

stone which fell in a cavern on the leg of a brigand Iadius (the reference is to a story told by Posidonius) would have fallen whether Iadius was there or not. But in this case, says Cicero, there is no Fate, because there is no prediction (*de Fato*, § 5)—a remark which brings us to the heart of the matter. For prediction is the stronghold of Fate. Free will is destroyed, says Cicero, if there be such a thing as divination (§ 11). This is an argument which has great power over many minds, but is nevertheless, fallacious. For present knowledge by another of a man's actions is no interference with his freedom. If, then, it be possible for a human being to transcend the conditions of time, and to project himself, or be projected, into the future, he may see what one is freely doing then, just as we see what others are freely doing now. Of course, it may be denied that this is possible; but it cannot be denied that, if it is possible, it renders prediction compatible with free will.

The Stoic belief in Fate as a continuous chain of causation is Determinism, not Fatalism. Fatalism is the belief that a definite event will take place, whatever happens—which is as much a denial of causation as is a theory of pure chance.

See also the 'Greek' and 'Roman' artt. on FORTUNE.

LITERATURE.—Cicero, *de Fato*; Stobæus, *Ecl.* i. 152-192; Aulus Gellius, *viii.* i. and ii.; L. Schmidt, art. 'Moiræ,' in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog. and Mythol.*, Lond. 1864-67.

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**FATE (Hindu).**—The Skr. language has various equivalents for what we call fate, such as, e.g., *kāla*, lit. 'time,' as leading to events the causes of which are imperceptible to the mind of man; *vidhi*, 'ordinance,' 'rule'; *daiva*, 'divine,' 'celestial,' 'divine power or will,' 'destiny,' 'fate,' 'chance'; *adr̥ṣṭa*, 'what is not seen,' i.e. that which is beyond the reach of observation or consciousness, the acts done by each soul in former bodies, which acts exert upon that soul an irresistible power called *adr̥ṣṭa*, because felt and not seen; *karman* (*karma*), work done in a former existence and leading to inevitable results, fate. *Kāla*, 'time,' is perhaps the earliest of these terms, occurring, as it does, in hymns of the *Atharvaveda* (xix. 53) on the power and Divine nature of Time, which is akin to Destiny or Divine Ordinance. 'It is he who drew forth the worlds and encompassed them. Being their father, he became their son. There is no other power superior to him.' In a subsequent period, *Kāla* was sometimes identified with *Yama*, the judge of the dead, or represented, together with *Mṛtyu*, 'Death,' as a follower of *Yama*, or invoked as one of the forms of the god *Śiva*. The *Mahābhārata*, the great epic of India, contains various tales tending to illustrate the relative importance of the various agencies of which Fate may be said to be composed, none perhaps finer than the apologue of the snake (xiii. 1), relating how a boy was killed by a snake, and the snake, after having been caught by a hunter, was released by the boy's mother on the ground of her loss being due to Fate alone.

First, the snake declares its innocence of the boy's death, *Mṛtyu*, the god of death, having used the snake as an instrument. Thereupon *Mṛtyu* himself makes his appearance and exonerates himself, asserting that *Kāla*, 'Time,' has in reality killed the boy. 'Guided by *Kāla*, I, O serpent, sent thee on this errand. All creatures, mobile or immobile, in heaven or earth, are pervaded by this same inspiration of *Kāla*. The whole universe is imbued with the same influence of *Kāla*.' But *Kāla* in his turn explains that neither *Mṛtyu*, nor the serpent, nor he himself is guilty of the death of any creature. 'The child has met with death as the result of its *karma* in the past. We all are subject to the influence of our respective *karma*. As men make from a lump of clay whatever they wish to make, even so do men attain to various results determined by *karma*. As light and shadow are related to each other, so are men related to *karma* through their own actions. Therefore, neither art thou, nor am I, nor is *Mṛtyu*, nor the serpent, nor this old Brahman lady, the cause of the child's death. He himself is the

cause here.' On *Kāla* expounding the matter in this way, the child's mother became consoled, and asked the fowler to release the snake.

