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ESCHATOLOGY AS A RELIGIOUS-MORAL SANCTION

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In general, eschatology is understood to refer to that part of a religious doctrine that focuses on the last (Greek *eschata*) things of man, the society and the world, or the cosmos and is accordingly divided into individual (anthropological), social (collective) and cosmological eschatology.[1] On the anthropological plane, the last things comprise a man's life after death, his salvation or damnation, posthumous purification (purgatory), eternal life; on the social and cosmological plane — expectation of the millennial kingdom (chiliasm, millennialism), termination of this age (the end of times, the end of the world), Christ's Second Coming (Parousia), universal resurrection, the Last Judgement, etc. The present study is concerned with individual eschatology in its enfolding towards the idea of retribution and moral sanction.

Sanction is primarily a legal term. Already in the Roman law, *Legis Sanctio Poenaque*, it signified the law and punishment for its violation. In present-day legal practice the term sanction is used in a threefold meaning. It is, in the first place, approbation or endorsement of a decree, treaty, agreement, etc., further, approval or confirmation of a certain measure, and finally, it is a punitive coercive measure. The term sanction in this last interpretation is also applied to the moral order, but of course, with an essential reservation. In fact, moral sanction cannot be made to include external coercive measures as is the case of the penal code, but implies an inner disposition stemming from the reality of conscience and religious belief, i. e. a conviction regarding reward for good and punishment for bad deeds on the part of a supreme defender of the moral order, whether in this or the next world, whether it be in Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism according to the law of the *karma* and the *sansara*, i. e. transmigration of souls into higher and lower beings until they attain the *nirvana* or fusion with deities.

Strictly speaking, the highest moral sanction is doing good for its own sake.

[1] PONIATOWSKI, Z.: *Treść wierzeń religijnych*. Warszawa 1965, pp. 236–243, 251, 286–315; *Mały słownik religioznawczy*. Warszawa 1969, p. 128; RAHNER, K. — VORGRIMLER, H.: *Kleines theologisches Wörterbuch*. Freiburg im Breisgau 1961, pp. 100–102; *Theologisches Lexikon*. Berlin 1981.

Doing good with a view to a reward lowers the moral that we encounter sanction in various religious systems of the world.

The fundamental premise of an individual eschatology is the conviction that man is made up of a material and a spiritual principle and that after his death, his soul that lives on beyond the grave, takes leave of the material element. This other world was the object of a specific original mythopoeia in various human associations.

Eschatological concepts are but slightly differentiated in primary (elementary) social formations. The same posthumous destiny awaits all the members of the association professing one and the same religious doctrine.

Life beyond the grave, however, need not always be based on the idea of immortality. For instance members of the Ila-Tonga tribe along the middle course of the Zambezi River hold the view that the ghost of the dead visits the living. He can be overcome solely by the sorcerer who locks him up with the aid of charms in some vessel which he throws off at some remote spot in the belief that the next steppe fire will destroy it, together with its content, or throws it into a river to be drowned, or carried away by the current, into the unknown. Hence, according to this view, such spectres can be physically destroyed.[2] Certain tribes in Indonesia and Oceania hold that some time after a man's death his soul ceases to exist. Coastal Dayaks in Kalimantan and also the Toradja in Sumatra even believe that the soul dies several times until ultimately it dissolves into nothingness.[3]

The aborigines of Tasmania whom colonizers ruthlessly exterminated in the last century and who lived at a very primitive degree of civilization, believed in the immortality of the soul and in good and bad spirits, but their notions about life after death were extremely vague and discordant. As far back as the first half of the past century, certain travellers trying to find out the aborigines' views on life after death, received diverse replies. Some said that when die, they would set out for England. One held the view that he would go from one tribe to another. Another stated that when a dead man is burned, he goes off Tini Drini — Isle of the Dead.[4] The Tasmanians also indicated the stars as a place of people's dwelling after death, or the island in the Bass Straight where their remote forebears probably lived.[5]

The idea of the beyond was likewise very hazy and contradictory in the Australian aborigines tribe Aranda. The dead man's soul stays near the burial place until the funeral rites are completed. Then, according to some, it sets off

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[2] Firth, R.: *Społeczności ludzkie. Wstęp do antropologii społecznej.* Warszawa 1965, p. 197.

