TENTING, TOLL, AND TAXING

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EVEN in the great classic treatises on the state, its image is never without a sinister side. The combination of unlimited power and limited wisdom can never be a reassuring one, but it is the actual behavior of sovereign states and princes that is most disturbing. The key to understanding the behavior of delinquents, we are often told, is an insight into early background and environment. It is the purpose of this paper to show how the state spent the most impressionable years of its childhood living as an orphan of the storm in tents of vagabonds where it acquired many of the habits and attitudes that still condition its activities.

SCENE I.—AN OPEN PLACE. THUNDER AND LIGHTNING

It was not until early in the present century that H. M. Chadwick pointed out what should have been obvious to everyone, namely that epic literature, a large and important segment of the human record, is the product not of unrestrained poetic fancy but of real years of terror and gloom through which the entire race has been forced to pass from time to time.[1] We now have good reason to believe, after many years of controversy and discussion, scientific and otherwise, that the violence of the elements that forms the somber backdrop of the "Epic Milieu" was more than a literary convention. Many ancient sources recall that after the waters of the Flood had subsided there came a great "Windflood" which converted large areas of the world to sandy deserts; A. Haldar considers the Sumerian version of the Windflood to be "an excellent example of a text describing historical events in terms of religious language."[2] The historical reality is attested by wind-blown sand deposits from various and widely separated periods, which can be broadly correlated with some of the major migrations of peoples.[3]

[1] H. M. Chadwick, *The Heroic Age* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1912), and H. M. and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1932). The situation was suggested by H. Winckler in the 3rd ed. of E. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (Berlin, 1903), p. 4.

[2] A. Haldar, *The Notion of the Desert in Sumero-Accadian and West-Semitic Religions* (Leipzig, 1950), p. 26; in every case the land is turned into a desert, *ibid.*, pp. 22, 26–29. The great violence of the winds at the time of the Flood is indicated in fragments of the Gilgamesh Epic, Tab. IV, 12–20: A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1946), pp. 48f; cf. W. Lambert, "New Light on the Babylonian Flood," *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 5 (1960), 117f, and *Journal of Theological Studies*, 16 (1965), 296. J. B. Bauer, in *Theologische Zeitschr.*, 20 (1964), 3, notes that the wind which blows over the waters in Gen. 8:1 is really a *Gottessturm, gewaltiger Sturm.* Cf. *The Pyramid Texts* 298b–c, 200a–b, and Hesiod *Theog.* 654ff. Many later sources are cited in R. Eisler, *Iesous Basileus* (Heidelberg, 1930), II. 107ff, 113, 626ff. The great wind is mentioned in the *Book of Jubilees*, 10:26, and Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicle*, I, 3–4; and there are interesting Arabic accounts in R. Klinke-Rosenberger (ed.), *Das Götzenbuch Kitab al-Asnam des Ibn al-Kalbi* (Leipzig, 1941), p. 58, and H. F. Wüstenfeld, in *Orient and Occident*, 1 (1905), 331. For early Christian references. Eusebius *Chronicon* I, iv, in Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 21:134; Epiphanius *adv. haeres.*, I, i, 5 (*P.G.*, 41:184); Pseudo-Melito, in I. Otto, *Corpus Apologeticarum*, ix (1872), 510f; cf. T. F. Glasson, "Water, Wind and Fire . . . and Orphic Initiation," *New Testament Studies*, 3 (1956), 69ff.

[3] E. Demougeot, "Variations climatiques et invasion," in *Revue Historique*, 233 (1965), 11. In the twelfth century B.C. the island of Cyprus was covered by wind-driven sand (*ibid.*,

According to S. N. Kramer, "the factors primarily responsible for the more characteristic features of the Greek, Indian, and Teutonic Heroic Ages" were at work "in the ancient Near East as a whole" in the earliest recorded times.[4] These factors, i.e., a *Völkerwanderungszeit* and a general disintegration of civilization, are always accompanied and aggravated if not caused by violent and prolonged atmospheric disturbances. Wherever we turn the earliest records of the race offer the surprisingly uniform portrait of a wandering storm-driven hero — a Horus, Enlil, Marduk, Mazda, Zeus, Teshub, Celtic Mercury or Norse Othinn, to name but a few — mounted on his thunder-wagon and leading his toiling hosts across the windy steppes while the earth trembles and the sky gives forth with appalling electrical displays.[5]

Biologists today are calling attention to the interesting theory that when man, ages before any recorded *Völkerwanderung*, was forced out of whatever tropical paradise his body was and still is designed to inhabit, it was necessary for

p. 8), and what classical writers call the great flooding of the northlands in the second century A.D. was accompanied by heavy deposition of such sands (pp. 17f). Today it is maintained that the deserts of the Near East and the Sahara itself were produced largely through human agency within historic times; H. Lhote, in E. Bacon (ed.), *Vanished Civilizations* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963), pp. 12–32.

[4] S. N. Kramer, "New Light on the Early History of the Ancient Near East," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 52 (1948), 159.

[5] For Horus and his royal counterparts, *Pyramid Texts*, 393a–414c (for the famous "Cannibal Hymn" see R. O. Faulkner, "The 'Cannibal Hymn' from the Pyramid Texts," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 10 [1924], 97–103); 298a–299b, 308a–312a, 261, etc.; J. Zandee, "Seth als Sturmgott," in *Zeitschr. für ägyptische Sprache*, 90 (1962), 144–56; P. Montet, *Le Drame d'Avaris* (Paris, 1941), pp. 87f. The oldest shrine of Egypt was the "Thunderbolt-city" founded by the Stormgod, whose high priest was "the Warrior"; G. A. Wainwright, "The Bull Standards of Egypt," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 19 (1933), 46f. "This storm was the raging of Ra at the thunder-cloud sent forth against the Right Eye of Ra [the sun]. Thoth removed the thunder-cloud," etc.; E. A. W. Budge, *The Papyrus of Ani* (New York, London, 1913), II, 384f. Enlil, Anu, and Ningirsu came into Mesopotamia as lords of the storm; T. Jacobsen, in H. Frankfort *et al., Before Philosophy* (New York: Penguin, 1951), pp. 147, 150, 153; so also Marduk R. Labat, *Le Poème Babylonien de la Création* (Paris: A Maisonneuve, 1935), pp. 33f. The earthly king is "the storm-wind of battles," B. Meissner, *Die babylonisch-assyrische Literatur* (Wildpark-Potsdam, 1927), p. 39, and aspires "to shine as Lord in the storm," M. Witzel, "Zu den Enmerkar-Dichtungen," *Orientalia*, 18 (1949), 276. So Mazda, J. Darmsteter, *The Zend-Avesta* (Oxford, 1895), I, 104; cf. J. Smolian, "Kultische Hintergrund bei Wagenrennen," in *Zeitschr. f. Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 17 (1965), 264f. The Greek Zeus is *nephelegeretes*, lord of thunder-storms; M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (Leipzig, 1906), pp. 2f; A. B. Cook, *Zeus* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1930), II, 851, 830ff. On Apollo, the migrating hero, Wernicke, *RE* III, 20f, 26f; as storm-god, R. Harris, "Apollo at the Back of the North Wind," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 45 (1925), 229–42; on Hermes as such, W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griech. u. römischen Mythologie*, I, ii, 2360–62; and on Herakles, B. Schweitzer, *Herakles* (Tübingen, 1922), pp. 47f. For the Hittite Teshub, O. R. Gurney, *The Hittites* (New York: Penguin, 1952), pp. 192–94. "Der Wettergott von Halab" dominates the entire Near East; H. Klengel, "Der Wettergott von Halab," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 19 (1965), 87–93. The insignia of the chief Celtic god were the wheel, thunderbolt, and hammer; C. Clement, *Religionsgeschichte Europas* (Heidelberg, 1926), I, 319ff; cf. Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 2390. Othinn as successor to Thor is both a wanderer and a storm-god; Tiele-Soderblom, *Kompendium der Religionsgeschichte* (5th ed.; Berlin, 1920), pp. 480ff; Schweitzer, *op. cit.*, p. 86. Even Alexander as a world-conquerer is Lord of the Storm, his birth being announced by supernatural thunder and lightning; Pseudo-Callisthenes, *Vita Alexandri* (ed. Müller), I, 12. In Hebrew tradition "Geisteswind" and the "Heere des Himmels" appear on the scene together, recalling actual prehistoric upheavals; K. Koch, in *Zeitschr. für Theologie u. Kirche*, 62 (1965/6), 276.

him to devise a system of air-conditioning in order to survive in a hostile ali environment. Within his clothes, as Sir Dudley Stamp observes, even the Eskir "is living . . . in the steamy heat of the Amazon Forest." But the air he breath must also be tempered, and this is possible only in the confines of a house whic since its owner must keep moving, is necessarily a portable house.[6] During t crucial migrational phases of their existence, men have had to live in tents, superb practical dwellings which, aside from making survival possible, have always sati fied the two deepest "felt needs" of the race, namely, the yearning for change an adventure and the equally strong craving for protection and security. The tent c the migratory chief is, as J. Morgenstern informs us, both the protective palladiur of the tribe and its invitation to journey "through a totally unknown country."[7]

We have already pointed out in this journal that the earliest kings or leader of the people lived in tents.[8] Pharaoh, who ruled over the least migratory of people performed every major function of his ritualized existence in a tent.[9] Even the pillars of his palace suggest the poles of a tent that protects the wanderer by night in a strange land.[10] Anu, the first and highest of Mesopotamian deities, is "the rider of the storms who occupies the dais [tent] of sovereignty. . . ."[11] The tent of Moses was a palladium for wandering Israel in "the desert of darkness."[12] And when the oldest cities were overwhelmed by the great wind, the only refuge for the Lady Ishtar herself was in the tents of the nomads, which have ever been the asy lum for the outcast and the last redoubt of afflicted humanity under siege by the elements.[13] And if deity and sovereignty dwell in tents, such tents are understand-

[6] Sir Dudley Stamp, "Man and His Environment," *Scientific Journal*, 1 (1965), 76.

[7] J. Morgenstern, "The Ark, the Ephod, and the 'Tent of Meeting,'" *Hebrew Union College Annual*, 17 (1942–3), 263. Since the function of a tent is shelter, *ibid.*, p. 183, it is the palladium or symbol of protection, pp. 160, 184. While the root meaning of the Greek *skene* is to shadow or shelter (G. Curtius), "to live in tents" had the popular sense of living adventurously: *"Hypo skenais kai en allodapei diatemenoi . . . ,"* Herodian *Aethiop.* 5 (2, 13). The tent in the backyard still holds for the young the double appeal of adventure and cozy security.

[8] H. Nibley, "The Hierocentric State," *Western Political Quarterly*, 4 (June 1951), 238–44. The distinction between the leader of a migrating band and a king in the conventional sense has been treated by K. H. Bernhardt, *Das Problem der Altorientalischen Königsideologie im Alten Testament* (Leiden, 1961), who finds the transition from the leader of a nomadic band (*mkrb*) to the "sacral Grosskönigtum" (*mlk*) to follow normally on the establishment of a settled capitol, pp. 169, 178f. "The holy tent itself was a visible and potent title to his [David's] position as king," i.e., there was no conflict between the two conceptions of dominion; Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

[9] B. Grdseloff, in *Annales du Service des Antiquites de l'Egypte*, 51 (1951), 130f, 134, 138f: even the great ceremonial buildings retain the name of *sh-ntr*, "tent of the god," and *ibw*, "reed house." The royal tent appears on predynastic palettes, E. Massoulard, *Prehistoire et Protohistoire d'Egypte* (Paris, 1949), p. 446, and is often mentioned in the *Pyramid Texts* Spells 319, 345, 349, 363, 676, 690; "O King, Horus has woven his tent before thee; Seth has stretched out thy canopy; the father is sheltered by the divine tent . . . in thy favorite [camping] places."

[10] A. De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1935), I, 253–54 (Spell 60) is quite vivid. The lighting of fires in the shrine (represented by the ideogram of a tent) is to drive away the evil things that lurk about at night; A. Moret, *Le Rituel de Culte Divin Journalier en Egypte* (Paris, 1902), pp. 12f.

[11] Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

[12] Pedersen, *Israel* (London: Oxford U. Press, 1947), II, 453ff; W. H. Irwin, "Le sanctuaire central israélite," in *Revue Biblique*, 72 (1965), 164; see above, note 7.

[13] Haldar, *op. cit.*, p. 24. "Men of all conditions and nations . . . look to the Arab camp as a safe retreat and refuge," P. J. Baldensperger, in *Palestine Exploration* 1922

ably the proper place for oracular consultations, solemn counsel, and inspired leadership.[14]

The ancient tribal shrines of the Near East known variously as *'otfe, markab, mahmal, qubbeh, bait, aron, tebet,* etc., all had two characteristics in common: they were, according to Morgenstern, "all tents or tent-like structures," usually dome-shaped, and all were mounted on a box-like frame or understructure whose common name of *merkab* meant either wagon or ship, and shows that it was meant to provide mobility.[15] In an important study A. Alföldi has recently made it possible for the student to enjoy the surprising spectacle of great royal tents moving all over the ancient world on their ceremonial wagons,[16] while J. Smolian now describes the ritual itinerary of such *vehicula sacra* in Europe and the East as common to both kings and gods.[17] Both studies discuss the cosmic nature of the wheel-borne dome-shaped shrine or royal baldachin, for paradoxical as it may seem, such symbols of supreme stability as the throne, temple, holy city, and even sacred world-mountain are often depicted either as revolving wheels or as mounted and moving on wheels.[18]

Throughout the ancient world divinity and royalty, following the course and example of the heavenly bodies, moved through the spaces above and below in covered wagons or boats or in a combination of the two — the *carrus navalis* or ship-wagon of the carnival procession.[19] Such vehicles were floats, moving through

[14] In the Tent of Tryst the leader communes with God and transmits the divine instructions to the people; M. Haran, 'The Nature of the 'Ohel Mo'edh in Pentateuchal Services," *Journal of Semitic Studies,* 5 (1960), 52ff, 57f; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea* (Vienna, 1907–08), III, 130, 353ff. All the great patriarchs dwelt and communed with God in tents; J. Benzinger, *Hebrew Archaeology* (Freiburg and Leipzig, 1894), p. 11. The veil of the Temple would seem to be a survival of a nomad tent representing heaven; A. Pelletier, "Le grand rideau du . . . temple de Jerusalem," *Syria,* 35 (1958), 218, 222, 223–26; the antiquity of the idea goes back to the prehistoric "reed wall" through which Ut-Napishtim (the Babylonian Noah) conversed with deity; Lambert, *op. cit.,* pp. 118–19. We seem to detect an Egyptian parallel in De Buck, *op. cit.,* I, 157 (Spell 38).

[15] Morgenstern, *op. cit.,* p. 248, cf. 191f, 184, 198, 201f, 204, 206, 228, 254f. The author favors an original camel-mounting, yet the oldest authentic example, from Dura Europos, shows the Ark of the Covenant as "plainly a small tent" mounted on a wagon drawn by oxen; *ibid.,* p. 250.