The conception of *karma* is closely connected with the celebrated Indian theory of transmigration or metempsychosis, which pervades all post-Vedic religious and philosophical systems of India, and has continued down to the present day to exercise a powerful sway over the popular mind. As observed by Burn (in *General Report of the Census of India*, Calcutta, 1903, p. 364), it is a mistake to suppose that the ordinary Hindu peasant has practically no belief in the doctrine of transmigration. 'The doctrine of Karma is one of the firmest beliefs of all classes of Hindus, and the fear that a man shall reap as he has sown is an appreciable element in the average morality.' It is only in S. India, according to Stuart (*ib.* p. 264), that the influence of Animism is prevalent, the villager's real worship being 'paid to *Māriamman*, the dread goddess of smallpox and cholera, and to the special goddess of the village'; and misfortunes are regarded as the work of evil spirits or devils who must be propitiated. In the same way, a native observer, G. Sarkar, in his well-known work, *Hindu Law*, points out that the doctrine of *adr̥ṣṭa*, the mysterious but irresistible power of the acts done in previous lives, is universally held by the Hindu as a fundamental article of faith.

'*Adr̥ṣṭa*, or the invisible dual force, is the resultant of all good and bad deeds, of all meritorious and demeritorious acts and omissions, done by a person in all past forms of existence and also in the present life, and it is this *adr̥ṣṭa* which determines the condition of every soul, i.e. is the cause of his happiness or misery; the state of a living being depends on his own past conduct' (G. Sarkar, *Hindu Law*<sup>2</sup>, Calcutta, 1903, p. 230).

And so it is stated by Deussen in his *History of Philosophy* that the doctrine of metempsychosis has governed the Indian mind from the epoch of the Upaniṣads down to the present time, and is still of eminent practical importance, as affording a popular explanation of the cause of human suffering and operating as a spur to moral conduct. He quotes a blind Indian Pandit, whom he met in his travels through India, as replying to a question put to him concerning the cause of his deficiency in vision, that it must be due to some fault committed by himself during a previous existence (Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 282).

Historically speaking, the belief in metempsychosis and the lasting effects of *karma*, or action, as determining the fate of man, makes its first appearance in one of the Brāhmanas, and, in a more developed form, in the Upaniṣads. These philosophical treatises preach a strict determinism, except in so far as a man, by recognizing his identity with the eternally free *Ātman*, may be released from the bondage of *karma*. The germs of this theory, as supposed by Oldenberg, may be much older; and it has been shown by Schrader, in his suggestive little book, *Die Indogermanen* (Leipzig, 1911, p. 148), that the earliest Indo-European conception of Fate is that of a share inherited from the mother at the time of birth; the Roman *Parca* (from *pario*), equally with the Greek *Ελευθιαί* and the Slav. *Rozdanicy*, being Fate Mothers (*Schicksalsmütter*) assisting at every birth.

From Brāhmanism the theory of *karma* passed into Buddhism, and became one of Buddha's leading tenets.

'When a man dies, the khandhas [elements] of which he is constituted perish, but by the force of his *Kamma* [*Karma*] a new set of khandhas instantly starts into existence, and a new being appears in another world, who, though possessing different khandhas and a different form, is in reality identical with the man just passed away, because his *Kamma* is the same. *Kamma*, then, is the link that preserves the identity of a being through all the countless changes which it undergoes in its progress through *Samsāra*' (Childers, *Dict. of the Pali Lang.*, London, 1875, p. 198).

Jainism, the rival religion of Buddhism, agrees

in this respect with the latter. There existed in ancient times a large number of philosophical systems, belonging to two principal classes—one asserting the existence of free will, moral responsibility, and transmigration; and the other negating the same. Both Jina and Buddha belonged to the former class. They believed in transmigration, the annihilation of which was the final aim which they had in view (Pischel). According to the Jaina doctrine, the deeds performed in the bodies by the souls are *karma*, merit, and sin. This drives them, when one body has passed away, into another whose quality depends on the character of the *karma*. Virtue leads to the heavens of the gods, or to birth among men in pure and noble races. Sin consigns the souls to the lower regions, sends them into the bodies of animals or plants, or even into masses of lifeless matter. The addition of new *karma* can be prevented by right faith, strict control of the senses, and austerities on which the Jainas lay special stress (Bühler).