[3] Kaj Birket-Smith: *Ścieżki kultury.* Warszawa 1974, pp. 408—409.

[4] Kabo, V. R.: *Tasmaniitsy i tasmaniiskaya problema.* Moskva 1975, p. 157.

[5] Ibid., p. 158.

towards the north — probably the place whence their distant forefathers had come to Australia, according to others it retires to where it had been before birth as a totem embryo, and in a tree trunk, or a pond where it awaits its new transmigration.[6]

Probably the fullest expression of belief in life after death is embodied in lineage ancestral worship. Souls or ghosts of the dead do not leave for some remote place in the other world, where they would all be resting in peace, but incessantly take part in various events of their descendants. The latter ask for advice and help in the practical matters of life. Although according to native views, a soul or ghost of ancestors leaves for a special spiritual world, the world beyond is in constant contact with its clan.

The ancestral cult is often connected with the idea of reincarnation which in some more advanced associations has developed into a complex system of beliefs in the transmigration of souls, as is incorporated in the core of all religions in India since the time of the *Upanishads*. Wherever the notion of a totem origin of the family had become rooted, the belief in a totem transmigration of souls became fixed. The Aranda tribe in Central Australia believed that "the totem embryo" penetrates into a woman's body, provoked pregnancy in her and the birth of a child, and when man dies his soul returns back to the original place, again in the shape of a "totem embryo" in order to become reincarnated.[7]

Natives on the island of Tikopia in Melanesia believe that an ancestor's spirit can take on the form of some creature, e. g. a scorpion, a bat, a fish or a bird and thus show himself to people. A creature behaving normally, is simply an animal, a bird, etc. But if there is something unusual in its behaviour, e. g. if it keeps close to man instead of shunning him, then the natives judge that it is a ghost that had become reincarnated and should be looked upon as a ghost.[8] Among members of the Ila tribe on the Zambezi, mentioned above, the view prevailes that members of the totem family of lions are transformed into lions after death.[9] They also believe that after death, sooner or later every man returns to earth in a human form and often takes on the form of a grandson.[10]

The Yoruba in West Africa likewise hold the view that man is reborn again in a new being. According to them, the deceased keep so close to the living that

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[6] PERTOLD, O.: *Přehledné dějiny náboženských soustav celého světa, I.* Praha 1925, pp. 96—97; TOKAREV, S. A.: *Rannie formy religii i ikh razvitie.* Moskva 1964, p. 198; *Narody Avstralii i Okeanii.* Moskva 1956, p. 234.

[7] TOKAREV, S. A.: op. cit., p. 199.

[8] FIRTH, R.: op. cit., p. 198.

[9] Ibid., p. 196.

[10] Ibid., p. 199.

they know about everything that goes on in their midst.[11] Nonetheless, in the system of eschatological notions of African tribes we can often speak solely of a partial reincarnation in the sense that only certain traits of the ancestors, of the "living dead" are reborn in some children, and this within the circle of one family or one clan. The reincarnated "living dead", however, preserves his own independent existence.[12] It might be said that in the given case there is question of inherited traits.

According to notions held by the Cariboo Eskimos from Barren Grounds (west of the Hudson Bay), souls of the dead live so long in heaven until the Moon's Spirit sends them back to earth in order to be born again in a human or an animal form.[13]

But the most widespread notion concerning the fate of souls after death resides in the belief of a special world beyond, another world, for which every soul departs after death. Essentially, this belief exists in some form in all nations and reveals numerous common traits. The lands of the dead are usually localized at some extremity of the earth, on a familiar but remote island, high in the mountains, under water, under the earth, in a barren land, sometimes one of the cardinal points is revealed — especially in the West where the sun "disappears". Numerous nations imagine the spirit-world and life in it to be more beautiful than life on earth. On the other hand, there are associations who hold very sombre, dismal notions about the world beyond, the spirit-world, the land of the dead, or simply the nether world. But these views, either in the former, or in the latter case, are not of the nature of some supernatural retribution. In either case, every man leaves for that world beyond the grave no matter what his terrestrial life may have been, whether he lived on earth a morally good or bad life.