[16] A. Alföldi, "Die Geschichte des Throntabernakels," *La Nouvelle Clio,* 10 (1950), 537–66. Alföldi emphasizes the idea of the sheltering baldachin as the world-wide symbol of royal authority, an aspect also treated by Morgenstern, *op. cit.,* pp. 171, 174f, 176, 178, 180f, 196f, 208, 212, 228.

[17] J. Smolian, "Vehicula religiosa. Wagen in Mythos, Ritus, Kultus und Mysterium," in *Numen,* 10 (1963), 202–27.

[18] So paradoxical do these combinations appear that scholars still have difficulty envisaging the biblical picture of Solomon's throne or bed beneath a sheltering pavilion supported by cedar poles and mounted on a wagon; J. Winandy, in *Vetus Testamentum,* 15 (1965), 103–10. On the flying throne, A. Wünsche, *Solomons Thron und Hippodrom Abbilder des Babylonischen Himmelsbildes* (Leipzig, 1906). The Persian world-capital is Hvaniratha, the cosmic hub of the "loud-moving chariot," the real city being built on the plan of a wheel; J. Trumpf, in *Hermes,* 86 (1958), 137–39. See especially W. Müller, *Die Heilige Stadt. Roma quadrata, himmlisches Jerusalem und die Mythe vom Weltnabel* (Stuttgart, 1961), pp. 101, 127–34. Throne, temple, and holy city have often been identified; H. P. l'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World* (Oslo, 1953), pp. 9–17, 51–62, etc.

[19] E. Wasserzeiber, *Woher?* (Bonn, 1952), p. 242. As early as 2400 B.C., Shamash is depicted as traveling in his wagon by day and his boat by night; Smolian, "Vehicula religiosa . . . ," pp. 203, 220; J. van Kijk, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis,* 11 (1954), 83–88. In Egypt such ceremonial boats and wagons are attested in the Old [illegible]

space in a state of suspension between heaven and earth.[20] As the early migrants moved across the empty plains where, as Altheim has noted, the cleansing winds remove all tracks and landmarks, leaving only the stars as familiar guide-posts and companions,[21] they felt themselves to be moving among the heavenly bodies, and actually that is what they were doing.[22] In ritual and mythology the distinction between earth-travel and sky-travel often disappears, while the ceaseless play of lightning in the background is a constant reminder that the tremendous powers of the upper world are terribly real and not too far away.[23]

Holy Camp and Holy City

For the nomads the *qubbeh* or domed red leather tent of the chief is the *qibla* by which the tribe when it camps takes its bearings in space, the *qubbeh* itself being oriented with reference to the heavenly bodies.[24] For the Asiatics as well as the Romans the royal tent was a *templum* or *taberaculum,* a sort of sacred observatory,[25] being like the Tabernacle of the camp of Israel and at the same time

p. 214. The great gods of the Indo-Aryans are all wagon-riders of the skies, *ibid.,* p. 204; W. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology* (London, 1882), I, 252ff. Ancient shamans regularly commuted between earth and heaven in their wagons; Alföldi, *op. cit.,* pp. 548f; Smolian, *ibid.,* pp. 208ff, 211.

[20] This is the sense of the "cloud [that] presumably rested upon the tent containing the Ark" at its "various camping stations," Haran, *op. cit.,* p. 51. While Smolian, *ibid.,* p. 226, scouts the theory of some that it was the contemplation of the stars of the Big Dipper (Charlie's Wain) that first gave men the idea of constructing a wagon, he does suggest the ingenious theory that wagon-springs were invented to hold the wagon-box and its sacred contents in a state of suspension above the earth, p. 215. Alexander's funeral car that moved from Babylon to Alexandria was a huge *'ot fe,* or suspended shrine containing a throne; Diodorus, *Bibliotheca historica,* 18:26.

[21] F. Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens im griechischen Zeitalter* (Halle, 1947), I, 166–67. On the cleansing offices of the wind, Eisler, *op. cit.,* II, 104ff. ". . . a swift-rushing mighty wind cleanses the plain," *Zend-Avesta,* Fargard VIII, v, 30 (Darmsteter I, 104).

[22] The Egyptians felt the heavens to be all around them: "The King's horror is to march in the darkness without being able to see those [stars] which are above him and those which are below him"; *Pyramid Texts* No. 260; see R. T. R. Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Grove, 1960), pp. 130ff. B. Schwartz, "A Hittite Ritual Text," *Orientalia,* 16 (1947), 31, gives a Hittite incantation expressing the common belief that one can approach the stars by climbing a very high mountain. According to the cosmology of Theon, "the sun and the planets around it form a party of travelers, a 'caraven' — synodia," E. V. Erhardt-Siebold, *The Astronomy of John Scot Erigena* (Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins, 1940), p. 16. The Arabic names of the constellations show that the nomads thought of themselves as moving and living among the stars on their hunting migrations; G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben* (Berlin, 1897), pp. 159f.

[23] The kings' ceremonial wagons are taken over directly from the sky-cars of their divine ancestors; Smolian, "Vehicula religiosa . . . ," pp. 212, 214, 217, 219, 221f. Some ancient societies simply lived by lightning; Seneca, *Quaestiones naturales,* II, 34; cf. Jacobsen, *op. cit.,* pp. 138–40, 153–57.

[24] G. von Grunebaum, *Muhammedan Festivals* (New York: Schuman, 1951), p. 19; K. Tallquist, "Himmelsgegende u. Winde," *Studia Orientalia,* 2 (1928), 147–50. *Qibla* and *qubbah* are cognate with Bab.-Assyr. *kibrat,* "die 4 Weltquadraten des Alls," and with the Sumerian *kippat,* "die 4 Weltecken," F. Jeremias, in Chantipie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgesch.* (Tübingen, 1925), I, 513. Without the *qibla,* the wandering nomad would be lost in space, Tha'labi, *Qissas el-Anbiyah* (Cairo, 1922), p. 70.

[25] "Templum tribus modis dicitur . . . ab natura in caelo, ab auspiciis in terra, a similitudine sub terra," Varro, *Lingua Latina,* VII, 6–9; the claim that this idea is of Greek [illegible] does not [illegible]

a kind of planetarium or "model of all the cosmos."[26] The central pole of the tent is commonly identified with the pole of the heavens,[27] and the tent itself with the *Weltenmantel* or expanse of the firmament;[28] other tent-poles sometimes represent the four cardinal points or the two turning-points of the sun at the summer and winter solstices.[29] The tent-pole theme is carried over into the pillars of temples and palaces, and even into the columns of medieval churches and the stately façades of our own public buildings.[30]

The orientation of shrines, temples, cities, and countries to represent earthly counterparts of the cosmos has been the subject of intensive investigation of recent years. The first cities are now believed to have arisen around sacred shrines, of which the city itself, then the whole land, and finally the entire earth was thought to be an organic extension.[31] It has also become apparent that the shrine or temple

universality of the concept, O. Richter, in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, 16:1:563. It was as leader of a migrating band that Romulus would take his bearings on the heavens from the door of his sacred tent; S. Pitiscus, *Lexicon antiquarum Romanarum*, II, 908. The tent-temples of the Mongols were such observatories; H. Haslund, *Men and Gods in Mongolia* (New York: Dutton, 1935), p. 282.

[26] The cosmic nature of various tents as the *Himmelsgewölbe des Weltherrschers* is discussed by Alföldi, *op. cit.*, pp. 540, 560f. In Israel the tent was a representation of heaven; Pelletier, *op. cit.*, pp. 223–26; A. Vanhoye, "Par la tents plus grande . . . (He 9, 11)," *Biblica*, 46 (1965), 5. Our quotation is from Comas of Prague *Topographiae Christianae* 5, in Migne, *P.G.*, 88:201.

[27] The prehistoric Ben-stone at Heliopolis seems to have been such a cosmic tent-pole; H. Kees, *Aegypten* (Tübingen, 1926), p. 299. Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 58f, quotes a *Coffin Text*: "The Great God lives fixed in the middle of the sky on his support; the guide-ropes are adjusted for that great hidden one, the dweller in the city. . . ." In *Pyramid Texts* No. 254 (280), the King is "the star of those who stand in the presence of the pillar [pole] of the stars." The concept is basic in shamanism: "The pole in the middle of the shaman's tent or house is the symbol of the world-pillar. . . . The *posjo* thus pictures that part of the universe where heaven and earth meet, and where there is an opening . . . through which one can pass to the outer world"; N. Lid, in *Laos*, 1 (1951), 62. The Arabs call the World Mountain "the Central Pole of the Tent"; Trumpf, *op. cit.*, p. 133, citing Eliade.

[28] As the tent is a scale-model of the heaven, so the royal Schirmdach is a *Miniaturbild des Himmelszeltes*; Alföldi, *op. cit.*, p. 538. For a general treatment, R. Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* (Munich, 1910). The festival wagon of the Panathenaeon was covered with a tent woven of the same stuff as the cosmic mantle of Athenia; Smolian, "Vehicula religiosa . . . ," p. 225; and in the *Pyramid Texts* No. 587 (1596f; cf. No. 690 [2094]), the Lady Nut receives such a garment when the King builds his holy city. The Tabernacle is the likeness of the heavenly Temple, *Apocr. of Baruch*, 4:3–4, and is called "the pavillion of the spheres," M. Halper, *Post-Biblical Hebrew Literature* (New York, 1915), p. 61.

[29] See above, note 24. The four corner-poles of the *'ot fe*, the Ark, etc., as well as the central pole were decorated with astral symbols; Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, pp. 179, 183, 194, 201. The Ssabaeans located two poles in the heaven beside the North Pole; D. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabaismus* (St. Petersburg, 1856), II, 5. For the same idea in Babylonia, Jeremias, *op. cit.*, II, 188. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are called "the three tent-poles of the world," Eisler, *op. cit.*, II, 286, just as Peter, James, and John are "the three *styloi* (wooden poles) of the church," Galat. 2:9.

[30] The round capitol dome with its supporting columns goes back to the Imperial *Rundsaal* derived from the domed mobile pavilion of the Asiatic monarch; Alföldi, *op. cit.*, pp. 563f. Four tall wooden poles stood in front of every Egyptian temple, suggesting the "4 pure poles" of the tent of Osiris; *Pyramid Texts* No. 303 (cf. 264). The pillars of the Torah shrine represent the 4 tent-poles of the Ark; J. Sloane, "The Torah Shrine in the Ashburnham Pentateuch," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 25 (1934–35), 4–5. For Moslems the saints are a protecting ring of "pegs around the holy tent"; L. Massignon, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 68 (1950), 249.

[31] Sources in note 18 above. The idea of organic extension is treated by L. Voelkl, in *Rivista*

which in time sought to draw all things into its orbit always made its first appe ance as a tent.[32] The classic example is that portable tent that sheltered the of the Covenant on its travels, for which Solomon's temple served only as a sor temporary resting-place.[33] The archaic ritual tents of the Pharaohs have th exact counterparts in the cult-huts of the Mandu, which in turn have b shown to be identical in form and function to the earliest reed-shrines of Meso tamia as well as to the oldest Indo-European tent-shrines.[34]

And if the first temples were tents, the first cities, whether in Asia, Afr or Europe, were camps.[35] That fact is the key to the whole problem of the H City or hierocentric state, according to Korvin-Krasinski's observation: "" quartered pattern of the world and space with the cultic shrine in the cente representing a scale-model of the entire creation, is actually incomparably older th the world capital," having its origin "in the ceremonial camp," from which pattern passed over to the city by way of the great Megalithic ritual complexe We long ago called attention to the ceremonial camps that sprang up around

Temple," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 50 (1959), 101ff. For a bibliography, H. Her in *Rhein. Mus.*, NF 94 (1953), 5, n. 91. "The first clear-cut trend (towards urban tion) to appear in the archaeological record is the rise of the temple. . . ." R. M. Ada "The Origin of Cities," *Scientific American*, September 1960, p. 159.

[32] The oldest known stone temples are modeled after tents, C. M. Firth, "Excavations in S qarah," *Annales du Service*, 27 (1927), 109, Pl. Iff, as is also apparent from prehist Mesopotamian seals. The *'ot fe*, according to Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, may be of lea or woven fabrics (pp. 207ff), of "thin wooden boards" (p. 157), or of wooden latt work (p. 160). The same is true of the Roman templum and tabernaculum, and eve the golden domes of the great Khans; Ibn Batuta, *Rihlah* (Cairo, 1938), I, 213. studying archaic Mesopotamian shrines E. S. Stevens notes, in "The Cult-hut or Ma of the Mandaeans," *Ancient Egypt*, 1934, p. 44, that "if a nomad tribe settles it at c uses reed mat instead of the woven wool tent-cloth," the former being cheap and ea replaceable. Thus the material of the tent does not change its essential form or nat

[33] H. G. May, "The Ark — A Miniature Temple," *American Journal of Semitic Langu and Literature*, 3 (1936), 215–34; Haran, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–65. "Solomon did not c infringe the primary significance of the Ark. It might 'rest' in a house of cedar . . . it must never cease to be the *mobile* vehicle of His presence, ready at any momen resume its activity"; W. J. Phythian-Aeams, *The People and the Presence* (New Yo Oxford U. Press, 1942), p. 16, cf. 23, 47.

[34] Stevens, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–41. The common Indo-European root *mand-* signifies a struct of woven stuff; J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern, 19 I, 699.

[35] Memphis, the first Egyptian city, takes its name from "the King's campground"; K. Se *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Aegyptens* (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 124f. Jerusalem laid out on the pattern of the camp of Israel; J. Benzinger, *Hebrew Archaeology*, 112–14; Haran, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 64f. All great Moslem conquerors "established ci or more precisely fortified camps, which later became cities"; C. Cahen, in *Saeculur* (1958), 62. So also the great Asiatic conquerors; Priscus in Migne, *P.G.*, 13: (Attila). The Mongol capitol was the Urga or örgö, "meaning 'princely camp, palace G. N. Rörich, *Trails to Inmost Asia* (New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1931), p. 135. the same system in Africa, Peyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 17f; M. Radin, *Social Anthropology* (N York: McGraw-Hill, 1932), p. 79. For Europe see below, notes 162–65. Archaeol bears this out: the oldest Egyptian towns were camps of mat huts or windscreens, M soulard, *op. cit.*, p. 34; so also in Palestine, J. Waechter, in *Palestine Exploration Qu terly*, 1953, pp. 130f; and Mesopotamia, S. Piggott, *Prehistoric India* (Pelican, 19 48. "Polybius VI, 31, 10, compares the Hellenistic city to the camp of a Roman legio W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization* (London: Arnold, 1927), p. 275, such ca following the same pattern as those of the Hittites, Hurrians, and Assyrians, A. Mo *Histoire Orientale* (Paris, 1941), I, 462.

