, 17
Mihragān, 66
Mikula, 41
Milica, 41
Minucius Felix, 144
miracles, 160 *n*
Mishnah, 15
Mithra, festival of, 66
modern man, and history, 78, 141, 154–62
Moldavia, 39
Moloch, 108
monotheism, 104–5
monsters, 9, 20; and New Year ritual, 55–58, 59–60; three-headed, 29, 37, 40
months, symbolism of, 51–52, 55, 56, 58, 59, 61, 65, 77
moon: lunar year, 51, 52; mysticism, 64; myths, 86–88, 101–2
Moret, Alexandre, 30 *n*
Moses, 7, 103, 105
Mount of the Lands, 13
mountains: celestial archetypes of, 6, 9; sacred, 12–17
mourning, 56
Mowinkel, Sigmund Otto Plytt, 60
mundus, 15–16
Mungan-ngaua, 32
Murko, Matthias, 43, 44
Murshilish, 128
Mus, Paul, 78, 80 *n*
mysteries, 58
mythical time, 20–21
mythicization, 39–46
myths: and archetypes, *see* archetypes; cosmic, *see* cosmic cycles; eternal return, *see* eternal return; and history, 34–48; lunar, 86–88; New Year, *see* New Year; of origin, 84–85; and rituals, 22, 23–27
- N
- Nāgārjuna, 116 *n*
Napoleonic wars, 42–43
Nativity, 130
nature, 55, 59, 90, 154, 155, 157–58
Navajo Indians, 83–84
navel of the earth, 13, 16–17
navigators, English, 11
Nawrōz, 63–65, 66
Nebuchadrezzar, 38, 128
neikos, 120
Neo-Pythagoreanism, 119, 123, 133, 134
Neo-Stoicism, 119, 133
new birth, 11, 54, 80
New Guinea, 32–33, 36
New Testament, 9, 23, 143, 160
New Year, 36; American Indian ceremonies, 72–73; Babylonian ceremony, 55–58, 61, 65; beginning of, 51–52; ceremonies,

INDEX

- types of, 53–54; and historical peoples, 74, 77; Indo-European ceremonies, 66–70; Iranian ceremonies, 63–66; Japanese ceremonies, 70–72; Jewish ceremonies, 53, 58–62, 63, 65 *n*, 66; and resurrection, 62–63
 - New Year's Day, 25–26, 59, 64–66
 - newborn, sacrifice of, 109–10
 - Nidaba, 7
 - Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm, 146, 152
 - Nigidius Figulus, 134
 - nihilism, 152
 - Nikitich, Dobryna, 42
 - Nilsson, Martin P., 51 *n*
 - Nineveh, 8
 - Ninlil, 26
 - Nippur, 15
 - Nirvana, 116
 - Nisan, 55, 59
 - nomes, 6, 9
 - norms, cosmic, 32
 - north star, 12, 15
 - Nourry, Émile, 65 *n*, 67 *n*
 - Novak, 41
 - nutrition, 4, 35, 51, 60–61
 - Nyberg, H. S., 7 *n*, 57 *n*, 124, 125
- O**
- oaths, 4
 - objects, value of, 3–4, 34
 - ocean, *see* seas; waters
 - Ohrt, Ferdinand, 30–31
 - Oka, Masao, 71
 - Old Testament, *see* Bible
 - omens, 56
 - omphalos*, 13, 16–17
 - “ontic,” 89, 91
 - ontology, archaic, 3, 5, 34–35, 44, 89, 92
 - Oraons, 26
 - ordeals, 41; *see also* initiations
 - orgies, 22, 32, 88; collective, 4, 26–27, 53, 54, 57, 61, 68–69
 - Origen, 132 *n*
 - origin, myths of, 84–85
 - Ormazd, 16, 22, 63, 64, 125
 - Orpheus, 22
 - Ortega y Gasset, José, 150
 - Osiris, 29, 64 *n*
 - Ottoman Empire, 39, 151
 - ox, primordial, 16
- P**
- Pahlavi texts, 63
 - pain, 96, 98
 - palaces, 12, 14, 36
 - Paleo-Oriental symbolism, 25–26, 58, 100, 107, 109
 - Palestine, 108 *n*; Jerusalem, *see* Jerusalem; and symbolism of the Center, 13–14, 15
 - Pāli texts, 116
 - Pallis, S. A., 57 *n*
 - Palmer, E. H., 26 *n*
 - Pan-Ku, 20
 - Papyrus magique de Paris*, 31
 - paradigmatic gestures, 5, 35–37, 95
 - Paradise, 8, 10, 16, 91, 121
 - Parrot, A., 14 *n*
 - Passion of Christ, 23, 130
 - Patai, Raphael, 7 *n*, 14 *n*, 15 *n*, 16 *n*, 17 *n*, 26 *n*, 56 *n*, 59 *n*, 60 *n*, 61 *n*, 65 *n*, 127 *n*, 129 *n*
 - Pausanias, 24
 - Pawnee Indians, 21
 - pearl, 4
 - Pedersen, Holger, 60, 63
 - penis, 31
 - Perchta, 67
 - perenniality, 4
 - periodicity, 146, 154
 - Persia, *see* Iran
 - pessimism, 153
 - Peter, St., 143