According to notions of some hunter-gatherer and farmer communities, souls in the land of the dead live just as people on earth, but without worries and suffering.[14] North-American Indians thought of the other world as "eternal hunting-ground". Similarly, according to religious ideas of the Koita of New Guinea, the spirit world has fine forests and mountains, well-cultivated fields providing far better crops than here on earth. Souls of dead must indeed do field work, but devote the rest of their time to dancing, feasting, love-making. From time to time the spirits leave the place of their sojourn and hasten to bring help to their living relatives.[15]

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[11] SHAREVSKAYA, S. L.: *Starye i novye religii tropicheskoi i yuzhnoi Afriki*. Moskva 1964, p. 144.

[12] MBITI, John S.: *Afrykańskie religii i filozofia*. Warszawa 1980, p. 206.

[13] KAJ BIRKET-SMITH: op. cit., p. 409.

[14] LIPS, J.: *O původu věcí*. Praha 1960, p. 272.

[15] KOWALSKI, S.: *Spór o religię pierwotną*. Warszawa 1966, p. 45.

Live of the beyond is painted in even brighter colours by the Negrito Semangs on the Malay Peninsula. But the bereaved are worried by the thought of whether the spirit of the deceased feels happy enough. He probably does not wish to be alone in that world and therefore might return into the camp to take along his relatives. He send diseases and death among them just to have them by his side. Therefore, once the funeral is over, the entire camp of the Semangs moves miles away so that the spirit of the deceased would not trace them.[16]

Vancouver Indians believe that settlements of the dead are right next to theirs, only they are invisible. In many regions the view is widespread that kingdom of the dead lies in the west which can be reached solely across a wide river[17] — here one may see the cosmic river of shamanism.

In contrast to these bright notion, there also existed views of the nether world as a very desolate, gloomy place, destined for all people without exception.

With the Sumerians, the world of the dead was the realm of the goddess of death and darkness — Ereshkigal. The Sumerians thought of it as an immense space between the earth's surface and a primeval sea. This country could be reached solely across the river on a bark guided by a man specially destined for this task the "boatman".[18] From these mythical pictures, it is easy to recognize an analogue of the river Styx and the ferryman of the Hades Charon from the mythology of the ancient Greeks.

Babylonians and Assyrians thought the kingdom of the dead to lie deep under the earth. Immediately after death, man's shadow penetrated through the grave into Arall, the subterranean kingdom, a detailed description of which is given by the Accadian myth on the goddess Ishtar's descent into the nether world. Entrance into the realm of the dead is through seven gates. It is something like a prison of souls of the dead. The entrance is guarded by ruthless, implacable demons. Every new-arrival must pass through the seven gates and unconditionally obey the law of the ruler of the underworld Ereshkigal.[19]

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[16] ŠEBESTA, P. — LVOVÁ, S.: *Mezi nejmenšími lidmi světa*. Praha 1959, p. 90; ŠEBESTA, P.: *Z přítmí pralesa. I.* Praha 1927, pp. 129—130; SCHEBESTA, P.: *Orang-Utan. Bei den Urwaldmenschen Malayas und Sumatras*. Leipzig 1928, pp. 57 and 58.

[17] POSERN-ZIELIŃSCY, M. and A.: *Indiańskie wierzenia i rytuały*. Wrocław 1977, p. 138; RINGGREN, H. — STRÖM, A. V.: *Religie w przeszłości i w dobie współczesnej*. Warszawa 1975; LOUKOTKA, Č.: *Náboženství Indiánů*. Praha 1926, pp. 28—29.

[18] KRAMER, S. N.: *Historie začíná v Sumeru*. Praha 1961, p. 166; BIELICKI, M.: *Zapomniany świat Sumerów*. Warszawa 1966, p. 236.

[19] KLEVETA, A.: *Eschatologické představy Babyloňanů*. Acta Academiae Velehradensis, XVI. Olomouc 1940, pp. 304—315; MOSCATI, S.: *Kultura starożytna ludów semickich*. Warszawa 1968, pp. 66—67.

Israelites of the Old Testament imagined the underworld "sheol", as an immense cave in the underground. The dead or *refā'im*, i. e. the languid, the decease, roam there like shadows, nothing but chaos reigns everywhere, "and where even the light is like darkness" (Job 10, 21—22). They are without any contact either with God or men.