[36] C. von Korvin-Krasinski, in *Zeitschr. für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, 16 (1964),

great hierocentric shrines during the year-rites, and to the manner in which they gave rise to certain enduring economic, political, artistic, and religious features of our civilization.[37]

The most wonderful thing about Jerusalem the Holy City is its mobility: at one time it is taken up to heaven and at another it descends to earth or even makes a rendezvous with the earthly Jerusalem at some point in space half-way between.[38] In this respect both the city and the Temple are best thought of in terms of a tent, according to Jerome,[39] while the Church itself is also best represented as a tent, at least until the time comes when the saints "will no longer have to use a movable tent," according to the early Fathers,[40] who get the idea from the New Testament.[41] The Jewish sectaries of the desert referred to the Law itself as "the royal tent,"[42] and thought of themselves quite literally as the camp of Israel sharing their tents with the heavenly hosts.[43] The idea of the heavenly tent or Holy City as a place of safety suspended above the earth meets us also in the holy mountain and the shrine or city that stands upon it,[44] the holy island of which the circular Atlantis is a type,[45] such floating shrines as Noah's Ark and the moon-boat of the Syrian

[37] Nibley, "The Hierocentric State," pp. 241–42. The Greek expression for "hold a festival" is simply *skenein*, to put up a tent; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (Munich 1955), I, 779f.

[38] The Fathers cannot decide whether Jerusalem is in heaven or earth as it moves between; Justin *Dial.* 80; Augustine in Migne, *Patrol. Latina*, 36:253; 43:409f; Jerome in *P.L.*, 22:485, 489; Cassiodorus in *P.L.*, 7:621; Cyril of Alexandria in *P.G.*, 70:468; Bede *Hist. eccles.* III, 16–17, in *P.L.*, 95:256–58.

[39] Jerome *Comm. in Isaiam* X, 33, in *P.L.*, 24:369. The Jews call the heavenly Jerusalem "the true tent," since it "descends from heaven as a tent," *Lexikon für Theologie u. Kirche*, 5:367f. The Fathers believe that the veil of the Temple represents the original tent of communion with God; e.g., Ephiphanius in *P.G.*, 41:1049; Cyril of Jerusalem *P.G.*, 68:589; 73:617; Theodoret in *P.G.*, 82:1161, Procpoius of Gaze in *P.G.*, 87:1836; Jerome in *P.L.*, 22:992; Paulinus in *P.L.*, 49:909; Raban Maurus in *P.L.*, 112:1065, 1071; Thomas Aquinas *Summa* III, 457–58, etc.

[40] Origen *Comm. in Joan.* X, 23, in *P.G.*, 14:381. The Church is a tent because it represents God's coming to earth for temporary sojourns with men; Procpoius in *P.G.*, 87:2105f; Raban Maurus in *P.L.*, 11:408; Richard of St. Victor in *P.L.*, 196:860. The pitching of the tent outside the camp represents God's remoteness from this impure world; Maximus Confessor in *P.G.*, 90:1117; Wolber in *P.L.*, 195:1203. In a very early Christian source "the Father comes down from above with his tent of light"; *Evangelium Bartholomei*, in *Patrol. Orientalis*, 2:190. The Holy of Holies "is everywhere called a tent because God tents there"; Theophyllactus in *P.G.*, 125:297.

[41] Vanhoue, *op. cit.*, pp. 1ff. Cf. Cyril of Alexandria in *P.G.*, 68:901. John 1:14 reads literally, "the logos was made flesh and pitched his tent [*eskenosen*] among us"; and after the Resurrection the Lord "camps" with the disciples, Acts 1:4. At the Transfiguration Peter prematurely proposed setting up three tents for taking possession, Matt. 17:4; Mark 9:5; Luke 9:33; see Hilary in *P.L.*, 9:300.

[42] Ed. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* (Stuttgart-Berlin, 1912), II, 48.

[43] Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light* (New York: Oxford U. Press, 1962), pp. 4f: the two camps represent "the cosmic powers of light and darkness," cf. pp. 70–75. The camp is a holy place set apart from all earthly contamination; *Milhama Scroll*, VII, 7.

[44] H. Zimmern, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 353, notes that the "Kingdom of God" is localized at the North Pole, where it corresponds to the divine mountain. In Egypt the "Urhügel" is pre-eminently the point of contact between heaven and earth; H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), p. 100.

[45] H. Herter, "Die Rundform in Platons Atlantis . . .," *Rhein. Mus.*, 96 (1953), 1–20. In Pharaoh's garden all creatures enjoy a safe asylum "suspended in the sky"; E. Naville, in *Biblical Archaeological Society Transactions*, 4 (1875), 12f. Such an island shrine in

Goddess,[46] and in such mysterious structures as the Hippodrome, Hadrian's Villa, and the Kaaba, all of which were thought of as floating in their own space remote from contaminating earthly contacts.[47] It is now fairly certain, moreover, that the great temples of the ancients were not designed to be dwelling-houses of deity, but rather stations or landing-places, fitted with inclined ramps, stairways, passage-ways, waiting-rooms, elaborate systems of gates, etc., for the convenience of traveling divinities, whose sacred boats and wagons stood ever ready to take them on their endless junkets from shrine to shrine and from festival to festival through the cosmic spaces.[48] The Great Pyramid itself, we are now assured, is the symbol not of immovable stability but of constant migration and movement between the worlds;[49] and the ziggurats of Mesopotamia, far from being immovable, are reproduced in the seven-stepped throne of the thundering sky-wagon.[50]

Tent and City as Survival Outposts

In the oldest records of the race, as Haldar has shown, the desert was a fearful reality, "the dead-world of the steppe, that began just outside the city wall."[51] "The boldness of those early people who undertook to found permanent settlements in the shifting plains," wrote H. Frankfort, "had its obverse in anxiety."[52] Mowinkel maintains that the very foundation of religious ritual is man's aware-

Egypt was the island of Bigge, which was identical with the hidden World-Mountain; H. Junker, in *Denkschr. d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien*, 57 (1913), Pt. 2, pp. 35–37. Such a combined world-mountain and island was Mt. Kardu, from which the Ark sailed and to which it returned; Hippolytus frg., in *P.G.*, 10:709. All holy places are abstracted from the world; Iamblichus, *Protrepticus*, xxi.

[46] One must swim to the shrine of the goddess, which is in a moon-boat; Lucian, *De Syria Dea*, 12f, 32. J. Smolian, in 'Vehicula religiosa . . .," p. 203, notes that the moon itself "swims" in the clouds. The Midrash to Gen. 6:16 speaks of the Ark as a floating temple. Hippolytus in *P.G.*, 10:707, tells how Noah took the body of Adam to the top of a holy mountain "which was the Paradise of God, the dwelling of religion and purity," to keep it from the flood, and there "placed it in the midst of a ship mounted on a wooden framework." From the wood of this structure Noah made a thunder-drum which summoned his sons to the Ark and brought the storm. At the great Jubilee festival the Egyptians beat on such a shaman's drum, which represented the cosmos; L. Borchardt, in *Memoires de l'Institut Français d'Archaeologie Orientale*, 66 (1935–38), 1–6.

[47] A. Wünsche, "Salomos Thon und Hippodrom, Abbilder des babylonischen Himmelsbildes," in *Ex Oriente Lux*, 2 (1906); also above, note 45. The Kaaba orbited the earth during the Flood, returning as the Black Stone — a meteorite; Ad-Diyarbakhri, *Tarikh al-Khamis* (Cairo, 1284 AH), II, 88.

[48] A. Parrot, *Ziggurats et la Tour de Babel* (Paris: Michel, 1949), pp. 208f, and in *La Nouvelle Clio*, 5 (1950), 159; P. Amiet, "Le Temple Ailé," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 47 (1953), 30; G. Contenau, *Le Deluge Babylonien* (Paris: Payot, 1952), p. 246, etc. In Egypt "la pyramide et le mastaba sont les terrains de transition entre la terre et l'au-delà"; A. Moret, *Histoire de l'Orient* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1929), I, 235.

[49] A. Scfarff and A. Moortgat, *Aegypten und Vorderasien im Altertum* (Munich, 1950), p. 56.

[50] Alföldi, *op. cit.*, pp. 544–46. Towers were actually put on wheels, e.g., by the Scythians; Zenophon, *Cyropaedaeia*, VI, 29.

[51] Haldar, *op. cit.*, p. 68. M. Cable, *The Gobi Desert* (New York: Macmillan, 1944), p. 16, describes "the acute terror with which the Chinese regard the Gobi regions," which begin at the very gates of some cities. For the earliest city-dwellers "the dead-world of the steppe . . . began just outside the city wall"; K. Tallquist, in *Studia Orientalia*, 4/5 (1934), 21; and the city gates provided "the ritual shutting up of a city so that sorcery might be excluded. . . ." E. D. Van Buren, "The *Salmê* in Mesopotamian Art and Religion," *Orientalia*, 10 (1941), 86.

[52] H. Frankfort, *The Birth of Civilization in the Near East* (London, 1951), p. 54.

ness that "the world of life and blessedness is completely surrounded by the world of death and damnation, the desert, the wasteland, das E-lend."[53] The patch of green won from the desert by the waters of life or the circular clearing in the forest is a haven of refuge, a shelter and sacred *vara* in which men and animals seek refuge from the savage storms and equally savage monsters that range abroad in the vast outer world.[54]

At the beginning of the second book of his cosmology, Kazwini describes the first city as a sort of survival outpost, set up by determined cooperative effort on an all but uninhabitable planet. It is like a "space station," hermetically sealed off from the hostile surroundings, completely self-contained with gardens and pastures included within its protecting walls, and fully equipped with mosques, markets, baths, and those means of aesthetic and intellectual fulfillment which keep men from becoming a danger to each other through boredom and overcrowding.[55] More familiar in Oriental literature is the image of the super-palace in its fortified oasis, whose inhabitants become over-confident in their safety and end their days in wicked debauchery as the great and spacious building goes down in ruins before the storm.[56] The concept is still with us: "This desire to dwell on a safe little island," writes L. Vax, "is what we call humanism. It is nothing but the wish to build a city which will shut out both the sub-human and the super-human." Once safe within the walls we hear "the laugh of the libertines, meant to give them a feeling of relative security, but in reality an expression of an inescapable fear of the terrors without."[57]

That it is indeed the *externi timor* that brings cities into existence and keeps them going is indicated by what is called "the paradox of the Moslem city," the paradox being that while in Moslem civilization the city is "the indispensable focal point of all material and spiritual culture," life within such a city is completely "anorganic and disorganized."[58] What preserves the life of such imperishable communities as Mecca, Damascus, Jerusalem, etc., as Professor Godbey pointed out long ago, is the fact that they never lose their original significance as shrines and

[53] S. Mowinkel, *Religion und Kultus* (Göttingen, 1953), pp. 70, 36, 75. The basic "ritual patter" goes back to the *Urhaltung des Menschen gegenüber seiner Umwelt*, and proved *Sicherung seiner ständig bedrohten Existenz*; H. K. Bernhardt, in *Vetus Testamentum*, Suppl. 6:54.

[54] The *Vara* is both a city and a paradise; *Zend-Avesta*, Farg. II, 25 (61)-38 (123), in Darmsteter, I, 16–19; Moses of Chorene, *Chronicle*, II, 40–42 (ed. Lauer, pp. 101f); this is comparable to the rabbinic picture in Tanith. Fol. 31a. Such a blessed oasis of refuge is the *jiwar* where men and animals escape the violence of the elements; Tha'labi, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 213; cf. P. Grimal, *Les Jardins Romains* . . . (Paris: Boccard, 1943), pp. 44, 86–90. The ancient ringed camp of the nomads gave protection from danger threatening equally from all sides, and gave rise to some cities; Priscus in *P.G.*, 113:713; M. Prawdin, *The Mongol Empire* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1940), pp. 83–86; William of Rubruck, *Travels*, Chap. 21, compares such ring-camps to the camp of Israel.

[55] Al-Kazwini, *Cosmography*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1848), II, 4–5.

[56] Vivid accounts may be found in Al-Hamdani, *Al-Iklil* (Baghdad, 1931), p. viii; and (of great antiquity) Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

[57] L. Vax, "Le sentiment du mystère," *Etudes Philosophiques*, NS 6 (1951), 72.

[58] C. Cahen, "Zur Geschichte der städtischen Gesellschaft in islamischen Orient," *Saeculum*, 9 (1958), 64–66; the quotation is from p. 61, citing X. de Planhol, in *The World of Islam* (London ed., 1959), Chap. i. V. G. Kiernan, "State and Nation in Western [illegible] 1965), 21, 25, maintains that there is no real govern-

asylums, thanks to the unbroken persistence of the first conditions under whic they were founded, namely the presence of a real and dangerous wilderness ju outside the gates; the holy city is forever a place of refuge in a hostile world.[59]

The obsessive awareness of constant and lurking danger without which brougl the city into existence is no less fundamental in the formation of the state; th transcendent importance of the king lies in the conviction that with him there safety, he alone can cope with the powers of death and outer darkness, meetin them head-on in the yearly ritual-combat and spending the rest of the year makin his rounds in his perennial task of imposing divine order on the benighted oute fringes of the universe.[60]

The Royal Progress

In his divine mission of extending the dominion of light and order the kin is constantly leading his embattled hosts into dark and unknown regions on a eternal Royal Progress. The student of the Royal Progress who confines his atter tion to the medieval and modern sources is puzzled to find the practice flourishin in such widely scattered places as Ireland, Central Africa, and the Islands of th South Pacific, while it is absent on the steppes of Europe and Asia where on would normally expect to find migrating kings.[61] Actually the Royal Progress is world-wide institution of great antiquity, which turns up in a few backward corner of the world in later times precisely because it is only in such places that the primi tive conditions necessary to its existence survive. If, for example, among the nine teenth-century Baganda there could be no capital because "for each King a nev royal enclosure is built,"[62] the same system prevailed in the Old Kingdom of Egyp where, "paradoxically enough, the capital was less permanent than the towns i the provinces, for in principle it served only a single reign . . . until the middle o the Second Millennium B.C. . . . there was no truly permanent capital in Egypt."[6 If the Tartars and Mongols built no temples or cities because their gods travele about on wheels, the same held true of the Hittites and Persians before them.[64] I

[59] A. H. Godbey, "The Semitic City of Refuge," in *The Monist*, 15 (1905), 624f. That a ma was completely free and secure only in the city, where alone he could realize his fu potentialities, was a favorite Sophist theme (e.g., Dio Chrysotom, *Orat.* 50: 1; Philo *Quod omnis probus liber*, i); cf. Al-Kazwini, *op. cit.*, II, 4–5. As a city of refug Babylon offered freedom (*duraru*) to all the world; Godbey, *op. cit.*, p. 615.

[60] The King "is the pivot round which the life of the community revolves. Upon his physica vigour . . . depend the various aspects of the well-being of the community"; Lord Rag lan, *The Origins of Religion* (London: Watts, 1949), p. 74, citing S. H. Hooke; cf Bernhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 54, 67, 80.