Of modern Hindu sects, the Sikhs may perhaps be said to be the most fatalistic of all. They agree with the adherents of other systems in explaining the glaring difference between riches and poverty, honour and dishonour, by the acts in a former life determining the present condition and circumstances of a person. But they go very far in denying the liberty of human action, everything being subject to the decree of Fate, and the future lot of a person written on his forehead. These ideas have struck root very generally among the Sikhs, who, therefore, are far more rigid fatalists than even the Muhammadans. The *karma* theory occupies the same place in the Sikh religion as elsewhere, and the highest goal of the Sikh is not paradise, but the cessation of re-birth and existence (Trumpp, Macauliffe).

To return to Brāhmanism, it should be observed that the rigid determinism of its view of *karma* is frequently mitigated by admitting the modifying and controlling influence exercised on Fate by human exertion. Thus the Anuśāsana Parvan of the *Mahābhārata* contains the fine discourse on human effort (*puruṣakāra*), in which the relative importance of fate (*daiva*) and human acts is discussed.

‘As, unsown with seed, the soil, though tilled, becomes fruitless, so, without individual exertion, Destiny is of no avail. One’s own acts are like the soil, and Destiny (or the sum of one’s acts in previous births) is compared to the seed. From the union of the soil and the seed doth the harvest grow. It is observed every day in the world that the doer reaps the fruit of his good and evil deeds. Happiness results from good deeds, and pain from evil ones. Acts, when done, always fructify, but, if not done, no fruit arises. By devoted application (or by austerity) one acquires beauty, fortune, and riches of various kinds. Everything can be secured by exertion, but nothing can be gained through Destiny (*daiva*) alone, by a man wanting in personal exertion’ (*Mahābhārata*, XIII. vi. 7-12).

And so it is stated in the Vana Parvan that

‘those persons in the world who believe in Destiny, and those again who believe in Chance, are both the worst among men. Those only that believe in the efficacy of acts are laudable. He that lies at ease, believing in Destiny alone, is soon destroyed like an unburnt earthen pot in water. So also he that believeth in Chance, *i.e.* sitteth inactive though capable of activity, liveth not long, for his life is one of weakness and helplessness’ (*ib.* xxxii. 13-15).

It is also declared in the *Mahābhārata* that only eunuchs worship Fate (*daiva*). In other places, the paramount power of Destiny is upheld, and it is clear that the comparative weight of free will and fate must have furnished a fruitful theme for discussion to these Brāhman theorists.

The part played by Fate in the ordinary relations of human life, according to Hindu notions, may best be gathered perhaps from the view which the Indian jurists take of Fate or Chance (*daiva*). Thus, it is a well-known rule in Indian law that a depositary is not responsible for such damage as may have occurred to a chattel deposited with him by the act of Fate (*daiva*) or of the king, Fate being

explained to include ravages caused by fire or water, the falling down of a wall, decay through the lapse of time, an attack by robbers or by inimical forces, and other events of a similar nature corresponding exactly to what is called *vis maior* in Roman law. If, therefore, a deposit should have been destroyed by the act of Fate or of the king, together with the depositary’s own goods, he shall not be compelled to restore it. The same rule recurs in the recently discovered *Arthasāstra*, in the ‘Chapter on Deposits,’ where it is ordained that a deposit shall not be reclaimed whenever forts or country parts are destroyed by enemies or hill tribes, or villages, caravans, or herds of cattle are attacked, or the whole kingdom destroyed; whenever extensive fires or floods bring about entire destruction of a village or partly destroy immoveable or even moveable properties, owing to the sudden spread of fire or rush of floods; and whenever a ship (laden with commodities) is either sunk or plundered by pirates. A loss caused by Fate is also not chargeable to a carrier transporting certain goods and losing part of them; or to a herdsman neglecting his cattle, after having been struck by lightning, bitten or killed by a snake, alligator, tiger, or other noxious animal, seized with disease, or the victim of an accident; or to one particular partner, when the property of the partnership has been injured through Fate or a gang of robbers, etc.