Turn, O Lord, and deliver me;
save me because of your unfailing love.
No one remember you when he is dead.
Who praises you from his grave? (Psalms 6, 5—6).

From *sheol* there is no returning: "He will never come to his house again; his place will know him no more". (Job 7, 10). The earliest source do not contain a single piece of clear and convincing evidence of a moral assessment of the terrestrial life of the dead. The Israelite felt a terror of the nether world which reminded him of a greedy, insatiable monster. Numerous images of the Old Testament express the conviction that every manner of contact with God ceases in *sheol*. True, God is the Lord also of *sheol*, but is a place of silence.[20]

In the religious-mythological notions of a clanship-tribe society with an incipient social differentiation, the world beyond, the kingdom of the dead has its ruler, guardian, or its guide, ferryman, gate-keeper who lets pass into his kingdom only souls that had met certain conditions. However, as a rule, these are not conditions of a moral order. According to notions held by inhabitants of the Vao Island in the archipelago of Vanuatu, entrance into the Underworld is guarded by a monster in the shape of a gigantic crab which pounds on the soul and swallows it unless it is accompanied by a pig. If, however, it has the pig, i. e. if it had been ritually killed at the funeral, the monster accepts it and releases the soul. In the southern region of the Malekula Island the view prevails that a spirit gate-keeper stands at the entrance to the nether world who lets in only those tattooed.[21] And it is well known that tattooing played a significant religious and social role, for in it were encoded the rank and social standing of its bearers, or it warned that its bearer was taboo, or had *mana*, e. g. the headman, etc. On some Melanesian islands, the natives are convinced that the keeper lets into the nether world solely those who had joined the man's society.[22]

Therefore, neither in this case are the eschatological notions motivated by morale.

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[20] Novotný, A: *Biblický slovník*. Praha 1956, pp. 611—612; Ricciotti, G.: *Život Ježíše Krista*. Praha 1948, p. 71; Glasenapp, H. von: *Religie niechrześcijańskie*. Warszawa 1966, p. 271; Ringgren, H. — Ström, A. V.: op. cit., p. 125.

[21] Tokarev, S. A.: op. cit., pp. 205—206.

[22] Ibid., p. 206.

On the other hand, in some ancient civilizations, eschatology was based indeed on a social differentiation of posthumous fates and on a differentiation of retribution, but the latter was not dependent on a moral evaluation of deeds in life on earth.

Thus, the afterlife of the Aztecs was divided into heaven and hell, but these were not places of reward or punishment, but differed just hierarchically as the seats of the gods with their hierarchical standing in the pantheon. There were thirteen heavens. The principal, the highest god who is generally taken to have been Tloque Nahuaque, "Lord of the World" and "Lord of Everything", occupied a place in the highest heaven; then followed further gods according to their rank or significance. One heaven belonged to the god of rain Tlaloc. To him came all those stricken by lightning or victims of floods, etc., and they were thereby touched by the god, *numen*. One theological school of the Aztecs divided heaven into an "eastern" and a "western" sphere. The east was reserved to warriors whose blood, shed in war or on the sacrificial stone, was considered to be a sustenance for the sun, while the west was destined to women who died while giving birth and therefore sacrificed their life for their child, a potential future warrior. The ramaining dead proceeded to the lower-situated Mictlan.[23]

Similarly, the Mayas believed in a vertically ordered world in which heaven stood over the underworld. According to the Mayas, pious and good deeds were not rewarded. Where the deceased went, depended upon what he had been, what social standing he had held, whether his behaviour corresponded to heroic morale. Warriors, priests, women in the first weeks after birth and the drowned reached the place where their protective spirits dwelt. Suicide was considered to be heroism and self-murderers had their own heaven.[24]

From the above it follows that the nether world had no moral significance with the Aztecs and the Mayas. Decisive for the deceased was not whether he had led a virtuous or a depraved life on earth, but uniquely the degree of merits and heroism corresponding to the morale of warriors, and eschatology contributed to and supported it.

Eschatology of the Aztecs and the Mayas is reminiscent in a certain measure of the Walhalla — the religious-mythological notions of ancient Germanic tribes where fallen warriors formed the company of the highest god Odin (West-Germanic Wodan, Wotan) and daily practised handling weapons in order to prepare themselves for the last battle at the end of the world. Alongside Walhalla, also a subterranean kingdom existed in the notions of ancient (Germanic tribes), with goddess Hel ruling over it, and which could be reached over

[23] VAILLANT, G. C.: *Aztekowie z Meksyku*. Warszawa 1965, pp. 222—223.