[61] H. C. Peyer, in *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 51 (1964), 17–20

[62] Radin, *op. cit.*, p. 79. T. Istram, cited by Bernhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 58, compared the corona tion rites of 62 African tribes and found that they regularly end with the new kin starting off on his royal progress.

[63] H. Frankfort, *The Birth of Civilization in the Near East* (London: Williams and Norgate 1951), pp. 97f. The *Pyramid Texts* describe the dead king's journey to heaven in term of a continuation of his royal progress on earth, e.g., Nos. 33 (24c–25b), 224 (214) 210 (130).

[64] Alföldi, *op. cit.*, pp. 542f. Among the Mongols the traveling temple and tent-city accom pany "the focus of the universe, the life-giving residence"; M. P. Prawdin, *The Mongo Empire* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1940), p. 330; Haslund, *op. cit.*, pp. 213, 28

medieval Europe it was the rule for a king to have no capital but to move continually from place to place with his whole court in a set ceremonial progress which never ceased. Such mobility, according to the latest and fullest study of the subject, was "the very essence of royal existence," prevailing in fact "in any situation characterized by a typically feudal structure of government," that is, in any Heroic Age or Epic Milieu.[65]

The Royal Progress ideally followed the course of the sun, setting out from the scene of the coronation at the winter solstice, and ending up at the same spot exactly a year from the day of departure; it was so arranged that each of the major solar festivals would be celebrated at some important shrine along the way, each such celebration being a minor repetition of the coronation rite itself.[66] The whole operation is astonishingly like that of Egypt, where the usages of the Royal Progress are well documented from the beginning.[67] In Egypt as in the West the king's purpose in going from place to place is to be recognized and acclaimed as the bringer of good things, but it is also very apparent that along with the festive and sacral aspects of the royal *parousia* (and that word establishes significant ties between eastern and western, Christian and pagan practices)[68] the king's progress was meant to dramatize the original seizure and subduing of the land; it is always the triumphal procession of a victor, pacifying the land, receiving formal submission, suppressing rebellion, rewarding loyalty, imposing justice and order on the world.[69] The Royal Progress goes back originally, according to Peyer, to the overrunning of "conquered farmers and herdsmen" by "cattle-owning nomadic tribes. Hence," he concludes, "the journeys and entertainment of the ruler (*Herrscherreise und Gastung*) appear as the result of the superimposing of the authority of nomadic warriors over sedentary agrarians."[70] This, we have maintained, is exactly the situation attested by the evidence of the "marked arrow" in many parts of the world.[71] The Royal Progress is a survival of the *Völkerwanderung*, an annual repetition of the *Landnahme*, with the king receiving the ecstatic (often compulsory)

[65] Peyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 1, 21.

[66] *Ibid.*, pp. 51, cf. 1, 7–8, 12, 14.

[67] Of the ritual drama of the Ramesseumpapyrus, Sethe writes that "das Spiel vielleicht auf einer Reise, in der der neue Herrscher nach der Thronbesteigung sein Reich durchzog, an verschiedenen . . . Orten widerholt werden sollte, in erster Linie in den drei grossen Hauptstädten . . . vielleicht aber auch an anderen bedeutenden Orten"; which explains why the King "überall in dem Spiele in einem Schiffe stehend auftritt"; K. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu den altägypt. Mysterienspielen* (Leipzig, 1928), p. 96. On the royal progress of the new King and his mother, H. Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton* (Vienna: A. Hölder, 1913), pp. 27–29; and *Die Onuris-legende* (Vienna, 1917), pp. 129ff, 168; also *Der Auszug des Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubien* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1911), pp. 74ff; cf. W. Spiegelberg, *Der Mythus vom Sonnenauge* (Straussburg, 1917), p. 53.

[68] G. A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (New York: Doran, 1927), pp. 368–73, 430f.

[69] Peyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 1, 7–9, 12, 14. On Pharaoh's tour as a *Besitznahme* of the land, S. Schott, *Mythe und Mythenbildung im alten Aegypten* (Leipzig, 1945), pp. 17–19. There are vivid vignettes in the *Pyramid Texts* Spells 273 (the "Cannibal Hymn"), 274, 317, 470, 508, 690, and in the *Coffin Texts* (De Buck) I, 77, 221, 250, 268–70, 289. 328, 330; II, 163, 231, etc.

[70] Peyer, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[71] H. Nibley, "The Arrow, the Hunter, and the State," *Western Political Quarterly*, 2 (September 1949), 344.

acclamations of the inhabitants, while long lines of cattle and hostages — the children of local chiefs who might make trouble — were being brought to the "gisting" places as tribute.[72]

Wherever the king went the people were expected to "guest" him and his company for three nights, though it was common practice for them to move on after a night or two. Since the whole existence of royalty was a brilliant and impressive progress through the lands, kings were never able to stop the parade without forfeiting their principal glory; and so the splendid royal junkets, arrogant and benevolent, religious and military in nature, which both overawed their subjects and alarmed their neighbors, remained right down until World War I "not an optional policy but an organic need" for the rulers of Europe and Asia.[73]

In the *Saga of Dietrich of Bern*, a basic source for the understanding of the ways of kings, ancient and medieval, Asiatic and European alike, we see the great Attila not as a destroyer but as a beneficent liberator moving ever from one *stathr* to the next, staying but one night in each and hunting in between.[74] For the Royal Progress is also the Royal Hunt, and animals are expected to be as compliant as men to the rule of the Cosmocrator.[75] In the West the king was before everything the Lord of the Forest, his sylvan sovereignty resting on his immemorial rights as a hunter.[76] Hence the royal *beneficium* to obedient subjects was originally the king's permission to use his forest for woodcutting and grazing — not for hunting;[77] and the gradual reduction of the common people to a state of total servility toward the end of the Middle Ages was effected largely through the manipulation of the forest laws, first by the barons and then by moneyed investors, whose legalistic legerdemain in dealing with forest laws resulted, according to Thimme, in the concept of "property and dominion as we understand them today."[78] But originally there was only one King of the Forest, and he was a hunter.[79]

[72] So in Ireland, Peyer, *op. cit.*, p. 12, Scandinavia, p. 14, Spain, pp. 7–9, and England, p. 1.

[73] V. G. Kiernan, in *Past and Present*, 31: 35–37. Peyer, *op. cit., passim*, surveys the whole European scene and finds no country without the system.

[74] *Saga Thidhriks Konungs af Bern*, ed. C. R. Unger (Christiania, 1853), pp. 230–35. On the unique authority of this source, H. Prell, in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 32 (1944), 53, 71.

[75] Nibley, "The Arrow . . . ," p. 343. The idea goes back to very early times, when the King as the "Man of the Steppes" is the protector of animal and even vegetable life; Witzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 279f; A. Moortgat, *Tammuz* (Berlin, 1949), pp. 9–18, 22–26, 27–35. All animals like all nations were expected to do homage to the Emperor on his throne; F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archaeologie Chrétienne et de liturgie*, VI, 1156; Wünsche, *op. cit.*

[76] H. Rubner, "Untersuchungen zur Forstverfassung des mittelalterlichen Frankreichs," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Beih. 49 (1875), pp. 6–7; J. Kostler, "Wald und Forst in der deutschen Geschichtsforschung," in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 155 (1937), 468f; H. Thimme, "Forestis, Königsgut und Königsrecht nach den Forsturkunden vom 6. bis 12. Jh." in *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, 2 (1909), 101–45.

[77] G. Waitz, "Die Anfänge des Lehnswesens," in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 13 (1865), 90f. Since the last thing the peasant did was to hunt, that was the last thing forbidden him. Thimme, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

[78] Köstler, *op. cit.*, p. 469. Down to the nineteenth century the basic idea was that forest rights were a matter of use rather than of abstract ownership, *ibid.*, p. 473; the shift from Nutzungsrechte to Wildbann or hunting rights began in Carolingian times, Thimme, *op. cit.*, p. 127, though the transfer from hunting rights to absolute ownership came very late.

[79] The idea of the ritual hunt as part of the coronation ceremony, A. F. L. Beeston, "The [illegible] 61 (1948), 142, seems to go back to the earliest times

On his progress along the King's Highway or Royal Road,[80] the monarch spent his nights at castles which were not proper dwellings but rather guarded supply-dumps and fortified camping-places, where one ate, slept, and worked under canopies with rushes and straw beneath one. "Nearly all the great Seigneurs," writes Peyer, "from the earliest times had no fixed residence, but moved ceaselessly from *castrum* to *castrum*," where the necessary supplies had been gathered to provide for the guesting of the lord and the support of his military plans.[81] The meaning of the well-known derivatives of *castrum* — camp (*castra*) and castle — needs no discussion.[82] The stopping-places of the Merovingian and Carolingian rulers was a *Pfalz* (*palatium*, palace), from the old word for a domed tent, designating also "the celestial vault, the tent of heaven," that is, the age-old *qubbeh* of the nomad chief.[83] The basic idea is never lost from sight as kings continue to feast, sleep and sit in state beneath gorgeous tents called variously pavilions, canopies, baldachins, heavens, and "states" — for the king to sit in state means in the strict sense of the word to be in his *statio* or camping-place on the march.[84]

Trespassing Heroes

Since the business of the royal and priestly *qubbeh* was "to lead the people upon a migration through a totally unknown country, to select for them the road which they must travel, and to indicate for them the place of their ultimate settlement,"[85] the problem of possible trespassing becomes a very serious one for the owner of the tent. "The laws of tenting," says the Talmud, "are the most difficult and complicated in all the written and oral law." Since the wanderers are seeking a favored land, they are bound to find the place inhabited if they ever get there;

when the King appears in glyptic art as a hunter who defends people and domestic cattle from dangerous beasts of prey; Moortgat, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–18; Witzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 279f.

[80] On the background of the Royal Road or King's Highway, H. J. Riekenberg, "Königsstrasse und Königsgut . . . ," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, 17 (1942), 32ff.

[81] Peyer, *op. cit.*, p. 6. The castles were the "main bases or strongholds" of perpetually mobile monarchs; Kiernan, *op. cit.*, p. 32. The system can be traced back to the policy of the Severi in "urbanizing and militarizing peasants, both land-owners and tenants," by "gathering them in *stathmoi, stationes*, which were like forts"; M. Rostovtsev, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (New York: Oxford U. Press, 1926), pp. 276–7. *Stathmoi* and *stationes* both mean "stopping place on the march." Caesar based his over-all European strategy on castles, *Gallic War*, I, 8, as did Alexander his Asiatic strategy, Quintus Curtis, *Vita Alexandri*, VII, ix, xi. In the ancient Near East marauding tribes and the kings who resisted them both based their strategy on castles; A. H. Gardiner, "New Literary Works from Ancient Egypt," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 1 (1914), 31, No. 23.24; cf. A. Altheim, *Gesicht vom Abend und Morgen* (Frankfurt, 1957), pp. 116–82. The system gave birth to market-places and cities in Mesopotamia; B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* (Heidelberg, 1926), I, 340f.

[82] Castrum is traced ultimately to old Celtic words meaning "woven structure" and/or "covering, shelter." The plural means "fortified camp." Castrum can also signify a shepherd's hut or the distance between two camps; A. Walde, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1938), p. 180.

[83] Peyer, *op. cit.*, p. 3; A. Ernout, *Dictionnaire etymologique de la Langue Latine*, s.v. *palatium*, deriving it from Etruscan. "Tamerlaine built palaces using them for the same purpose as his ancestors used tents. He wandered from castle to castle, without spending more than a night or two in any . . ."; Prawdin, *op. cit.*, p. 477.

[84] Cf. German *Betthimmel* and *Himmelbett*. For definitions, *Oxford Dictionary*.

[85] Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

and in the eyes of the natives the invaders can only appear as godless and evil men, the Wild Huntsmen, the *feralis exercitus*. "The steppe is the underworld," wrote A. Jeremias, "and in oriental tales the hunter is the Man of the Underworld."[86] The attitude of the settled dwellers in the land toward their invaders is vividly set forth in a passage from early Christian Psalms of Thomas:

> I looked into the Abyss and saw the Evil One,
> With his Seven Companions and Twelve attendants;
> I saw them putting up his tent and lighting the fire in it . . .
> I saw their traps and their tents spread out . . .
> And I saw them lying about, drinking their stolen wine and
> eating their stolen meat.[87]

But there is something to be said for the other side. The red tent moved into strange lands only "in sheer desperation, when the very existence of the . . . tribe was at stake."[88] Achilles makes it clear at the beginning of the *Iliad* that it was not his idea to leave his own domains to plunder other men's; the invader is not acting from choice. The nobility of the Epic Hero is that in his tragic predicament he does what he must, and even his innocent victims amid their cries of distress never accuse him of base or reprehensible behavior.[89] The great folk-heroes such as Odysseus, Aeneas, Abraham, Siegfried, or Abu Zaid are all homeless wanderers, never sure of their status or reception in strange places and often reduced to dissembling and even to begging in situations of almost unbearable tension. Many ancient monarchs sought to relieve the unpleasant tensions raised by the trespassing issue by simply making a virtue of necessity, glorying in their irresistible and hence divinely sanctioned might and grabbing everything they could as if by right.[90] Yet even the fiercest of these, such as the Assyrian monarchs or Genghis Khan, categorically deny that their dominion is held by force alone, and tirelessly insist that they conquer and rule by an express mandate from heaven — even the bloody-minded hero of the Egyptian *Cannibal Hymn* waves a written document for all to see, "a warrant of appointment as 'Great Mighty One' . . . given him by Orion, Father of the Gods."[91]

[86] A. Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1916), p. 316.

[87] A. Adam, "Die Psalmen des Thomas, etc.," in *Zeitschr. für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Beiheft. 24 (1959), p. 3.

[88] Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

[89] *Iliad* 1: 152–57; 21: 106–13. Cf. E. V. Gordon, *An Introduction to Old Norse* (New York: Oxford U. Press, 1927), Introduction. The Wild Host itself is driven by the storm, above, note 5.

[90] "I marched victoriously like a mad dog, spreading terror, and I met no conqueror," D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1926–27), II, 99 (Nos. 176). The Babylonian King is "the founder of cities, the oppressor who puts all under the yoke . . . who tramples their lands under foot . . . who expands the kingdom of Marduk," etc.; C. Benzold, *Historische Keilinschriften aus Assur* (Heidelberg, 1915), p. 11. On his royal progress the Canaanitish hero announces "Nor king, nor commoner shall make the earth his dominion . . . 'Tis I alone that shall reign . . ."; T. H. Gaster, *Thespis* (New York: Schuman, 1950), p. 180. The image of the invader is that of the "ever-conquering and unconquerable host"; Herodotus, *Hist.* II, 46. "No people could stand against them to whatsoever land they came" *Dhidhrik af Bern*, p. 145.

[91] R. O. Faulkner, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 10 (1924), 98. When is it a necessity "raiding has always been regarded not only as a primordial right but as a noble tradition": M. S. Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen* (Leipzig, 1939), I, 43, 34.