It is interesting also to examine the references to Fate in medical Sanskrit literature. Thus in Sūśruta’s system of medicine a certain class of diseases is attributed to the act of Fate (*daivabala*), as having been caused by Divine wrath, or by the mystic potencies of charms or spells, or by contagion. Sudden paroxysms of fever and sudden death or paralysis caused by lightning are quoted as instances of such diseases. There was, besides, a popular belief, originating in the doctrine of *karmapāka*, or ripening of acts, according to which certain aggravating diseases and infirmities were supposed to be due to some offence committed in a previous existence, leprosy, *e.g.*, being regarded as the result of a heinous crime perpetrated in a former life; blindness, dumbness, and lameness as being the consequence, respectively, of killing a cow, cursing a Brāhman, and stealing a horse; stinking breath as being caused by uttering calumnies; an incurable illness as due to injuring a person; epilepsy as the result of usurious practices, etc. This popular superstition was sanctioned by the medical writers of India, who seriously register crimes committed in a former existence among the regular causes of leprosy, and prescribe certain religious ceremonies among the remedies to be used for curing this disease. It is also believed that, when a person dies of leprosy, he will be affected with it in the next life, unless he performs a certain penance, consisting of abstinence for a day, shaving the whole hair of the head, and presenting a certain number of cowries and other articles to Brāhmans, who offer certain prayers, and to whom the person confesses his sins. This ceremony is performed before entering on the treatment of any supposed dangerous disease (T. A. Wise, *Commentary on the Hindu System of Medicine*, London, 1860, p. 258).

The notions of Sanskrit writers regarding the nature and working of Fate may be further illustrated by some miscellaneous sayings collected from their compositions.

‘The accomplishment of an object is divided between Fate and exertion. Of these, the Fate is the manifestation of one’s acts in former life. Some expect success from Fate, some from accident, some from the lapse of time, and some from effort. Men of genius believe in the efficacy of the combination of all these. As a chariot cannot be put into motion with a single wheel, so does Fate not succeed without exertion’ (*Yājñavalkya-*

*smṛti*, i. 348-350, tr. Mandlik). 'Success in every enterprise depends on Destiny and human acts: the acts of Destiny are out of man's control. Think not on Destiny, but act thyself' (*Manusmṛti*, vii. 205, tr. M. Williams). 'Fate I consider paramount, human effort is futile. Everything is governed by Fate; Fate is the final resort' (*Rāmāyaṇa*, i. viii. 22). 'Fate binds a man with adamant cords, and drags him upwards to the highest rank, or downward to the depths of misery' (*ib.* vii. xxxvii. 3, tr. M. Williams). 'Banish all thought of Destiny, and act with manly vigour, straining all thy nerve. When thou hast put forth all thy energy, the blame of failure will not rest with thee' (*Hītopadeśa*, Introd. 31, tr. M. Williams).

'What though we climb to Meru's peak, soar bird-like through the sky,

Grow rich by trade, or till the ground, or art and science ply,  
Or vanquish all our earthly foes, we yield to Fate's decree,  
Whate'er she wills can ne'er take place, whate'er she wills must be' (*Bharṭṛhari*, tr. Tawney, Calcutta, 1877, p. 40).

'As a man puts on new clothes in this world, throwing away those which he formerly wore, even so the self of man puts on new bodies, which are in accordance with his acts in a former life' (*Viṣṇusmṛti*, xx. 50, tr. Jolly).