[24] HAGEN, V. W. von: *Kultúra Mayov*. Bratislava 1966, p. 111; THOMPSON, J. E. S.: *Sláva a pád starých Mayů*. Praha 1971, pp. 307—308; MORLEY, S. G.: *Mayové*. Praha 1977, pp. 111—112.

a golden bridge Gjöll by all those who did not fall in war.[25] Hence, in this case also, moral evaluation is of no consequence.

So far, our review has shown that in the first stage, eschatological notions are based, in general, on a very colourful scale of mythopoeia. Its content, however, is not determined by moral sanctions, but by various other motifs, inessential to morality.

A religious-moral sanction reached eschatology already with ancestral worship. "Respect shown to the elders ensured respect for their decisions. Although their decisions had no coercive validity, yet they were generally accepted. Ancestors are considered to be the protectors of the rights and customs of the family. They punish those who disregard their orders, with diseases and disasters... Every member of the Ashanti society (Ghana) is constantly under the impression that his ancestors observe him and that one day when he joins the world of spirits, they will ask him to give an account of his deeds and particularly of the way he had behaved towards members of his tribe. This idea is a very effective moral sanction."[26]

The eschatological notion of rendering an account to ancestors in the other world embodies within it an element of retribution or an afterlife judgement in the spirit of norms of the customary law. This element is developed even more and is transmitted from the plane of customary law to that of state lawmaking in the idea of an afterlife tribunal. It is certainly no mere chance that in Mesopotamia this idea overlaps the origin of the first legal prescription in the 3rd millennium.[27] It is typical that lawmakers make appeal to divine authority in support of their decrees. One of the first, "Urukagina spoke of his work as a treaty concluded with the god Ningirsu, similarly as later Moses submitted to his people the Decalogue as a covenant with the Lord."[28] Hammurabi, in turn, appeals to the authority of the sun god Shamash: "I, Hammurabi, king of justice, to whom Shamash has given a legal order..."[29] The origins of law were evidently sacral in character and that is probably why Urukagina's legal norms carried a strong ethical colouring. He was perhaps the first ruler to have proclaimed the principle of protection of the weak against the strong, taken over also by further rulers and it came to be a measure of interhuman relations

[25] GLASENAPP, H. von: op. cit., p. 150.

[26] PODGÓRECKI, A.: *Sociologie práva*. Praha 1966, p. 43.

[27] KLÍMA, J.: *Nejstarší zákony lidstva*. Praha 1979; KRAMER, S. N.: op. cit., pp. 85—88.

[28] KLÍMA, J.: op. cit., p. 41.

[29] Ibid., p. 145.

generally. Neither Urukagina, nor subsequent rulers pronounced a sanction on this principle: the punishment was to be a curse of the gods.[30]

The Babylonian sun god Shamash gave legal authority to a group of the Anunnaks by which are understood deities of various local pantheons of the Sumerian-Akkadian mythology. They were divided into upper "celestial", and lower gods of the terrestrial world and they often acted as intermediaries in the contact of the people with their gods; their names sealed oaths, hence, they had the function of legal-moral authority. They dwelt in the palace of the queen of the nether world kingdom Ereshkigal where they sat on golden stools.[31] The moral significance of the afterlife judgement in Sumerian-Babylonian eschatology is pointed out in the hymn to Gilgamesh, the legendary ruler of Uruk, the fifth king of the 1st Uruk dynasty after the deluge (the 1st quarter of the 3rd millennium B. C.), half-man half-god who became, from the will of the highest god Shamash, one of the seven judges in the nether world:

Gilgamesh, a perfect king, judge from among the Anunnaks,
noble, wise, the greatest among men,
you see everything in all the world,
ruler on earth and lord of the underworld!
You are the ruler who as god see everything,
you sit on the throne and decide judgement!
Your verdict cannot be altered,
your word cannot be forgotten!
You enquire and you weigh, you judge and righteously rule.
Shamash himself placed judgement and verdict into your hands.
Kings and rulers, their vice-regents,
all of them kneel before Thee!
You see into their kidneys, you pronounce verdicts...[32]

