Religious Perspectives in Anthropology

Dorothy Lee

At first glance, the study of the religion of non-Western cultures may appear somewhat esoteric, albeit interesting. In reality, however, religion is very much a part of everyday, practical activities in these cultures, and knowledge of a society's religion is essential for the successful introduction of social changes. In the following article, Dorothy Lee dramatically shows how religion is part and parcel of preliterate people's world view, or Weltanschauung; the corpus of beliefs about the life and environment in which members of a society find themselves. Among preliterate societies, economic, political, and artistic behavior is permeated by religion. Lee points out that anthropologists make every attempt to understand the natives' "emic" view of their universe, which they share with other members of their group, and demonstrates that an outsider's "etic" view is too limited a base of cultural knowledge on which to introduce innovations that do not violate the religious tenets of the society and meet with acceptance.

In primitive societies, we do not always find the worship of God or a god, nor the idea of the supernatural. Yet religion is always present in man's view of his place in the universe, in his relationship to man and nonhuman nature, to reality and Gemeinschaft. His universe may include the divine or may itself be divine. And his patterned behavior often has a religious dimension, so that we find religion permeating daily life—agriculture and hunting, health measures, arts and crafts.

We do find societies where a Supreme Being is recognized, but this Being is frequently so far removed from mundane affairs, that it is not present in the consciousness of the people except on the specific occasions of ceremonial or prayer. But in these same societies, we find communion with the imperceptible and unknowable in nature, with an ultimate reality, whether spirit, or power, or inten-
sified being, or personal worth, which evokes hu-
mility, respect, courtesy, or sometimes fear, on man's part. This relationship to the ultimate real-
ity is so pervasive, that it may determine, for ex-
ample, which hand a man will use in adjusting his
lunch-cloth, or how much water he will drink at a
dime, or which way his head will point when he
sleeps, or how he will butcher and utilize the car-
cass of a carnivore. What anthropologists label "ma-
terial culture," therefore, is never purely material.

Often we would be at least justified to call the operation involved religious.

All economic activities, such as hunting, gath-
ering fuel, cultivating the land, storing food, as-
serting a relationship to the encompassing universe, and with many cultures, life is a religious rela-
tionship. In such cultures, men recognize a certain spiritual worth and dignity in the universe. They
do not set out to control, or master, or exploit.

Their ceremonies are often periods of intensified communion, even social affairs, in a broad sense, if the term may be extended to include the facets of the universe. They are not placating or bribing or even thanking; they are rather a formal period.
of concentrated, enjoyable association. In their relationships with nature, the people may see themselves as the offspring of a cherishing mother, or as guests of a generous hostess, or as members of a democratic society which proceeds on the principle of consent. So, when the Bajau in India were urged to change over to the use of an iron plow, they replied with horror that they could not trample the flesh of their mother with knives. And American Indians have hunted many animals with the consent of the generic essence of these—of which the particular animal was the carnal manifestation—only after establishing a relationship or reciprocity; with man furnishing the ceremonial, and Buffalo or Salmon or Caribou making a gift of the countless manifestations of his flesh.

The great care with which so many of the Indian groups utilized every portion of the carcass of a hunted animal, was an expression, not of economic thrift, but of courtesy and respect; in fact, an aspect of the religious relationship to the slain. The Wintu Indians of California, who lived on land so wooded that it was difficult to find clear land for putting up a group of houses, nevertheless used only dead wood for fuel, out of respect for nature. An old Wintu woman, speaking in prophetic vein, expressed this: "The White people never cared for land or deer or bear. When we Indians kill meat, we eat it all up. When we dig roots we make little holes. When we build houses, we make little holes. When we burn grass for grasshoppers, we don't rob things. We stake down acorns and pine nuts. We don't chop down the trees. We only use dead wood. But the White people blow up the ground, pull up the trees, kill everything. The tree says 'Don't! I am sorry. Don't hurt me.' But they chop it down and cut it up. The spirit of the land hates them. They blast out trees and stir it up to its depths. They saw up the trees. That hurts them. The Indians never hurt anything, but the White people destroy all. They blast rocks and scatter them on the ground. The rock says, 'Don't! You are hurting me.' But the White people pay no attention. When the Indians use rocks, they take little round ows for their cooking, ... How can the spirit of the earth like the White man? ... Everywhere where the White man has touched it, it is sore.'

Here we find people who do not so much seek communion with environing nature as find themselves in communion with it. In many of these societies, not even mysticism is to be found, in our sense of the word. For us, mysticism presupposes a prior separation of man from nature, and communion is achieved through loss of self and subsequent merging with that which is beyond; but for many cultures, there is no such distinct separation between self and other, which must be overcome. Here, man is in nature already and we cannot speak properly of man and nature.