INDEX

- Peter Comestor, 13
Pettazzoni, Raffaele, 24 *n*, 57 *n*, 61 *n*, 75
Pharaohs, 37, 38
philia, 120
philosophy, 3, 34–35, 48, 60, 121, 134, 146; Hegelian, *see* Hegel, G. W. F.; historicistic, 149–54, 159–62; Platonic, *see* Plato
pilgrimage, 18
Pincherle, Alberto, 8 *n*
planets, 87, 122, 125
plants, 22; herbs, archetypes of, 30–31
Plato, 6, 7 *n*, 9, 32, 34–35; and cosmic cycles, 89 *n*, 120–22, 132
poetry, heroic, 39–46
Polak, Jakob Eduard, 65 *n*
Poland, 39
polestar, 12, 15
pollakis, 143
Polynesia, 24, 42, 82–83, 84
Pompey, 38
Porphyry, 120 *n*
Portugal, 11
potlatch, 33–34
Prajāpati, 24, 78–80
Pralaya, 114, 115
preconjugal ceremonial unions, 27
pre-Creation, 9, 68, 69 *n*
pre-Socratic cosmic cycles, 119, 120
priests, 22, 122, 136; and suffering, 96–98
Prilep, castle of, 43
primitive societies: archetypes of, *see* archetypes; defined, 3; and history, *see* history; myths, *see* myths; objects and acts, value of, 3–5; and regeneration, *see* regeneration of time; repetition of cosmogony, 6, 10–11, 17–21; rites, *see* rites
primordial monster, 20
primordial acts, 4–5
procreation ritual, 24
profane activities, archetypes of, 27–34
profane gestures, 5–6
profane time, abolition of, *see* time, abolition of
progressivism, historical, 145
prophets, 8, 104, 108, 133, 148
prototypes, *see* archetypes
Psalms, 38, 60
psycho-physiology, 71–72
Ptolemy, 144
Puech, Henri-Charles, 89 *n*, 132 *n*, 143 *n*
Purānic texts, 113
purges, 52
purifications, 52, 53, 54, 61–62, 65, 73, 91, 96, 122
Puruṣa, 20
pyrrhic, 28
Pythagoreanism, 89 *n*, 120
python god, 26
- ## Q
- Qazwīnī, 63, 65 *n*
Qur'ān, 26, 62
- ## R
- rabbinical literature, 7 *n*, 14, 59, 127, 129
Ragnarok, 113, 115
Rahab, 60
rain, 24, 26, 59, 63, 65
rainbow, 12
rājasūya, 29
Ramman, 128
Ras Shamra, 56
Re, 37
reality, 3, 92; absolute, symbols of, 17–18; and celestial archetypes, *see* celestial archetypes; and objects and acts, 4–5, 34; and