For surprisingly enough the apparently academic question of trespassing was of great concern to the rulers of old. A clear demonstration of that concern is to be found in the well-known ritual combat of the Year Rite, a showdown between two armed heroes, each claiming to be the legitimate heir to dominion and accusing his rival of usurpation and fraud in the long-winded legalistic *sytchomachia* which should always precede a formal duel.[92] It is the classic showdown between the invader and the invaded, each accusing the other of trespass: for if the defenders of a land have the sacred mission of preserving the established order from the onslaughts of monsters from the outer darkness, the invaders are led by a knight in shining armor who finds the land in possession of the Dragon, the Lord of Misrule, from whose primordial misgovernment it is his sacred duty to deliver it.[93] The theme has recently been studied by J. Trumpf, who notes that the foundation of an ancient city can never proceed in peace and order until the local dragon, who has misruled and oppressed the land from time immemorial, is got out of the way. Trumpf duly observes (as we also have done) that the nomads of the steppes, that is, the normal invaders, refuse to acknowledge the humanity of an enemy, but can conceive of any opposition to themselves only as some form of monstrous perversion to annihilate which is a holy calling.[94] Thus they clear themselves of the charge of trespassing.

But just who is the trespasser? By what right do the prior inhabitants of the land possess it? After all, the Trojans had sacked as many cities and stolen as many cattle as the Achaeans who invaded them. In the old bestiaries it is the animals who claim prior occupancy and accuse the human race of trespassing upon the earth; the notable treatise on the theme by the "Chaste Brethren of Basra" depicts all the animals assembled before the throne of Solomon to sue the human race for trespassing — they complain that men have driven them from their homelands and have continued to pursue them even into the deserts without any vestige of legal right, like Shakespeare's banished nobility who go to the woods to act like "mere usurpers, tyrants, and what's worse, to fright the animals, and to kill them up in their assign'd and native dwelling-places."[95]

Although practically any nomad chief who had both people and cattle at his back considered himself to be legitimate,[96] all such people, as Tacitus observed,

[92] Thus the bloody primordial contest between Horus and Seth has a strictly legal side from the beginning, R. Anthes, in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 13 (1954), 191f, as is clearly brought out in the text known as the *Victory Over Seth*, Pt. i. The same is true of the fight between Marduk and Kingu in the *Enuma Elish*.

[93] Pharaoh is always the son of Horus or Re, warding off the attacks of Seth and his depraved followers; P. Montet, *Le Drame d'Avaris*, pp. 54–58. Alexander posed as liberator of the people of Asia from the barbarian bandits; Q. Curtis, *Vita Alex.*, VII, vi.

[94] J. Trumpf, "Stadtgrundung und Drachenkampf," in *Hermes*, 86 (1958), 129f, 142–45.

[95] F. Dieterici, *Thier u. Mensch vor dem König der Genien* (Leipzig, 1881), pp. 1–6, 9, 11; cf. Aesop, *Fables*, No. 256. For the great antiquity of the concept, W. Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenauge* (Strassburg, 1917), p. 47. The Persian King felt responsible for the animals and fined himself a piece of gold for every beast slain in the hunt; E. Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, II, 985.

[96] This is clearly seen in the very early (c. 1960 B.C.) account of Sinuhe: While he was among the Asiatics, a neighboring chieftain came to his tent (B 109–10) and challenged Sinuhe as a trespasser (B 114–25); Sinuhe in formal combat "did to him what he would have done to me: I seized what was in his tent and stripped his camp

are liable to meet their nemesis in others of their kind with which occasional co lisions are inevitable.[97] The result is a showdown, a trial of arms in the chivalric horse-rider's manner, which no true ruler can escape.[98] The code of chivalry is n a settlement worked out between farmers and nomad warriors, between whom the is no real understanding or even communication, but rather a system of settling th touchy question of possession between parties neither of whose claims will stand tc close an examination.[99] The claims of brute force are denied in favor of the ide that combat itself if attended by the proper formalities is a form of divination whic clearly proclaims the will of heaven in the assignment of property.[100] Furthermo what is won by combat must be maintained by combat, and the proud and truculer mottoes of heraldry were a standing invitation to trial at arms. A noble was require and expected to invite assault, according to the rules of chivalry, "because everyon seeks distinction, one mark of which is to offend fearlessly." "An insult," writ F. R. Bryson, commenting on this, "was regarded as causing one of the two parti to lose honor," thereby forcing him to fight to get it back.[101] The prince who hes tated to take issue when another set foot on his lands *vi et armis* (still the offici definition of trespassing) actually forfeited his right to their possession,[102] as did th German rulers after the death of Charles the Bald who by failing to expel poachin barons from their forest lands forfeited the legal claim on those lands to th barons.[103]

The Battle for the Tent

The combat between chiefs was no mere brawl but a splendid and form affair, with time, place, and procedure stipulated ahead of time. Whether it w a set battle between Pharaoh and an invading desert chief,[104] or a ritual chariot rac between rival Vedic princes,[105] or a set-to between Asiatic war lords, played lik

became enlarged in wealth and possessed of much cattle" (B 144–47). J. B. Pritchar *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1950), p. 20.

[97] Tacitus, *Germania*, xxxiii, 16, 21.

[98] Down to modern times "each ruler saw himself first and foremost . . . as a warlord. H figured in tournaments and might even lose his life in them," but he could not avoi them; Kiernan, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 31. The wandering heroes of the Avesta view all othe nomads as robbers and trespassers, to be challenged on the spot, A. E. Christensen, A. Alt *et al., Kulturgesch. des alten Orients* (Munich, 1933), p. 211. Agathias, *Histor* V, 25, tells how the hordes of Asia consume themselves in perpetual and ever-shiftin combat which they think of as noble. This culminates in the inevitable showdow between the two unconquerable hordes for the possession of the world, *Dhidhrik a Bern*, p. 145 (Attila vs. Ostanrix); Xenophon *Cyrop* V, ii, 9ff, (Croesus vs. Cyrus), etc

[99] The rule is that all who ride are equally noble, though not of equal rank, *Dhidhrik af Bern* p. 144. Wandering knights may not trust each other; Christensen, *loc. cit.*

[100] A. E. Crawley, in *Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (1951), IX, 507, and th series of articles on the Ordeal that follows.

[101] F. R. Bryson, *The Point of Honor in 16th Century Italy* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press 1935), pp. 35, 45.

[102] *Dhidhrik af Bern*, p. 233. If a noble "did not maintain his own honor he could hardl defend that of his prince or his country"; Bryson, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[103] Thimme, *op. cit.*, pp. 145f, Rubner, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8.

[104] A. H. Gardiner, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 21 (1935), 219f, and Montet, *op. cit.* p. 29, no. 3, both comment on the striking resemblance to medieval chivalry.

a game of chess,[106] or the elaborately ordered duels of the sagas or jousts of the Middle Ages, it was understood that the winner was to take all, usually including the erstwhile loyal retainers of the loser.[107] The correct and formal method of announcing one's intention of occupying a land was by the pitching of a red tent upon it, such a tent proclaiming the owner's "unique position as universal ruler — a superman and a cosmic being, according to the views of the ancients."[108] To the many examples given by Morgenstern we might add that Adam in the beginning, according to an old and widespread tradition, took possession of the world as he journeyed through it by setting up his red leather tent wherever he went.[109] How old the tradition may really be can be surmised from a prehistoric Egyptian festival in which the *Besitzergreifung des Landes,* according to W. Helck, was dramatized by the setting up of red and white tents representing the two worlds in conflict.[110] Everywhere in the ancient world the chief's banner and tent served together and interchangeably as his flag of defiance wherever he went.[111] The setting up of the tent of the Ark at Gilgal was a formal *Landnahme,* according to Von Rad;[112] and among the Arabs "to pitch one's tent on strange or disputed ground was a deed of honor."[113] The sacred tent and the royal tent when they are not one and the same are always pitched side by side, as Morgenstern explains, pointing out that the tent of inspiration makes it possible for "an entire people [to] wander about in a strange and unknown land with reasonable assurance, and ... at last find its proper place for resettlement."[114] "The tent of the Lord will not be replaced by a permanent tent," wrote the first of the Christian Doctors, "until the final combat when the Lord has put all his enemies beneath his feet and bound the dragon."[115] The early sectaries of the desert as they "raise the tent of defiance" to the hosts of Evil, view their own

[106] M. E. Moghadam, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* 58 (1938), 662; cf. L. Thorndike, in *Speculum,* 6 (1931), 461.

[107] "Wheryn is al to wynne or al to lese," *Knyghtode and Bataile* (London: Early English Text Society, 1935), p. 11; an excellent source both for the mechanics and the philosophy of chivalrous warfare. The rule is that "the conquered are the property of the conqueror, who is the lawful master of them, of their lands, of their goods, of their wives, and of their children . . ."; E. Creasy, *History of the Ottoman Turks* (London, 1854–56), p. 21; cf. Morgenstern, *op. cit.,* pp. 173f, 180f, 187, 206, 209, and below, note 123.

[108] Morgenstern, *op. cit.,* pp. 207–23; the quotation is from Alföldi, *op. cit.,* p. 1. Even in the Dead Sea Scrolls the army of God "raise the tent of defiance," Yadin, *op. cit.,* p. 6:34.

[109] Von Grunebaum, *op. cit.,* p. 19; Tha'labi, *op. cit.,* pp. 24–25, 214.

[110] W. Helck, "Rp't auf dem Thron des Gb," *Orientalia* (1950), p. 430. Cf. the "white towns" of the Creek Indians, "in which no violence could be done, and the 'red towns' or 'war towns' "; Godbey, *op. cit.,* p. 607. "Mohammed himself continued to employ the kubbe of red leather," even though he "had denounced red as the color of Satan," Morgenstern, *op. cit.,* pp. 217, 219.

[111] On tent and banner as symbolic of each other, see Morgenstern, *op. cit.,* pp. 160, 171, 179, 184, 187, 199, 205, 209; Haslund, *op. cit.,* p. 125; "The Palestinian Arab House," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society,* 13 (1933), 54f; E. Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1931), p. 100; Stevens, *op. cit.,* p. 43. Tent and banner alike are a formal notice of defiance, Carpini, *Voyage,* xxvi; *Dhidhrik af Bern,* p. 285.

[112] Cited by Irwin, *op. cit.,* pp. 172f, 183.

[113] G. Jacob, *op. cit.,* p. 211.

[114] Morgenstern, *op. cit.,* pp. 261f, 180–82, 178, 197; for a modern-day version, C. R. Raswan, *The Black Tents of Arabia* (London, 1936), pp. 86f

[115] Origen, *Comm. in Jean.* 10, in Migne, *P.G.* 14:389f.

tents as the camp of the hosts of heaven ready to dispute for the possession of the earth.[116]

When Alexander had seized the tent of Darius he had achieved his final military victory, for by that act, following an ageless tradition, all the Great King's holdings were formally transferred to him.[117] And when Eumenes after the death of Alexander "found it useful to carry with him as a mascot Alexander's tent, which he could represent as still inhabited by his great master's spirit," he was really announcing to the world that the universal empire was now his.[118] The Greeks need not have borrowed the chivalric pattern from the Orient, for already in the *Iliad* Poseidon, "the owner of the earth," as both his name and his epithet, *Gaie-ochos,* show him to be,[119] rushes into the council of the gods in great alarm crying:

> O Father Zeus, what mortal upon the boundless earth will ever again credit the gods with intelligence or ability? Haven't you seen how these long-haired Greeks have actually built a wall around their ships and dug a ditch, without having paid for the privilege by appropriate offerings of submission to us? The fame and honor of that deed will spread as far as the sun shines, while all that Phoebus Apollo and I have won in fair combat from the hero Laomedon [i.e. the original holder of Ilium] will be forfeited.

The whole concept of chivalry is embraced in those lines.[120]

Of course the royal tent is surrounded by a camp. At the primordial battle for the possession of the world the Titans camped on Mt. Ortys while over against them on Mt. Olympus stood the camp of the gods.[121] In the days before Rome the kings of the Veii, Volsci, Aequi and other tribes used to challenge each other by camping on each other's lands, the hosts being arranged *aequo campo conlatisque signis,* in the best Oriental manner, with the avowed intention of carrying off cattle and everything else unless stopped.[122] When the Romans joined in the game their king would cast a spear into the enemy's land "to claim a place for their tents" (*ut castris locum caperent*), with a formal invitation to the owners to submit or fight.[123] In northern and eastern Europe where "the Lords of the land established their dominion by

[116] Yadin, *op. cit.,* pp. 8, 70–75; quote from p. 6.

[117] Alföldi, *op. cit.,* p. 556. A thousand years earlier the hero of a Ras Shamra ritual text drives his rival "out of the seat of his kingship, from the tent, from the throne of his Sovranty," C. Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature* (Rome, 1949), pp. 20, 26; later an Assyrian king boasts that his rival "left his royal tent [with its] couch of gold, the golden throne golden footstool, golden sceptre, silver chariot, golden palanquin, and the chain about his neck, in the midst of his camp and fled alone." Luckenbill, *Anc. Records,* II, 3 (No. 67). In modern times a Mongol "usurper . . . seized the Chieftainship, with all the tents and all the riches of the old Prince . . ."; *op. cit.,* p. 270.

[118] H. I. Bell, *Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest* (New York: Oxford U Press, 1948), p. 33.

[119] *Gaie-ochos* means not "earth-shaker" as usually translated, but "earth-holder" or possessor "Posaedaon, oder Posei-das, was 'Herr der Erde' heisst"; H. Hirt, *Indogermanisch Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1912), I, 196.

[120] *Iliad* 7: 442–63. The Greeks realized that the Great King had no choice but to destro them once they had refused him tribute: "He cannot let us escape to laugh at him," Xenophon *Anab.* II, 4, 3f.

[121] L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie* (Berlin, 1872), I, 49f.

[122] Livy, *History of Rome,* II, 50f, 53.