Gilgamesh's judgements had undoubtedly a moral character. The judge has a divine ability to see all the four corners of the wearth, to see everything external, but also to see inside, into man's very kidneys. And we know that in antiquity the idea of the kidneys as also that of the heart was an image of the innermost depth in man. According to the psychology of the *Old Testament*, it is the seat of perception, movements of the thought and of conscience.[33] Since then Gilgamesh "saw into the kidneys" of people and according to that "weigh-

[30] Ibid., p. 41.
[31] KLEVETA, A.: op. cit., pp. 327—328; KRAMER, S. N.: *Mytologie starověku*. Praha 1977.
[32] *Epos o Gilgamešovi*. Bratislava 1975, p. 193.
[33] NOVOTNÝ, A.: op. cit., p. 371.

ed their deeds and pronounced judgement", manifestly evaluating their moral and amoral behaviour. However, what were Gilgamesh's verdicts, his sentences? Known texts say nothing about that. Since all the deceased went into the gloomy Sumerian-Babylonian underworld without exception, regardless of their way of behaving in life, we may rightly assume that Gilgamesh's judgements and also those of the Anunnaks generally, referred to the living and consisted in shortening or prolonging their life, in provoking disease or preserving health, imparting misery or welfare, hence, in retribution already in this world.[34]

The eschatological notions of ancient Egyptians were closely bound to the idea of truth and moral order, personified in the goddess Maat. Originally, the Egyptians believed that the place of sojourn of the dead was a remote region somewhere on the earth. Later they thought that the souls of the dead set out for the underground kingdom of Osiris where the afterlife judgement was held, as detailed in the 125th chapter of the *Book of the Dead*, and also mural paintings in tombs. Osiris sits on this throne, the goddess of truth, justice and order Maat brings in the deceased and then Horus with the head of a sparrow-hawk and Anubis with that of a jackal, weigh his heart, counterbalanced on the other scale with "truth" and "order" in the form of Maat's attribute — an ostrich feather — while Thoth registers the proceedings. Facing forty two judges, experts on various sins, the deceased had to testify in the form of a negative confession, that he had committed nothing wrong. If his answers corresponded to the truth, he was saved, otherwise a monster swallowed him up.[35] It is quite evident that this eschatological notion about an afterlife tribunal weighing men's sins and trespasses, has the significance of a religious-moral sanction.

Moral judgement with sin weighing was also comprised in the ancient Persian eschatological notion on the bridge Chinavad spanning earth and heaven, across which man's soul had to pass after death. Three judges sat at the approach to the bridge — Mithra, the sun god, watching over adherence to treaties and agreements, then archangel Sraosha, a spirit of obedience and order, and Rashnu, corresponding to the Hinduist Vishnu, who weigh man's good and bad deeds on a balance of justice. To the just man, the bridge Chinavad means a safe passage into the land of eternal bliss, for the sinner, however, it is too narrow and the condemned falls off into the place of damnation.[36]

The rulers of the Inca state abided by the laws and their penal code was

[34] COUTENAU, G.: *Życie codzienne v Babilonii i Asyrii*. Warszawa 1963, p. 253.

[35] GLASENAPP, H. von: op. cit., p. 139; KOROSTOVTSEV, M. A.: *Religii drevnego Egipta*. Moskva 1976, pp. 226—227; KEES, H.: *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter*. Berlin 1977, p. 106.

[36] WIDENGREN, G.: *Die Religionen Irans*. Stuttgart 1965, pp. 86 and 102.

simple, but strict and effective. Their implacable law had capital punishment for theft, falsehood, blasphemy (tantamount to disobedience to the ruler), adultery, intercourse with Aclla consecrated to the Sun god and with his favourite.[37] It is thus natural that such strict sanctioning of moral norms among the Incas had as parallel, an eschatological sanction. The Incas were convinced that after death man's soul would go either to heaven where it would live together with the Sun in abundance and welfare, happiness and peace, or into the interior of the earth where it would suffer hunger and cold. The ruling aristocratic strata of the Incas, deriving their origin from the sun, generally believed that souls would go to heaven in any case.[38] The Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1539—1616) writes in his work *Comentarios reales de los Incas* that the Incas divided the universe into three worlds. The high world was a place to which good people went as a reward for their virtuous life A world of decay was the lower world, while the centre of the earth was the "devil's house" — the abode of the wicked. Life in the high or upper world meant a life of peace, without the exertion and injustice that exists on earth. On the contrary, life in the centre of the earth was full of diseases and sufferings, worries and exertion.[39] In this case, the element of afterlife judgement is not embodied in the eschatology of the Incas, but the motif of retribution manifestly implies that eschatological notions rested on a moral assessment and sanctioning of people's behaviour.