INDEX

- symbolism of the Center, *see* symbolism of the Center
 - reason, historical, 150 *n*
 - Red Sea, passage of, 105
 - Redemption, 143
 - Reformation, 145 *n*
 - regeneration of time, 36–37, 111, 142, 157; continuous, 73–92; New Year symbolism, *see* New Year; periodicity of Creation, 62–73
 - Reitzenstein, Richard, 58, 120 *n*
 - relativism, 150, 152, 159 *n*
 - religion, 4, 21–23, 53, 86; faith, 109–11
 - Renaissance, 145 *n*
 - repetition of archetypes, *see* archetypes
 - repetition of cosmogony, 6, 7, 10–11, 17–21, 22, 75, 77, 142, 158; ceremonies of, *see* New Year
 - reptiles, *see* serpents
 - resurrection, 62–63, 69, 86, 101, 102, 129, 130, 133
 - revelation, 104–5, 109 *n*
 - Revelation of St. John, 9
 - Rey, A., 146 *n*
 - Ṛg-Veda*, 19, 65, 115
 - Rhodes, 39
 - Rickert, Heinrich, 150
 - rites/rituals, 3, 5–6, 105; archetypes of, 21–27; construction, 18–21, 30, 76–77; coronation, 80–81; curative, 81–85; marriage, 4, 23–27, 28, 61, 105; and profane activities, 28–34; regeneration of time, *see* regeneration of time; repetition of Creation, 6, 10–11, 17–21, 22; *see also* symbolism
 - rivers, celestial archetypes of, 6, 9, 10
 - roads to center, 18
 - Rock, F., 51 *n*
 - rocks, sacred, 4
 - Roeder, Günther, 37 *n*
 - Romania, 39
 - Rome, 11, 27, 67, 87–88, 119, 122; end of, 74–75, 133–37; *mundus*, 15–16
 - Romulus, 133–37
 - Roscher, W. H., 16 *n*
 - rta*, 31
 - ṛtavyā*, 79
 - Rubicon, 134
 - Russian *byliny*, 41–43
- S
- Sabbath, 23
 - Sachau, C. Edward, 64 *n*
 - sacred, zone of, 17–18
 - sacred fury, 29
 - Sacred Mountain, 12–15
 - sacrifices, 4, 11, 20, 30, 35–36; Brahmanic, 78–80; and faith, 108–10
 - saints, 84; and dragon fight, 40 *n*
 - Saintyves, P., 65 *n*, 67 *n*
 - Saïs, priest of, 122
 - Sakalava tribe, 21–22
 - salvation, 149
 - Samaria, 107
 - Samson, St., 40 *n*
 - Samuel, 103
 - sanctuaries, 17, 77; archetypes of, 7–8, 9
 - sand paintings, 83–84
 - Santal tribe, 81–82
 - sar*, 16
 - Sarah, 109
 - Sarpanitū, 57
 - Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 11, 21, 26, 78, 79–80
 - Saturnalia, 54, 57 *n*, 68
 - Savitar, 23

INDEX

- Savonarola, Girolamo, 145 *n*
 Scandinavia, 10, 11, 29, 80
 scapegoat, 53, 54, 61–62
 Schaefer, H. H., 124 *n*
 Schayer, Stanislaw, 116 *n*
 Schebesta, Paul, 13 *n*
 Scheftelowitz, Isidor, 115 *n*, 124 *n*
 Schmidt, Hans, 60
 Schweitzer, Bernhard, 40 *n*
 sea monsters, 37, 55–58, 59–60
 seas, 4, 9, 19, 22, 77
 seasons, Brahmanic concept of, 79–80
 Sébillot, Paul, 40 *n*
 secret societies, 66, 67, 70–72
 Sedlmayr, Hans, 17 *n*
 seed, 26, 63–64, 65, 68–69, 88
 self, road to, 18
 Selk'nam tribe, 97
 Semang pygmies, 13, 97
semen virile, 26
 Semites, *see* Judaism
 Sennacherib, 8
 Serbia, 43
 serpent, 26; combat with hero, 37–42, 55–58, 59–60, 69; and Indian construction rites, 19
 Set, 29
 sexual intercourse, 66; archetypes of, 23–27, 28, 33, 36; excesses, *see* orgies
 shamans, 40, 42
 Shamash, 84
 Shils, Edward, 150 *n*
Sibylline Oracles, 8, 124, 127, 134
 sieges, 104
 Sigiriya, 9
 Sikhi Buddha, 116
 silver, age of, 125
 Simmel, Georg, 150
 simples, 30
 Sinai, Mount, 7
 sins, 102–3, 158; confession of, 52, 75; expulsion of, 53, 54, 56, 61, 73, 154
 Sippara, 8
 skepticism, 159 *n*
 sky, 4, 6, 13, 22
 slavery, 57, 68, 96, 117
 Slawik, Alexander, 67 *n*, 70–71
 snake, *see* serpent
 sociology of knowledge, 159 *n*
 Socrates, 89 *n*
 solar year, 51–52, 64
 Solomon, 7; Psalms of, 38; Wisdom of, 8
 Soma, 19
 Sons of Earth, 121
 sorcerers, 96–98
 Sorokin, Pitirim A., 144, 146
 soteriology, 115, 116, 118, 161
 soul, 20, 47, 53, 99
 Sovereign, Universal, 9
 space, consecrated, 20–21
 Spain, 11
 Spence, Lewis, 67 *n*
 Spengler, Oswald, 146
 spirituality, archaic, 5
 spring equinox, 55, 71
 stars, 6, 7–8, 28; *see also* astrology
 staticization, 89, 123
 steel, age of, 125
 Stenzel, J., 120 *n*
 sterility, 24, 27, 82–83
 Stevens, E. S., 64 *n*
 Stevenson, Mrs. Sinclair, 26, 116 *n*
 Stjepan, Erceg, 41
 Stoicism, 88, 122–23, 124, 132, 134
 stones, sacred, 4
storicismo, 150 *n*
 storms, 96, 97
 struggles, 29
Sudkar-nask, 124–25
 suffering, 95–102, 131, 142–43, 149; *see also* catastrophes