LITERATURE.—Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, London, 1891; A. Barth, *The Religions of India*, do. 1891; P. Deussen, *Allgem. Gesch. der Philosophie*, vol. i.-iii., Leipzig, 1894-1908, also *Vier philos. Texte des Mahābhāratam*, do. 1906; E. W. Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, London, 1901; H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896 (= *GIAP* iii. 8); R. Pischel, *Leben und Lehre des Buddha*, Leipzig, 1906; Bühler-Burgess, *The Indian Sect of the Jainas*, London, 1905; O. Böhtlingk, *Ind. Sprüche*, St. Petersburg, 1870-73 (cf. A. Blau's *Index* to this collection, Leipzig, 1893, s. v. 'Schicksal').

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**FATE (Iranian).**—The Gāthās attribute fore-knowledge to Ahura Mazda (*Yasna* xxix. 4, xlv. 2, 6, 9-11, 13-19, xlvi. 2), which is also implied in the whole Iranian scheme of the Ages of the World (*g.v.*). Foreordination, however, scarcely developed in Zoroastrian thought, except in a minor infralapsarian sense, until a comparatively late period. Practically the only Avesta passage which is directly fatalistic in its teaching is *Vend.* v. 8, which states that a man apparently drowned is really carried away by demons, and that 'there, then, Fate is fulfilled, there it is completed' (*athra adhāt frajasaiti baxta adhāt nijasaiti*).

In genuine Zoroastrianism fatalism has no place, for the entire spirit generated by the long struggle which each man must help Ahura Mazda to wage against Ahriman and every other power of evil militates against a concept which—whatever its alleged justification—has, as a matter of history, sapped the energy of every people that has held it. And yet fatalism came to be an important doctrine of later Zoroastrianism. What was the source of this new factor—philosophical speculation, the malign influence of Babylonian astrology, the crushing of the national spirit by the foreign dominion under which the Zoroastrians passed, or a combination of all three—it is not easy to tell; yet there is at least a curious and suggestive analogy between the rise of fatalism in Iran and that of *karma* (*g.v.*) in India, which seems to have been evolved from a combination of philosophical speculation with the religious beliefs of the aborigines of India.

The *Dinkart* (iii. 77, tr. Sanjana, Bombay, 1874 ff., p. 85) teaches a qualified free will when it says:

'It is through the power and the assistance of the Ijaḍs (angels) that man knows the Holy Self-existent (Ahura Mazda), fights with the Darūjs (demons) and delivers his body and soul from them, and possesses the power of managing the other creation of this world. Under the design of the Creator, man is born, and has the power to direct himself, under the superintendence of the Ijaḍs. The abode (in man) of the evil qualities of the evil passions is for the purpose of obstructing heavenly wisdom and for contriving to plunge man into sin.'

Within the sphere of orthodox Zoroastrianism, fatalism comes to the front chiefly in two Pahlavi works—the 9th cent. *Dāstān-i Dīnik* (*DD*), and the *Dīnā-i Mainōg-i Xraθ* (*MX*) of uncertain date, but probably before the Arab conquest, and possibly in the reign of Chosroēs I. (531-579 [*MX*, ed. Sanjana, Bombay, 1895, p. vii f.]). According to *DD* lxxi. 3-5,

'there are some things through destiny, and there are some through action; and it is thus fully decided by them [the

high priests] that life, wife, and child, authority and wealth are through destiny, and the righteousness and wickedness of priesthood, warfare, and husbandry are through action. And this, too, is thus said by them, that that which is not destined for a man in the world does not happen; and that which is destined, be it owing to exertion, will come forward, be it through sinfulness or slothfulness, he is injured by it. That which will come forward owing to exertion is such as his who goes to a meeting of happiness, or the sickness of a mortal who, owing to sickness, dies early; and he who through sinfulness and slothfulness is thereby injured is such as he who would wed no wife, and is certain that no child of his is born, or such as he who gives his body unto slaughter, and life is injured by his living.'