[123] Varro, in Servius, *ad Aen.,* 9:52. The challenge: "Do you give over your lands, you city, your implements, weapons, wives, children and property into the hands of me an the Roman people?" Livy, *H.R.,* I, 38. The custom survives in the Eastern Empire, a

open combat," we have the stirring picture of two imperial tents, *landtioldr*, pitched in groves on either side of a fair field, each surrounded by the tents of its retainers *um stathinn*, as the mobile base from which the land was to be seized and governed. By herald and trumpet the two rulers challenge each other to a trial of arms, and fight according to strict and formal rules.[124] Almost a thousand years later we find the same sport in the great tournament of Calais. "Three vermillion-coloured pavilions were pitched near the appointed place for the lists," Froissart reports, "and before each were suspended two shields, one for peace and one for war. . . . Any who desired to perform a deed of arms was required to touch one or both of these shields." Hearing of the challenge on the disputed soil of Calais, the nobility of England "said they would be blameworthy if they did not cross the sea," which they did in large numbers — for not to accept a challenge is as ignoble as not to give one. "Sir John Holland was the first who sent his squire to touch the war-target of Sir Boucicault, who instantly issued from his tent completely armed," and the tournament was on. The procedure was faithfully repeated for all the days of the affair; an English knight would touch the "war-shield" of a French lord sitting fully armed and out of sight in his tent, waiting to rush forth with great fury at the first hint of a challenge.[125]

Even more puerile than such antics was the ritual attack on the tent itself. Since set combat was forbidden after sundown, the wee small hours were reserved for the standard attack on the rival's tent, a vital maneuver, since once the tent had fallen the enemy's morale, and often his resistance, was broken.[126] A particularly realistic version is the sequel to the brutal trespassing of the Adversary in the Psalm of Thomas mentioned above: the issue was settled when the True Lord burst on the scene, "pulled up their tent and threw it over on to the ground, kicked out their fire, tore open their nets and set free all the captive birds in them."[127] The ultimate in heroic gestures for the Arab was a night-raid on the tent of a chief: "They suddenly kick down the principal tent-poles," Burckhardt reported 130 years ago, "and whilst the surprised people are striving to disengage themselves . . . the cattle [are] driven off by the assailant," though the main purpose is not to get cattle but honor.[128] Among the nomads the overthrow of a man's tent signifies the dissolution of his fortunes, for his whole existence centers around the main-pole of his tent.[129] When Crum, the Great Khan of the Bulgars, made a night-raid on the tent of the

[124] *Dhidhrik af Bern*, pp. 52, 195–97, 202–4, 212. Quotation is from G. von Below in *Historische Zeitschr.*, 75 (1895), 410.

[125] Froissart, *Chronicle*, IV, 13.

[126] Morgenstern has much to say on this subject, e.g., pp. 187, 209, 306; see above, n. 117.

[127] Adam, *op. cit.*, Beih. 24, pp. 11f, citing Psalm of Thomas, 7:1, 4–7.

[128] J. L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys* (London, 1831), p. 141.

[129] To divorce a man his wife has only to overturn his tent; Jacob, op. cit., p. 212. The most solemn oaths were taken with the right hand on the main tent-pole: "If the tent trembles the oath is false"; G. Dahlmann, in *Zeitschr. des Deutsch-Palästina Vereins*, 60. "The tent-poles are torn up immediately after a man has expired, and the tent demolished"; Burckhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 101. When one is banished the sheikh "burns his tent;" Dahlman, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–63. The antiquity of the concept is attested in a Ras Shamra formula: "uptorn be the ropes of thy dwelling, overturned the throne of thy kingdom, broken the sceptre of thy rule!" H. L. Ginsberg, "The Rebellion and Death of Ba'lu," *Orientalia*, 5 (1936), p. 197.

Emperor Nicephorus, he made a drinking-cup of his rival's skull to commemorate the exploit.[130] The tent-raid is by no means limited to the East. Froissart tells how Lord James Douglas rode into the English camp by night, "galloped to the King's tent, and cut two or three of its cords, crying at the same time, 'Douglas! Douglas forever!'" Fauquement did the same thing in the Duke of Normandy's camp, "cutting down tents and pavillions, and then, seeing that it was time, collecting his people and retreating most handsomely."[131]

Trumpf is puzzled by the peculiar rite with which the oldest Greek founding festival, the Septrion, commemorated Apollo's victory over the Python and the founding of the world-center at Delphi. What is peculiar is that there is no dragon in the rite, but that should not seem strange since Trumpf himself has the acumen to notice that Pytho the dragon simply represents the original inhabitants of the land. Instead of a dragon-fight there is a troupe of men bearing torches and led by a youth representing Apollo, who in the dead of night steal up in perfect silence on a tent or reed booth; suddenly they throw their torches into the tent, setting it afire, overturn a table that stands in it, and then run away like mad without looking back.[132] An odd type of dragon-fight, to be sure, but one whose significance should be clear by now; it is particularly interesting because of its great antiquity.

Alternatives to Fighting: Toll and Taxing

Let us recall that what so alarmed Poseidon the landowner at the sight of a strange camp on his shores was the failure of the campers to make proper payment for the privilege of setting up on his land. They were digging in, and unless immediately called to account would cause the owners to lose both face and property with nothing but glory for themselves — trespassers are not trespassers if they can get away with it. Everywhere certain allowance is made for campers who are merely passing through a country; all that is demanded of them is good behavior and a three-day time limit.[133] But those who frequented a land for long or regular periods were required to pay tolls and purchase safe-conduct to keep things from getting out of hand.

The derivation of the word *toll* is very doubtful, but on one thing all the authorities are agreed, that it is derived from Late Latin *tolonium*, meaning a toll-booth or tent. Toll is defined as "payment exacted . . . by virtue of sovereignty or lordship . . . for permission to pass somewhere." Specifically it is "a charge for the privilege of bringing goods for sale to a market or fair, or setting up a stall. . . . It can only be claimed by a special grant from the Crown." It was collected at a toll-booth, "formerly, a temporary shed erected at a market, etc., for payment of tolls . . . a booth,

[130] John Zonaras, *Annals*, XV, 15, in Migne, *P.G.*, 134: 1360f.

[131] Froissart, *Chronicle*, I, 18 and 47 respectively.

[132] J. Trumpf, "Stadtgründung u. Drachenkampf," *Hermes*, 86 (1958), 149–54. See above, note 129 for a still older version.

[133] On the three-day rule, Peyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 7; cf. *Egilssaga*, 78:59. The Arabs allow "a certain liberty" of pasturage to those passing through the country, A. Jaussen, "Coutumes arabes," *Revue Biblique*, 12 (1903), pp. 256f. When an army is merely passing through Israel "the taking of wood is to be allowed them; and . . . they may also camp anywhere and may be buried where they fall," *Erubin*, I, i, Fol. 17a.

stall, or office at which tolls are collected."[134] Wherever the merchants pass, even on the sands of the Gobi desert, the tent of the toll-collector awaits them.[135] The great fairs of Europe were tent-cities, temporary camps set up yearly on the king's land, where foreigners were allowed for a set period to camp and set up their booths.[136] The two things to notice about toll are (1) that the word always goes back to a tent or booth of some kind — which makes one wonder whether it might not have once meant "tent-money" (Danish *told* "toll," *teld* "tent"),[137] and (2) that it is a token payment only, given in recognition of sovereignty or lordship and never as a business arrangement between equals; it does not cover damages nor defray expenses but simply recognizes ownership by a prescribed ritual and solicits as a privilege permission to camp on another's land at a designated spot and for a limited and specified period of time.

A tax, like a toll, is payment for temporary occupation of another's land, with the difference that the occupation in this case lasts for a whole year, at the end of which a new tax must be paid. The oldest taxes on record are those tributes of the produce of the land (a tithe or fifth), which were brought to the designated collection centers, the local shrines of the god who owned the land, as "rent paid for the use of the land." In making the collection and spending it in pious works the king was the god's agent, and the priests were his assistants.[138] Thus the earliest temple "functioned actually as a manor-house on an estate."[139] Since as countless hymns inform us, God owns the earth and all that is in it, any payments made by men to him are the purest token payments, given not because he needs them but as a gesture asknowledging his ownership. That is why failure to pay even a trivial tax calls forth quick and savage reprisals which are out of all proportion to the money involved but represent the correct official reaction to an act of open defiance.[140]

For refusal to pay implies willingness to fight and vice versa. From the earliest times a king might live in peace with another by paying him socage, that is, "money

[134] These definitions are substantially the same in *Oxford Dictionary, Universal Dictionary,* and *Weigand's Deutsches Wörterbuch.*

[135] Cable, *Gobi Desert*, p. 86.

[136] For a full description, R. W. Muncey, *Our Old English Fairs* (London, 1935); cf. P. H. Ditchfield, "Stourbridge Fair," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 19 (1913), pp. 161, 163f, 167, 171, 173.

[137] This of course is merely a suggestion. Just how far one may go with this sort of thing can be learned from the Feugans, who it is believed, "stabled ground sloths in caves on Last Hope Island" within historic times, and still live "in portable skin toldas [!] or tent-houses," C. Beals, *Nomads and Empire Builders* (Philadelphia: Chilton Co., 1961), p. 41.

[138] S. H. Kramer, "Sumerian Historiography," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 3 (1953), 230; M. San Nicolo, "Materialien zur Viehwirtschaft in den neubabylonishchen Tempeln," *Orientalia*, 18 (1949), 289–300; Witzel, *op. cit.*, 279f; H. Kees, *Aegypten* (Tübingen, 1928), pp. 38–42. The king shared the take with the temple; San Nicolo, *ibid.*, p. 306. The quotation is from W. Robertson-Smith, *Religion of the Semites* (London, 1907), p. 244–54, cf. 458–65.

[139] Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 54. To the earliest Sumerian temples one paid "Feldrentenbrote"; E. Deimel, *Sumerische Grammatik* (Rome, 1925), p. 210.

[140] See above, note 120. Some early examples in D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1926–27), I, 177f, 182; II, 4 (No. 7);

rent . . . not burdened with any military service," i.e., paid to avoid fighting.[141] When Sir Robert Knolles asked the Duke of Picardy, "How much will you pay us in ready money for all this country if we will not despoil it?" he was not cynically selling the Duke "protection," since the latter was expected to meet in joyful combat any who came to despoil his lands.[142] As explained in the *Oxford Dictionary,* the word "tax" in its many contexts always retains the basic idea of a charge brought against an intruder; to be taxed always implies an element of trespass, and the paying of a tax always has the flavor of appeasement. The only thing sure about the root meaning of the word according to Skeat is that it signifies "to touch" or tag, suggesting to the ingenuous mind a possible connection between being taxed and being tagged: once one's war-shield has been touched one must choose between settling with the challenger by meeting him in arms or by giving him a token of submission for the luxury of remaining in one's possessions without a fight.[143]

The paying of tolls and taxes was not a declaration of loyalty to the recipient and his way of life, but a bid to be free of both. The zeal with which the peasants of Europe clamored to have the "irksome personal services" including the picturesque performances of the *droit de gite* converted into a money tax or cash payment,[144] the eagerness of "the wealthy franklin [to pay] money rather than be dubbed a knight," and the insistence even of the lesser nobility on paying socage to enjoy "freedom from scutage," i.e., the obligations of chivalry,[145] all express the basic idea of the money-tax as a settlement defining the limits of obligation beyond which the payer is free.[146] No such area of personal freedom was allowed by the mystique of feudalism, which was a sacred covenant of total commitment.[147] Likewise toll is paid by strangers in a country not as an act of fealty, but for the express purpose of remaining strangers without being considered enemies or trespassers. The theory that one was taxed to support the strong arm of the nobility in return for its protection against attackers from without was a late and contrived one that effaced the original significance of the tax as an escape from feudal obligations.[148]

[141] Witzel, *op. cit.*, p. 276. The earliest Indo-European kings likewise paid to be left unmolested when challenged, P.-E. Dumont, *L'Asvamedha* (Paris, 1927), p. 356. The definition of socage is from *Webster's Dictionary.*

[142] Froissart, *Chronicle*, II, 285. "Although moral virtue made even a private citizen essentially 'noble,' it could not give him rank," which had to be bought and maintained by prowess in arms, Bryson, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[143] A tax is basically "a compulsory contribution" and to tax is "to charge a person with some offence," *Oxford Dictionary*; W. W. Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary* traces the root to "*Tagsare*; from *tag-*, the base of *tangere*, to touch."

[144] R. H. Hilton. "Freedom and Villeinage in England," *Past and Present*, 31 (1965), 15–18; Froissart, *Chronicle*, II, 73. Everywhere peasants agitated for the right of paying guesting charges in money; Peyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 10–11.

[145] Hilton, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[146] The stock objection to new taxes is that they nullify the agreement expressed in the former taxes; Froissart, *Chronicle*, I, 244; II, 83, 87, 158; III, 6. Anything beyond the original tax was considered punitive, II, 128f.

[147] This is made clear in the fifteenth-century preface to *Knyghthode and Bataile.*

[148] The idea was not introduced into Germany until the late twelfth century; Von Below, *op. cit.*, p. 432. The nobility owe nothing to the common people and disdain to bargain

[illegible] Hilton, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

The Old Order Remaineth

But feudalism has ever been tenacious of its holdings and with the assistance of the lawyer and the priest has managed to hold its own in the most adverse circumstances. Far from fading into the past, "absolute monarchies," as H. Kohn puts it, "were the pacemakers of modern nationalism."[149] Far from presenting a gradual unfolding of human liberties the passing of the Middle Ages brings only their progressive curtailment as the seizure of the common forest rights by the *ungezügelten Jagdlust der Mächtigen* is succeeded by the acquisition of those rights by wealthy commoners who finally exclude the public from the forest altogether.[150] At the end of the Middle Ages Geoffrey Tête-Noire was considered something of a monster because "none dared ride over his lands"; but it took the modern free world to come up with the absolute dominion of the No Trespassing sign.[151]

The survival of the feudal or chivalric way of life into modern times can be illustrated by Froissart's *Chronicle,* that "complete body of the antiquities of the 14th century," in which the king commands respect and loyalty only to that degree to which he risks his person in single combat and expends the devoted energies of his people in tireless military campaigning,[152] where the nobility live frankly by pillage, ever "seeking adventures . . . for by all means, allowed by the laws of arms, every man ought to molest his enemy,"[153] where the great prelates of the Church raided each other's domains in the perennial manner of the war lords of the steppes.[154] A leading role is played by the terrible free companies, who played exactly the same game as the nobility and "made war on every man that was worth robbing."[155] Even the common people when they arose in their might to shake off the oppressor operated in the accepted manner, organizing themselves into bannered companies and placing (by force if necessary) those of noble birth at their head, impatient of the lord who sat peacefully at home, but willing to follow to the death any noble who would lead them to deeds of glory and rapine on others' lands.[156] In short, all classes aspire to the same glory and think of success in the same terms, because it never occurs to them that there might be any other standard of achievement. Even

[149] Cited by V. G. Kiernan, "State and Nation in Western Europe," *Past and Present,* 31, (1965), 21. With the establishment of the prehistoric sacral kingship "history enters a groove from which it is never to deviate appreciably"; E. A. Speiser, "The Ancient Near East and Modern Philosophies of History," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* 95 (1951), p. 585.

[150] Above, notes 75–77. The quotation is from Rubner, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[151] Froissart, *Chronicle,* II, 143; cf. III, 6; II, 157.

[152] E.g., I, 124; II, 103. Even a blind king must fight in the field, I, 129. On the unique authority of Froissart, T. Johnes, *Chronicles of . . . Froissart* (London, 1839), I, xli. Johnes's translation is the one we are using here.

[153] *Ibid.*, I, 207; III, 1.

[154] *Ibid.*, I, 131–35. Froissart, himself both a knight and a priest, closely identifies the interests of clergy and nobility; I, 102, 176; III, 25.