INDEX

- Sumer, 6, 10, 25, 55, 70
 Sumeru, 12
 summer solstice, 13, 14, 66, 87
 sun, 13, 135
 Supreme Beings, and suffering, 97–98, 103
sūrru, 55
 Sūrya, 24
suṣuṇam, 19
 Svyatogor, 41
 Swallow, star of the, 6
 symbolism, 3; Brahmanic sacrifice, 78–80; cosmological, 40 *n*; Paleo-Oriental, 25–26, 58, 100, 107, 109; Temple of Jerusalem, 77–78; vegetation, *see* agriculture; *see also* archetypes
 symbolism of the Center: assimilation of temples and palaces to Sacred Mountain, 14–15, 36; Sacred Mountain, 12–14; temple or city as meeting point of heaven, earth, and hell, 14–16
 syncretism, 88, 102, 108 *n*
 Syria, 16–17
 Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch, 8
 Syrmia, 41
- T**
- Ta Pedn, 97
ṭabbūr eres, 13
 tabernacle, 7, 8
 Tabernacles, Feast of, 59, 60, 65
 Tablets of Destiny, 55
 taboos, 33, 51, 97
 Tabor, Mount, 13
 Tai-Kama, 82
Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, 21
Taittirīya Saṃhitā, 36
 Talmud, 61 *n*, 63, 65 *n*
tama complex, 71–72
 Tammuz, 26, 100–102, 107
tao, 31
 Tatars, 42, 63–64
 Tatian, 132 *n*
 Tawhaki, 40 *n*
tehōm, 15
 telluric creation, 25
 temples, 5, 109; celestial archetypes of, 7; and symbolism of the Center, 12–17, 18, 36
 temporality, 152
 territories, celestial archetypes of, 9–11, 80
 Tesup, 55 *n*
themis, 31
 Theodoret, 144
 theophany, 4; history as, 102–12
 Theseus, 28
 Thomas Aquinas, St., 32, 144, 145
 Thompson, Campbell, 84–85
 Thor, 29
 Thorndike, Lynn, 144
 Thoth, 22
 Thraetona, 37, 40
 thunder, 25
 thunderbolt, 19
 thunderstone, 4
 Tiamat, 19, 20, 55–58
 Tibet, 57 *n*, 83
 Tierra del Fuego, 97
 Tigris River, 6
 time, 4; abolition of, 35–36, 57, 62, 85–86, 153, 157–58; concrete and mythical, 20–21; cyclical, *see* cosmic cycles; measurement of, 86; Platonic definition of, 89 *n*; regeneration of, *see* regeneration of time
 tin, age of, 125
 Tirawa, 21
 Tišrīt, 55, 59
 Tobias, 8
 toothache, incantation against, 84–85
 totemic animals, 28