Marked by a specific development were the eschatological ideas of the ancient Greeks. Homer's *Odyssey* seems to have preserved as if in an embryo, two different notions about the world of the dead. One, in parallel to the oriental conception, shows the afterlife as a gloomy place without hope (*Od.* XXIV, 1 to 14), the other stands in contradiction to the first and speaks of bliss — Elysian Fields where Rhadamanthys dwells, where people lead a content, worry-free life, there are neither tempests there, nor snow nor rain, only Zephyros, a refreshing breeze blows here (*Od.* IV, 561 f.).

Under the influence of Demeter and the Eleusinian mysteries — in which sacred things appeared to the initiated, especially the mysteries of death and they were promised a blissful afterlife destiny, different from that of the uninitiated views on life after death tended to become more subtle. "Who has passed through mystical death, knows the meaning of death and with a pious mind looked forward to it, for he knew that with death, a new life was beginning for him."[40]

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[37] NOCOŃ, R. H.: *Dzieje, kultura i upadek Inków*. Wrocław 1958, p. 166 f.; HUBER, S.: *Państwo Inków*. Warszawa 1968, p. 99.

[38] NOCOŃ, R. H.: op. cit., p. 253.

[39] Inca Garcilaso de la VEGA: *Istoriya gosudarstva Inkov*. Leningrad 1974, pp. 86—87.

[40] TRENCSÉNYI-WALDAPFEL, I.: *Mytológia*. Bratislava 1973, p. 169.

Orphists divided people into the initiated and the profane, religious and sinners. In the other world, bliss awaited the ones, and punishment in Hades or Tartarus the others.

In the dialogue *Gorgias* (524) Plato speaks of the myth about the world after life, according to which the sons of Zeus, Minos, Rhadamanthys and Aiakos were to become judges of the dead, they had to dispense judgement in a meadow, at the crossroads, from which one road led to Elysium on the island of bliss, the other to Tartarus, a place of damnation. Rhadamanthys was to judge people from Asia, Aiakos those from Europe, and Minos allegedly was given the right to decide in case the other two ran into doubt, in order that the most righteous judgement could be pronounced.

In this case, too, eschatology by its conception of retribution and assessment of moral life, is of the nature of a religious-moral sanction. Eschatological systems with the motif of an afterlife judgement are remarkable in that the acting judges are personages who in the historical or mythological sense were the executors of right and justice. Texts that have appeared over the past decades permit Gilgamesh to be considered a real historical personality. He was the fifth ruler of the 1st dynasty in the Sumerian town Uruk (27th—26th cent. B.C.), deified shortly after his death. He began to be considered a judge and a protector of people from demons about the 2nd millennium B.C. when Sumerian lawmaking and the judiciary had been functioning for centuries. In Egyptian Osiris's court, the central figure is Maat, goddess of the legal order. Minos and his brother Rhadamanthys were, according to tradition, mythical kings in Crete, famous for their justice and wise lawmaking. Also the mythical Aiakos, the son of Zeus and Aigina — daughter of the river god, became a judge in the nether world because of his sense of justice. These motifs of right and justice are a manifest echo of state lawmaking and the judiciary.

It seems that precisely the promotion of state lawmaking and the judiciary helped the development and the definitive shaping of the afterlife judgement and the division of the world beyond into spheres — a space abounding in light and bliss in the vicinity of the gods reserved for the just, and a gloomy place of damnation for sinners. Plato's *Constitution* even mentions a purgatory for those who are not too good, yet neither too bad.