[155] *Ibid.*, I, 78. Both temporal and spiritual lords, bidding for the services of these outlaws, recognized their right to plunder and even offered them titles of nobility; *ibid.*, I, 254, 296, 324; III, 10. They differed from the true nobility only in being, as they styled themselves, "the Late Comers"; I, 214; II, 35.

[156] Wat Tyler and John Ball put themselves under Sir Robert Salle, *ibid.*, II, 76, and the Smithfield mob marched under the King's banner, desiring the King to lead them. The same situation is found in France and the Netherlands, II, 98; I 181–84.

our own society remains hypnotized by the same goals that drew Froissart's "perfec prince," Gaston de Foix, who "loved earnestly the things he ought to love," namel gold, food, sports, shows, "arms and amours" and above all a successful busines deal.[157] The cities were no exception, but "during the late Middle Ages . . . grev less democratic and took on more of the coloring of their aristocratic ambience."[15 They achieved independence only to place themselves under the great war lords o exalt their own leading citizens to noble rank as they sent formal challenges to eacl other and raided each other's possessions in the best chivalric manner.[159] The long debated question of whether European cities were founded primarily for protectio or for trade ended with a split decision,[160] since the two advantages are inseparabl and at any rate seem to yield priority to religion, for early markets and towns grev out of "seasonal meetings of hunters" devoted to ancient religious observances.[16 But whether it began as a shrine, market, or fortified place of refuge, the city alway starts out as a camp, to judge by the root meanings of the various words for it *civitas* from kei, "camp," *stadt* from Old German stedir, "Landungsplatz"; *Stat* (our state) from *statio,* a stopping-place on the march; *burg* from phyrkos, th hastily built fence surrounding a fortified camp (*town* refers to the same fence, a does the Slavic *gorod*).[162] The Arabic *mahallah* is also a stopping-place on th march, and recently it has been shown that *madinah,* long thought to come fron *din,* a place of judgment, is to be derived from *maidan,* a campground or jousting field.[163]

The rising cities of the Middle Ages naturally resented the archaic claims an methods of the lords in their castles, but they resented them out of envy as the aspired to the same rights and privileges. *Gastrecht, Schutzzoll,* and *Stapelrech*

[157] *Ibid.*, III, 1, 5, 7, 9–10.

[158] Kiernan, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[159] Froissart, *Chronicle,* I, 115, 184; II, 41, 46–47; III, 36, 47. The rich burghers adopted al the trappings of nobility as their city corporations bargained and made war with king and dukes exactly as the latter did with each other, I, 43, 45, 98, 123.

[160] Favoring an origin in trade are R. Rorig, in *Deutsche Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin,* Heft 4 (1952); H. Aubin, "Der Aufban des Abendlandes im Mittelalter," *Hist. Zeitschr.,* 18 (1959), pp. 497ff. Mercantile centers in France go back to pre-Roman times, A Grenier, in *American Journal of Archaeology,* III (1937), 475, and though market were first introduced into Germany in the ninth century, "the building program of Roman provincial market is the same as that of the medieval German city"; F. Philippi "Der Markt der mittelalterlichen Stadt," *Hist. Zeitschr.,* 138 (1928), 235f; cf. Ditch field, *op. cit.*, pp. 127f. Arnold's theory that cities grew up around forts is refuted by Von Below, "Die Städtische Verwaltung des Mittelalters," *Hist. Zeitschr.,* 75 (1895) 428, though C. Hawkes, "Hill-Forts," *Antiquity,* 5 (1931), 93, maintains that "politically the hill-fort . . . was the Celtic version of the earlier Greek polis." W. Gerlach, ". . . über die Anfänge der Städte im Mittelalter," *Hist. Vierteljahrsschrift,* 19 (1919), 340f, notes that the great cities of Europe did not begin as markets, but became cities through *Stadterhebung* by royal favor, *ibid.*, p. 345. Some ancient cities were founded all at once, while others grew up gradually; C. Prischniker, in *Oesterreichischer Akad. Anzeiger,* 84 (1947), 3.

[161] C. S. Coon, *The Story of Man* (New York: Knopf, 1962), p. 122.

[162] For *civitas,* A. Walde, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch,* I, 244; for *stadt,* F. Kluge, *Etymol. Wb. d. dt. Sprache* (Berlin, 1963), s.v. *stadt,* and S. Feist, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache* (1939), pp. 450f. For *gorod, burg,* and *town,* see Skeat, Kluge, Feist, and J. de Vries, *Altnordisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Leiden, 1961), p. 164.

[163] For *mahallah* as a camp, Peyer, *op. cit.*, p. 18; for *madinah,* M. Fraenkel, in *Zeitschr. für alttest. Wiss.,* 77 (1965), 215.

were urban versions of tenting-rights, toll and taxing respectively, and as such were administered with a severity that only the most tyrannical baron would have risked. The cities offered *Pfahlbürgertum* or shanty-town citizenship to those who deserted their lords to settle in tent-cities outside the city walls, where they continued to pay a tax for camping on the city's land.[164] City merchants complained loudly against the onerous toll charges of the barons, even while they levied a high *Schutzzoll* on goods passing through their own territories.[165] And while the *droit de gite* was steadily whittled away for the king, the cities used their *Gastrecht* and *Stapelrecht* to forbid transients to acquire property or engage in any business while in the city.[166] What the cities most resented was the baronial courts of law, yet whenever they gained power the leading property-owners of the town held a tight monopoly on all judicial offices.[167] *Stadtluft macht frei* not only by offering shelter and anonymity to the refugee, but no less by opening the doors of aggrandizement and even nobility to the citizen.

The Rights of Man?

But what of Human Rights, the Rights of Man? Do they not break away at last from the old ideology? They do not. They are a product of the Enlightenment, which put Nature in the place of God and made man a child not of heaven but of earth. Naturalism and Humanism find man's origin in the earth and its elements: it is as a literal excrescence of the planet that mankind has an inalienable right to its substance and its living-space.[168] Baconian science, the founding fathers, French revolutionaries, Physiocrats, English liberals, pragmatic philosophers and educationists, free-enterprising capitalists and Marxists all see eye to eye on one basic point and share with each other and the ancient lords of the steppes the fundamental gospel of One World: it is here below in "the things of this world" that a man must seek his fulfillment. Instead of putting an end to the wild dreams of Nimrod, the mad hunter of old who aspired to bring all creatures under his sway and in the best chivalric manner challenged God to a duel for possession of the world,[169] modern

[164] Von Below, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

[165] *Ibid.*, pp. 401, 406–8, 432, 437f.

[166] A. Schultze, "Gästerecht und Gastgerichte in deutsch. Städten des Mittelalters," *Hist. Zeitschr.* 101 (1909), 487, 499–502.

[167] *Ibid.*, p. 494.

[168] J. Albert-Sorel, "Le passe et l'avenir des droits de l'homme," *Revue de deux Mondes*, 1. Mai 1965, pp. 69–82, notes that the Rights of Man first come to their own in the French Revolution; but the basic concepts are set forth in the Baconian doctrine that "replaced the name 'God' by the name 'Nature' "; see K. Popper, in *Federation Proceedings, American Society for Experimental Biology*, 22 (July-August, 1963), p. 961, who discusses the problem at length. The evolutionist sees in the earth "the mother of life, and especially of human life . . ."; W. K. Gifford, *Lectures and Essays* (London, 1901), II, 287 — why especially? As for the Humanist, "if men realize that their careers are limited to this world, that this earthly existence is all they will ever have, then they are already more than half-way on the path toward becoming functioning Humanists. . . ." C. Lamont, *Philosophy of Humanism* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1957), p. 68.

[169] Nimrod is not only the archetype of the Wild Hunter, but he is also the founder of the first state, the builder of the first walled city, and the organizer of the first real army. In countless old legends Nimrod illustrates the idea that he who would own the world is insane. For general references, Nibley, "The Arrow . . . ," p. 339.

scientific thinking tends to confirm man's forlorn hope of seizing the earth for himself.[170]

The monarchs of the past in their search for permanent tenure went to spectacular extremes to convince themselves and the public that it was their calling to reign here below as Lords of Eternity in the Garden of Delights: from prehistoric Egypt to modern England the Master of the King's Tents and Revels has exerted himself to present to the eyes of men majesty benignly reclining in a garden bower as he presides over a feast of abundance to which all the world is invited.[171] This royal mummery was the greatest tent-show on earth, according to Alföldi,[172] and it was staged all over the ancient world in rites which "represented a harmony between man and the divine which is beyond our boldest dreams."[173] And yet the Great Garden Party soon becomes a great bore, as king and caliph discover in countless popular tales and legends; this world can offer but a peep-show paradise after all. The whole thing aside from being enormously expensive is too strenuous and contrived for real delight — it is Vanity Fair, the tent-city from which the sober Pilgrim is only too glad to escape even with empty pockets, provided, of course, that he has some other world, some New Jerusalem, to escape to.[174]

The Other Nomads

The yearning for such a world and the faith in its existence, or even in the mere possibility of its existence, has always offered an alternative to the heavy-handed warrior's solution to the problem of survival in a hostile world. Pilgrims, like all nomads, have a deep distrust of anything that might tie them down or hamper their freedom of movement.[175] The city especially, designed to make man forget the marginal and nomadic nature of life on earth and hence lose sight of the distant

[170] Köstler, *op. cit.*, 155:469.

[171] Compare the Egyptian "Regulator of the Festival or the Tent," Massoulard, *op. cit.*, p. 455, with "The King's Office of Revels and Tents," Wm. Bray, in *Archaeologia*, 18 (1817), 313–35. The latter was also a "Christmas Prince or Revel-Master," and "dined under a cloth of estate," *ibid.*, p. 314. His main duty was "to keep the tents and pavilions belonging to the King," *ibid.*, p. 317, which moved all over the country on carts, accompanying the King as he held festival in one place after another, *ibid.*, pp. 329f.

[172] Alföldi, *op. cit.*, pp. 554. 559–62, 564, tracing the institution from Persia through "the royal festival tents of the Greeks," p. 562, to the *domus aurea* of Nero and the garden pleasure-domes of the great Roman magnates, p. 563. A general survey of the institution in the East is given by Moortgat, *op. cit.*, pp. 139–42; cf. Meissner, *op. cit.*, I, 307f, on the shrine and palace as gardens of Eden; also the great court at Caracorum, William of Rubruck, *Travels*, Chap. 46. Cf. H. Nibley, "Sparsiones," *Classical Journal*, 40 (1945), 524–26.

[173] Frankfort, *op. cit.*, p. 31; Nibley, *ibid.*, pp. 532, 540–43.

[174] The Greeks call any passing show or vanity a *skene*, or tent, for which many illustrative passages are given in Stephanus's *Greek Thesaurus*, s.v., *skene*.

[175] In expressing their preference of tents to castles the lords of the steppes said, "Everyone who is shut up is [already] captured"; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicle* (ed. Budge), I, 470. Until recent times in Mongolia it was "forbidden to all . . . to erect permanent masonry. The free steppe is not to be 'Bound' by heavy buildings . . ."; Haslund, *op. cit.*, p. 284f. Early Jewish and Christian sectaries of the desert deplored the Temple of Jerusalem as a depravation of the mobility of God's people on earth, H. J. Schoeps, in E. Davies and D. Daube, *Eschatological Background of the New Testament* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1965), p. 121; Phythian-Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 159f; W. Manson, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1961), p. 35.

Celestial City, is to the pious pilgrim an object of loathing and suspicion.[176] Not only do the early Jews and Christians think of themselves as *das wandernde Gottesvolk*,[177] and not only does the dogmatic constitution of the Church (1964) adopt for Roman Catholics the surprising title of "The Wayfaring Church,"[178] but obsession with the idea of life as a pilgrimage is no less conspicuous in Islam, the religions of the Far East, and classical antiquity — was there ever a more Passionate Pilgrim than Pindar? How do the pilgrim bands make out with the jealous, suspicious and insecure lords of the earth?

In rendering to Caesar what was Caesar's, the early Christian was not recognizing divine sovereignty but buying his way out; a sharp distinction was made between paying Caesar tax-money that was his (and there is no question of *excessive* taxation since what Caesar owns is nothing less than the *orbis terrarum* itself), and giving him the homage of a pinch of incense. The latter act was an acknowledgment of divinity, and a good Christian died sooner than make the concession, while the former was merely a recognition of ownership. The early Christians were urged to "make friends with the Mammon of unrighteousness" as the best way to be rid of him, paying quickly and gladly whatever fees the masters of the earth imposed on them.[179] Then they went their way, resolutely refusing to own lands or houses of their own which, they felt, would encumber them with worldly obligations and vitiate their status as strangers and pilgrims.[180]

It is understandable that the lords temporal and spiritual looked upon popular pilgrimages as dangerous and unnecessary. For the pilgrim is unattached, with a knowing and superior sort of aloofness inherited from the sectaries of the desert, that cool detachment that has ever brought down upon the heads of the Jews the

[176] The great sin of the human race was the attempt to pull up stakes and "from living in tents to go over to settling in a fortified metropolis . . ."; O. E. Ravn, "Der Turm zu Babel," *Zeitschr. d. Ot. Morgenl. Ges.*, 91 (1937), 371. ". . . the Ahl Hayt, or People of the Walls" must pay a tax to "the Ahl Bayl, or dwellers in the Black Tents," because they "have forfeited right to be held Bedawin"; R. Burton, *Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah* (London, 1906), I, 114. From the beginning "the city was a questionable institution, at variance rather than in keeping with the natural order," Frankfort, *op. cit.*, pp. 52f. There is an eloquent commentary on the theme in the introduction to T. E. Lawrence's *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*.

[177] "This world is but a temporary tenement, our real dwelling is in the other world," *Mod-Qatan*, Fol. 9b. John Chrysostom notes that while the ancient Patriarchs "lived in tents as strangers and pilgrims," being tried and tested by the rigors of a wandering earth-life, the Church has become obsessed with a shameful passion for earthly security — "what a difference!" in Minge, *P.G.*, 63:167. He actually recommends that Christians learn to live like the nomad Scythians, despising the security and rejecting the luxury and defilement of city life; *P.G.*, 58:652. This is no mere rhetoric, since John in a time of political and natural upheavals had been forced to flee his city and live as a refugee in the camps of Asiatic nomads; *P.G.*, 52:687–97. *Das Wandernde Gottesvolk* is the title of an important book by E. Kaesemann (Göttingen, 1939).

[178] Chap. VII, text in *The Pope Speaks*, 10 (1965), 391–94. ". . . until the appearance of new heavens and a new earth . . . the wayfaring church . . . wears the ephemeral look of this world," p. 391; cf. pp. 365, 382.

[179] They were to pay taxes, e.g., Luke 20:22–25, to allow themselves to be exploited rather than to become involved in litigation, Matt. 5:25f, to play the world's game just enough to allay suspicion, Luke 16:9, 11. They gladly conceded the rich man's right to his worldly possessions, since they claimed only heavenly ones; Luke 16:25.