INDEX

totemism, 161
towns, foundation of, 18; *see also*
cities
Toynbee, Arnold J., 146
traditional societies, *see* primitive
societies
transmigrations, 98
tree, cosmic, 125
trees of life and immortality, 17–18
Tretā Yuga, 113, 115
Trinity, 145
Troeltsch, Ernst, 150
truth, historical, 43–44
Tsun-i-Goam, 97
tuli vanua, 80
Turkey, 39, 151
Tvashtar, 23–24
twilight, Indian ages, 113–15
tzedek, 31

U

uncultivated regions, 9–10
universal causality, 98–100, 117
Universal Sovereign, 9
Universal Spirit, 148–49, 159
universe, age of, 125; dual motion
of, 120–22
Unkulunkulu, 21
Upaniṣads, 23–24
Ur, 13
Ural-Altaic peoples, 6, 12
Ursa Major, 8
Ut-napištim, 57–58
uzu, 16

V

Value: of objects and acts, 3–6;
overturning of, 57, 68
Vannicelli, Luigi, 67 *n*
Vanua Levu, 80
Varro, Marcus Terentius, 16
Varuṇa, 29–30, 31

Vayu Purāṇa, 113
Vedas, 10–11, 23–24, 31, 65, 67,
79–80, 99, 113, 115, 117
vegetation symbolism, *see* agricul-
ture
Venus, 135
verbena, 30
Vila, 40–41
Vincent, Albert, 108 *n*
Vipassī Buddha, 116
Virgil, 134, 135, 136
Viṣṇu, 24
Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 113
visions, 103
visitor complex, 70–71
Viti Levu, 80
Vladimir, Prince, 41, 42
Volga, 41, 42
voyages, 18, 33
Vṛtra, 19–20
Vuk, 41
Vukašin, 41

W

wananga, 82
wars, 29, 35, 82–83, 104, 107, 127,
134–36, 147
waters, symbolism of, 59, 60, 82,
88, 125
Weill, Raymond, 6 *n*
Wensinck, A. J., 14 *n*, 15 *n*, 16 *n*,
17 *n*, 58–59, 59 *n*, 63
Wheelwright, Mary C., 83 *n*
Whitney, W. D., 24 *n*, 31 *n*
Widengren, Geo, 101–2
Wieger, Léon, 129 *n*
Wilde Heer, 67
Williams, F. E., 33
Windisch, Ernst, 126
winter solstice, 67, 71, 87
Wirth, Louis, 150 *n*
Wisdom of Solomon, 8

INDEX

- women: and orgies, *see* orgies; rites of girls, 26, 61, 68, 109; and sterility, 24, 27
 - work, and time, 35
 - world: celestial archetypes of, 6–7, 9–10; center of, 12–17; end of, 66, 73, 129; foundation of, 20, 30; restoration of, 72–73, 111, 123; *see also* earth
 - Worm, 84–85
 - wut*, 29
- X
- Xurdāth, 63
- Y
- Yahweh: enthronement of, 60, 61–62; and history, 102–4, 106–8, 110
 - Yāši*, 124
 - Year: ceremonies of, *see* New Year; conceptions of, 51–52, 54, 79–80; cycles of, *see* cosmic cycles; Great Year, 87, 107, 122, 134–36, 146; omens for months of, 56, 58, 59, 65, 67, 68; regeneration of, 26, 27
 - Yezedis, 65
 - Ymir, 20
 - Yoga, 99
 - Yom Kippur, 61
 - Yoma*, 16
 - yoni*, 26
 - Yoruba tribe, 52
 - Yucatán, 88
 - “Yueh Ling,” 25
 - yuga, 113–15, 118, 131, 146
 - Yugoslavia, 39–41
 - Yuin tribe, 32
 - Yurok Indians, 72
- Z
- Zadokite Fragments, 38
 - Zaehner, R. C., 124 *n*
 - Zagmuk, 56, 57 *n*
 - Zarvanism, 6, 125
 - Zechariah, 61
 - Zeno, 88
 - Zeus, 24, 27, 21
 - Ziggurats, 13, 14, 15
 - Zimmern, Heinrich, 57 *n*, 58
 - Zinnalo, Mount, 12
 - Zion, 15
 - Zufi Indians, 51–52