The eschatological idea of retribuion in the other world comes close to the image of the Supreme Being who sees and judges people's deeds and rewards or punishes them accordingly in this or in the other world. Thereby, this notion acquires the validity of a religious-moral sanction. Thus, in ancient Greece, Zeus was considered to see everything and hence to be omniscient, and punished perjurers, those who transgressed the laws of hospitality and those who committed the sin of arrogance (hybris). He punished already during life, killed with lightning, sent down diseases, miseries, disasters. Similarly, the ancient Vedic

god Varuna, ruler of the universe, a personification of legal and moral power and of all the cosmic laws, acts as a severe judge of human transgressions, as an executor of the hightest justice, a protector of moral order, who metes out punishment already in this world, but who also pardons when man turns to him with confidence.

A specific form of moral sanction is the one which an individual applies to himself and which is traditionally referred to as "remorse" or "twinges of conscience". In such a case one and the same individual figure simultaneously as an evaluator and the evaluated, as one who violates rules and simultaneously personally reacts to this violation. A condition of such a double quality, a dichotomy, represents a deep interiorization of rules prevailing in a given social group which sociologists term internalization.[41]

The world-renowned Viennese psychiatrist Viktor Frankl writes in his book *Der unbewusste Gott* that if man is to submit to his conscience, then this conscience has to be something different from and something more than he is himself, something that exceeds him, stands above him, is immanent and simultaneously transcendental.[42]

Similarly, John Henry Newman in his outstanding work *Grammar of Assent* speaks directly of the cognitive function of conscience. He is convinced that God addresses man through the interior voice of conscience and lends to this conscience the supreme and injunctive power over moral life.[43]

Remorse of conscience which man evokes within himself through self-appraisal, becomes projected as a sanction into eschatological mythopoeia, i.e. into a figurative moulding of moral sanction. It is a fascinating fact that with the aid of conscience, man is able not only to set up moral norms within himself and to objectivize them, but also to create sanctions in their support.

This review of eschatological notions, far from being exhaustive, proves the autonomy of morale, its independence of religious doctrines which are extremely diversified, are subject to man's psychology, his imaginativeness, association of notions, rule of mythopoeia and to an interhuman exchange of views and notions, while consience, this categorical imperative, this disposition making man capable of distinguishing between moral good and evil, a regulator of behaviour, everything that we subsume under the term conscience, is more or less the same. At the same time, it is apparent that conscience and religion reciprocally condition each other. Conscience affects the setting up of a religious sanction, while religion acts, by a feedback, on conscience, morale, and refines

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[41] JANKOWSKI, H.: *Przedmiot etyki — moralność*. In: *Etyka*. Warszawa 1979, p. 14.

[42] FRANKL, V. E.: *Der unbewusste Gott*. München 1974; Polish edition: *Nieuświadomiony Bóg*. Warszawa 1979, p. 47.

[43] NEWMAN, J. H. Card.: *Philosophie des Glaubens* (*Grammar of Assent*). München 1921, p. 334.

it. Of course, such considerations are possible uniquely on the basis of natural revelation (*Naturoffenbarung*). Supernatural revelation in which Christianity takes support, has in view more than natural morale, namely, moral perfection.

Conscience acts as a vicarious moral authority which imposes moral obligations on man, and here ethics meets with religion which sanctions moral norms. Alfred Fuchs wrote: "Efforts at obtaining the last authority, the last truth, absolute truth, is the fountainhead of religious faith."[44]

An inkling of such a moral authority over man has led him to buttress behavioural norms with a religious-moral sanction. The latter comes forth in its elemental form already in the cult of ancestors who watch over maintenance of norms, which they had formerly helped to set up, and punish their violation or neglect. A higher degree is represented by a divine moral authority sanctioning moral order. The eschatological notions themselves, in the initial developmental stage did not as yet embody the retributional element in the other world. Nevertheless, the validity of sanction, although only an imaginary one, yet effective in its feedback, was acquired by eschatological notions only with the birth of a legal consciousness when, at higher developmental stages, the idea of retribution passed from the position of the customary law to that of state lawmaking, when sanctions were determined in the form of punishments and protective measures in support of punitive regulations. Legal consciousness contributed in a considerable measure to a differentiation of eschatological notions which were ushered into eschatological systems by the element of afterlife judgement and a division of the world beyond into spheres destined for the good and the wicked.

[44] FUCHS, A.: *Autorita*. Praha 1930, p. 49.