[180] Scit se peregrinam in terris agere, inter extraneos facile inimicos venire, ceterum genus, sedem, spem, gratiam, dignitatem in coelos habere; Tertullian, *Apology*, i, Cf. *Epistle to Diognetus*, i. On owning lands, etc., Pastor Hermae, *Similitudes*, I, i; H. Nibley, "The Passing of the Church," *Church History*, 30 (1961), 8, 5ff.

baffled wrath and fury of the lords of the earth. For unless the feudal mystique wit all its appurtenances is taken seriously it becomes high comedy and its authorit collapses. What more deadly threat to the whole system than refusal to enter int the spirit of the thing? And pilgrims do refuse; they are not to be bought off, an though they are sometimes skillful at procuring safe-conducts for themselves i spite of the determined efforts of the lords of the land to deny them all freedom movement, such passports are, like the payment of tolls, a declaration not of all giance but of independence [181]

The Crusades were a grandiose attempt to combine the two types of nomadisr It was the great lords themselves who after bringing economic, political, and mor collapse on Europe by their violent and irresponsible ways offered to lead the peop of the West back to the Holy City,[182] and when they got there affected to establi the perfect model of feudalism in the Assizes of Jerusalem.[183] In this document v have the supreme attempt of men of violence to put the stamp of holiness on the possessions, enlisting the awful sanctions of religion to secure for themselves t holdings which they had seized from each other in total disregard of any right, ar imposing an eternal and inviolable stability upon an order established by wild ar tumultuous brawling. In the Crusades the whole legal and ecclesiastical ficti of feudalism, laboriously contrived and stunningly staged, soon degenerated into sordid free-for-all in which those who sought to possess this world and the other once, wearing the armor of conquest beneath the sacrosanct robes of unwordly p grims, ended up possessing neither.[184]

The Return to Outer Space

Philosophy today is much concerned with the feelings of loneliness and insecu ity that beset modern man. He is depicted as a displaced person, allergic to his e vironment, adapted "by at least 500 million [*sic*] years of vertebrate evolution" one type of life, but forced to settle for an entirely different one.[185] Man is so from home, indeed, that biologists profess themselves at a loss to discover to j what type of environment he is really suited.[186] In his present parlous state he

[181] On the purchase and sale of safe-conducts, J. Agus, in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, (1957/8), 96–98. The custom is ancient; E. I. Mittwock, in *Monatschrift f. Gesch. Wiss. des Judentums*, 83 (1939), 95. On the importance of passports and the reluctar of the nobility to issue and respect them, Froissart, *Chronicle*, I, 89, 134, 189, 196, 2 II, 105, etc.

[182] Urban's speech in 1095 lays strong emphasis on the total collapse of European society the need for a general escape; Fulcher, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, I, ii. Behind Crusades was a universal *Sehnsucht nach Freiheit*; M. Grabmann, *Gesch. der Sc lastischen Methode* (Graz, 1957), I, 258.

[183] On the Assizes of Jerusalem, see *Cambridge Medieval History*, 5:303; S. Runciman, *Israel Exploration Quarterly*, 1960, p. 15; A. S. Rappoport, *History of Palestine* (L don, 1931), pp. 282–85.

[184] A. Waas, "Der heilige Krieg," *Welt als Geschichte*, 19 (1959), 215f, describes the Crusa as the feudalization of Christianity by the ancient chivalric tradition. The rival cla of the nobility provided "a lawyer's paradise" with all the royalty of Europe at one ti or another claiming the crown of Jerusalem; Runciman, *op. cit.*, pp. 8f. See E. Roziere's "Introduction to the Cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre," in Migne, *P* 155:1106.

[185] P. Leyhausen, in *Discovery*, 26 (1965), 33.

[186] "The optimum conditions for maximum physical and mental achievement remain known"; Sir Dudley Stamp, in *Science Journal*, 1 (1965), 76.

haves as harassed and insecure animals do, as many studies are now discovering.[187] We find in both human and animal communities two fundamental types of social hierarchy, an "absolute hierarchy," represented by the now-classic pecking-orders, and a "territorial hierarchy," in which men and beasts alike possess and defend given territories according to strict and formal rules. A creature's territory "is not so much . . . a solid area . . . as a number of places," which the owner visits in regular rounds; if in his rounds he discovers that an alien has invaded any part of his territory the owner is under obligation to fight or submit as a vassal to the aggressor.[188] At once the heroic feudal pattern springs to mind; and it is re-enforced by the important rule that these highly formal hierarchies of status and possession come into existence only when the animals are all under pressure, that is, where optimum living conditions no longer prevail due to overcrowding or other factors, or in other words where there has been a "Fall," the creature having been forced out of its original paradise.[189]

Strangely enough, the idea now being put forth by scientists of a long human pre-existence in a world quite different from the one in which man now finds himself is basic in the early Jewish[190] and Christian[191] as well as Oriental[192] and Platonic thinking,[193] all of which have a strongly nostalgic other-worldly orientation. Science and religion now join philosophy in asking, "Why does man feel himself a stranger in the world of nature?"[194] It is not only the desperate hero of the epic who feels out of place; even the easy-living Victorian romantic resents his earthly environment and hints at his kinship with a higher world.[195] If this is indeed our only home, as the prevailing philosophy teaches, if this is the only world we have ever known, and if conditions have been constant enough to allow "500 million

[187] Leyhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 31. For a general survey, E. S. Deevey, "The Hare and the Haruspex," *Yale Review*, 49 (December 1959), 162–79.

[188] Leyhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 28. On territorial mystique among primitives, see A. P. Elkin, *The Australian Aborigines* (Sydney and London, 1939), pp. 31–39.

[189] Leyhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[190] Israel in the wilderness is cut off from the presence of God; *Moed-gatan*, Fol. 19b; this world is not their real home; *ibid.*, 9b. Man's true home and origin is far away; *Zohar*, I, 245.

[191] A very eloquent expression of this is the early hymn known as *The Pearl*, for which see A. Adam, Beih. 24, of *Zeitschr. f. d. neutest. Wiss.* (1959), pp. 1–28, esp. pp. 24, 42–47. When men fell away "the whole order of life upon the earth was altered, with men in a state of rebellion against God"; *Clementine Recognitions*, I, 29. The early Logia of Jesus (especially the Arabic ones) harp on man's lost glory.

[192] For this see the enlightening study of L. Kokosy, in *Acta Orientalia*, 17 (1964), 208–10; P. Montet, "Le fruit defendu," in *Kemi*, 11 (1950), 85–116. In Babylonian thinking the sins of men have obliged the gods to part company with them, leaving them to their own miserable resources; Haldar, *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 22, 28, 34, 68.

[193] Plato *Phaedo* 72E, 92D; *Phil.* 34C; *Phaedrus* 275A; *Phileb.* 63E. The departure of the gods from unrighteous mankind is mentioned by Hesiod, Solon and Pindar.

[194] O. Spann, in *Zeitschr. f. Philosophische Forschung*, 4:527. "Why does the question, 'What is man?' today sound like a cry of distress?" asks H. Dooyewerde, *The Twilight of Western Thought* (Philadelphia, 1960), p. 173. A. Essher, *Journey Through Dread* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1955), discusses Pascal's "Shudder before the Universe," Kierkegaard's "Shudder before God," Heidegger's "Shudder before Death," and Sartre's "Shudder before the Other Person."

[195] Wordsworth's "Ode on the Intimations of Immortality" is a classic example. Spann, *op. cit.*, p. 536, quotes Eichendorff: Sagt, wo meine Heimat liegt?/ Heut' im Traum sah ich sie wieder,/ Und von allen Bergen ging/ Solches Grüssen zu mir nieder,/ Dass ich an zu weinen fing."

years" of survival without a break, why are we perpetually ill at ease in our environment instead of being beautifully adapted to it? Why are we constantly beset by yearnings for paradise?[196] And why do we look upon those who claim to be happily at home in the present setting as either sick souls, cretins, or hypocrites?[197]

It is a significant thing that those societies which have most emphatically renounced any belief in another world have been the most eager in the exploration of space. It would seem that as soon as men become convinced that their whole existence is to be limited to this planet they begin to feel an urge to get away from it, yearning like the Greeks with a strange *pothos* for the deliverance of great distances and spaces, no matter to what unknown doom it might lead them.[198] The *re*discovery of outer space in our time puts us in much the same position as our ancesters on the eve of the great *Völkerwanderung*.[199] Our first reaction has been the same as theirs: in his "monstrous deracinement," a Dutch philosopher comments, "man has surrounded himself with a protective cocoon against reality."[200] The conquest of the earth by the closed car and its extension, the mobile home — a streamlined, hermetically sealed capsule, air-conditioned against the rude elements and totally insulated from any contaminating contact with mother earth — is the expression of an ideal which is most fully realized in jet transportation, combining the snug security of a private world with an exhilarating sense of enterprise and power, and offering in incongruous combination the supreme satisfaction of relaxing in embryonic coziness while moving with incredible and effortless speed through an almost perfect vacuum.

The mobile tents of the ancients were no contemptible step toward the achievement of this ideal. Ancient and modern travelers do not know which to admire the more in the dwellings of felt and goat's-hair, the skill with which they are transported from place to place or the efficiency with which they meet every challenge of the elements. By their ingenious insulation and mobility these dwellings of the highest and lowest mortals have made it possible for their owners to survive in deadly outer spaces.

Conclusion

If it comes as a surprise to learn that the clothes we wear today were designed thousands of years ago for the comfort of riders on the windy steppes of Asia,[201] one is no less bemused at the thought that our basic political philosophy comes from

[196] M. Eliade, "The Yearning for Paradise in Primitive Tradition," *Diogenes*, 3 (1953), 18–30.

[197] "Yet this 'adjustment' to mass communities does the human species no more good than drug-addiction or alcoholism"; Leyhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

[198] Deevey, *op. cit.*, pp. 162, 165.

[199] By the 1920's the idea of a hostile outer space was completely discredited: "The skies, as far as the utmost star, are clear of any malignant Intelligences, and even the untoward accidents of life are due to causes comfortably impersonal . . . . The possibility that the Unknown contains Powers deliberately hostile to him is one the ordinary man can hardly entertain even in imagination." E. Bevan, *Hellenism and Christianity* (London, 1921), p. 81. Today "outer space is the space of openness, of danger and abandonment," in which man is "the eternal hunted fugitive." O. F. Bollnow, "Lived-space," *Philosophy Today*, 5 (1961), 31–39.

[200] J. Pucelle, in *Algem. Nederl. Tijds. v. Wijsbegeerteen Psychologie*, 50 (1957/8), 58.

[201] W. M. McGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia* (Chapel Hill: U. of N. Carolina Press, 1939), pp. 47–49.

the same world. Our storm-driven ancestors met the challenge of their predicament with two solutions: the one sought to make the earth a permanent home and possess it wholly; the other to move on to some happier home, whatever and wherever that might be. The one philosophy is based on the firm belief that this is our only world, the other on the equally convincing and far more easily demonstrable proposition that we are transients who "here have no abiding kingdom."[202] The paying of tolls and taxes has made it possible for the two ideologies to coexist in the world; it is an arrangement by which each side humors the other: the payer of taxes concedes to the recipient the right to imagine himself as the owner of the earth, while the latter in return for this recognition allows his client the luxury of imagining himself the citizen of another world. The one while ceaselessly ranging abroad in the earth thinks of himself as lord of an immovable possession, while the other, tied to his patch of glebe or dingy workshop, thinks of himself as a courser through the endless expanses of heaven. The common symbol of both, the sign both of possession and of wandering, is the tent.

Living in an atmosphere of emergency and uncertainty, the state has always been obliged to tax to preserve its identity. Taxes are viewed by those who are asked to pay the most as a personal insult and an affront to the sacredness of property. That is exactly what they are, and what they were originally meant to be. An ancient tax-notice, an imperious tap on the shield, was nothing less than an invitation to a sojourner in a land to justify his presence there either by satisfying the claims of the owner to recognition or by meeting him in open combat for possession. We may deplore taxes, but we may not resent them.

[202] "Durch den donnernden Flutgang der Jahrtausende tönt eine Stimme, tröstend und warnend; des Menschen Reich is nicht von dieser Welt. Aber daneben erklingt eine brausende Gegenstimme; diese Erde . . . gehört Dir, dem Menschen; sie ist dein Werk und Du das ihrige: ihr kannst Du nicht entfliehen . . . Du musst ihr die Treue halten. Diese unaugelöste Dissonanz bildet des Thema der Weltgeschichte." E. Friedell, *Kulturgeschichte Aegyptens und des Alten Orients* (Munich: Beck, 1953), p. 3. Pere La-

CLUSTER ANALYSIS OF CONGRESSIONAL VOTES WITH THE BC TRY SYSTEM

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ROLL-CALL VOTES have attracted increasing interest as sources of information about issues in the legislative process.[1] The availability of computer programs for data processing has made it possible to search for salient issues by examining all the roll-call votes in a given Congress, rather than limiting analysis to pre-selected subsets of votes reflecting the judgment of the investigator. One particularly promising set of computer programs for this purpose is the BC TRY system, designed by R. C. Tryon.[2] The purpose of the present paper is to illustrate the applicability of this system to roll-call analysis.

Various procedures of multivariate analysis are applicable to the identification of legislative issues from roll calls. These include Guttman scaling, factor analysis and cluster analysis. Computer programs are available for these procedures and several versions of them can be performed by particular programs in the BC TRY system.[3] We select for presentation the procedure of non-communality cluster analysis which is not widely available outside the BC TRY system, and which also has the advantage of making fewer assumptions about communalities than other methods. In addition we present the spherical analysis (SPAN) diagram, which can be computed for any three-dimensional factor space identified by the system. To illustrate these features, we shall use the votes of the Republican members of the U. S. House of Representatives in the 84th Congress (1955-56).

CLUSTER ANALYSIS

Cluster analysis, like factor analysis, is a method of analyzing the association between pairs of items in order to summarize them more simply. In the search for legislative issues, these items are roll calls; in the related search for legislative blocs

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[1] Two recent examples are L. N. Rieselbach, "The Demography of the Congressional Vote on Foreign Aid, 1939–1958," *APSR*, 58 (September 1964), 577–88; and H. R. Alker, Jr., "Dimensions of Conflict in the General Assembly," *ibid.*, 642–57.

[2] The operation of the component programs of the system, as well as their underlying theory, will be described in R. C. Tryon and D. E. Bailey, *Cluster and Factor Analysis* (in preparation). Draft versions of sections of the book are available from Professor Robert C. Tryon, Department of Psychology, University of California, Berkeley. See also Tryon and Bailey, "The BC TRY Computer System of Cluster and Factor Analysis," *Multivariate Behavioral Research*, 1 (January 1966), 95–111.

[3] A program for Guttman scaling, which performs functions similar to those of cluster analysis, is described in J. C. Lingoes, "Information Processing in Psychological Research," *Behavioral Science*, 7 (July 1962), 412–17. Functions available in the BC TRY system include the computation of correlations, estimation of communalities in several ways, principal components and centroid factor analyses, cluster analysis using communalities