Some colour is lent by *MX* viii. 17 to the view which the present writer, like Cumont (*Mysteries of Mithra*, tr. McCormack, Chicago, 1903, p. 124 f.), is inclined to favour, that Zoroastrian fatalism is borrowed, in the main, from Babylonian astrology, when it declares that 'every good and the reverse which happen to mankind, and also the other creatures, happen through the seven planets and the twelve constellations.' It is useless to strive against fate, for, according to *MX* xxiii. 5-9,

'when predestination as to virtue, or as to the reverse, comes forth, the wise becomes wanting in duty, and the astute in evil becomes intelligent; the faint-hearted becomes braver, and the braver becomes faint-hearted; the diligent becomes lazy, and the lazy acts diligently. Just as is predestined as to the matter, the cause enters into it, and trusts out everything else.' In short, destiny (*baxt*) is 'predominant over every one and everything' (*MX* xlvii. 7; cf. also the polemic of Eznik, *Against the Sects*, tr. Schmid, Vienna, 1900, p. 121 ff.). There is, however, a sharp distinction in *MX* xxiv. 5-7 between destiny (*baxt*) and Divine providence (*bāk-baxt*): 'destiny is that which is ordained from the beginning, and Divine providence is that which they also grant otherwise,' and according to *Viṣp.* vii. 3 there is special Divine intervention (*baghō-baxta*) on behalf of Iranian warriors.

Yet it must be questioned whether the *MX* is, strictly speaking, orthodox, for in xxvii. 10 occur the significant words,

'The affairs of the world of every kind proceed through destiny (*breh*) and time (*damānak*) and the supreme decree of the self-existent eternity (*zōrvān*), the king and long-continuing lord.'

This is strongly suggestive of the Zoroastrian heresy (on which see SECTS [Zoroastrian]), according to which both Ahura Mazda and Ahriman are sprung from Zrvan Akarana ('Boundless Time'), who is mentioned as a Divinity in the Avesta itself (*Yasna* lxxii. 10; *Nyāiš*, i. 8; *Vend.* xix. 13). That this belief existed long before the composition of the Pahlavi texts quoted above is shown by a citation from Theodore of Mopsuestia (*apud* Photius, *Bibl.* lxxxi.), on the authority of an Armenian chorepiscopus Mastubius, who regarded Zrvan as the author of all, and who called him Fate (*Zarovān*, *δὲ ἀρχηγὸν παντῶν εἰσάγει δὲ καὶ τύχη καλεῖ*), while both the 5th cent. Armenian polemist Eznik (tr. Schmid, p. 119 ff.) and the Syriac writers (cf. Nöldeke, *Festgruss an Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 34-38) make one of their main attacks on the Zoroastrian religion turn upon the fatalism of Zoroastrianism.<sup>1</sup> In similar fashion the Parsi '*Ulamā-i Islām*' (tr. Vullers, *Fragmente über die Relig. des Zoroasters*, Bonn, 1831, pp. 44 f., 46) affirms that Time created Ahura Mazda, who created all good things, this being in direct opposition to the statement of Zātsparam (i. 24, tr. West, *SBE* v. 160) that Ahura Mazda was the creator of Time. The latter view is confirmed by a statement of a Persian *rivāyat* (ed. and tr. Spiegel, *Trad. Lit. der Parsen*, Vienna, 1860, p. 161 ff.), according to which Ahura Mazda also created Zrvan dareghō-x'adhāta ('long, self-ordained Time'), who differs in many regards from Zrvan Akarana (Spiegel, *Erān. Alterthumskunde*, ii. 4 ff.).

The fatalism of the Zoroastrians also appears in the numerous prophecies of future events (cf., for example, *Yātkār-i Zarīrān*, tr. Modi, Bombay, 1899, pp. 21 f., 29 f., where Jāmāsp prophecies to King Vištāspa the outcome of battle) and in the

<sup>1</sup> On the adoption of Zoroastrianism by Mithraism, see Cumont, *op. cit.* pp. 107, 148, and also his *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, Eng. tr., Chicago, 1911, p. 150 f., where the cooperation of Bab. influence is again emphasized.