Take the Kaingang, for example, who chop out a wild bee hive. He explains his act to the bees, as he would to a person whom he considered his coordinate. "Bee, produce! I chopped you out to make beer of you! Yuki's wife died, and I am making beer of you so that I can cut his hair." Or he may go up to a hive and say simply, "Bee, it is I." And the Arapesh of New Guinea, going to his yam garden, will first introduce to the spirit of the land, the brother-in-law whom he has brought along to help him with the gardening. This is not achieved communication, brought about for definite ends. It implies an already present relatedness with the ultimate reality, with that which is accepted in faith, and which exists irrespective of man's consciousness or perception or logic. If we were to abstract, out of this situation, merely the food getting or the operational techniques, we would be misrepresenting the reality.

The same present relatedness is to be found in some societies where the deity is more specifically defined. The Tokpis, in the Solomon Islands, conceived the spirit of the land, and tied their meals with their deceased, under the floor, and hand food and drink to them; the dead are all somewhat divine, progressively so as they come nearer to the original, fully divine ancestor of the clan. Whatever their degree of divinity, the Tokpis is at home with them; he is aware of their vague presence, though he requires the services of a medium whenever he wants to make this presence definite.

Birt describes an occasion when a chief, having instructed a medium to invite his dead nephew to come and chew betel with him, found himself occupied with something else when the dead arrived, and so asked the medium to tell the spirit—a minor deity—to chew betel by himself. At another time, during an important ceremonial, when this chief was receiving on his forehead the vertical stripe which was the symbol that he was now the incarnation of the highest god, he jokingly jerked his head aside, so that the stripe, the insignia of the presence of the god, went crooked. These are the acts of a man who
feels accepted by his gods, and is at one with them. And, in fact, the Hopi appear to live in a continu-
ous process which includes nature and the divine without defying bounds, where communion is present, not achieved, where merging is a matter of being, not of becoming.

In these societies, where religion is an everpres-
ent dimension of experience, it is doubtful that reli-
gion as such is given a name; Klaucke reports that the Navaho have no such word, but treat ethnogra-
phers who sought to inquire. Many of these cul-
tures, however, recognized and named the spiritual ingredient or attribute, the special quality of the wonderful, the very theboyatshin, in nature. This was sometimes considered personal sometimes not. We have from the American Indians terms such as numau, or tahs, or hupw, often translated as power, and we have the well-known Melanesian term mana. But this is what they reach through faith, the other end of the relationship; the relationship itself is unnamed. Apparently, to behave and think re-
ligiously, is to behave and think. To describe a way of life in its totality is to describe a religious way of life.

When we speak of agricultural tabus and rites, therefore, we often introduce an analytical factor which violates the fact. For example, when prepar-
ing seed for planting, one of the several things a Navaho traditionally does is to mix ground "outrage stone" with the seed. And in the process of storing corn, a double-eared stalk is laid at the bottom of the storage pit. In actual life, these acts are a continuous part of a total activity.

The distinction between the religious and the sec-
ular elements may even separate an act from the manner of performance, a verb from its adverb. The direction in which a man is facing when performing a secular act, the number of times he shakes his head when spattering water, often have their reli-
gious implications. When the Navaho plucked his corn sheaves, his act reflected a total world view, and it would be non-one for us to separate the planting itself from the direction of the planting.

Those of us who present religion as separate from "everyday" living, reflect moreover the distinctions of a culture which will identify six days with the secular in life and only the seventh with religion. In many primitive societies, religion is rarely absent from the details of everyday living, and the ceremo-
nials represent a formalization and intensification of an everpresent attitude. We have societies such as that of the Hopi of Arizona, where ceremonials, and the preparation for them, cover most of the year. Some years ago, Crews, writing a Hopi, kept a journal for the period of a year, putting down all events of ceremonial import. Day after day there are entries containing some casual reference to a religious activ-
ey, or describing a ritual, or the preparation for a ceremonial. After a few weeks of such entries, we come to a sequence of four days' entries which are devoted to a description of a bad game played by two opposing groups of children and enjoyed by a large number of spectators. But, in the end, this also turns out to have been ceremonial in nature, helping thecorn to grow.

Among many groups, agriculture is an expres-
sion of man's religious relationship to his universe. As Robert Redfield and W. Lloyd Warner have writ-
ted: "The agriculture of the Maya Indians of south-
ern Mexico is not simply a way of securing food. It is also a way of worshipping the gods. So-
fore a vast plants, he builds his altar in the field and prays there. He must not speak boisterously in the cornfield; it is a sort of temple. The cornfield is planted as at an accident in a perpetually sacred context between supernatnial beings and men. By this agreement, the supernaturals yield part of what is theirs—the riches of the natural environment—to men in exchange, men are plows and perform the traditional ceremonies in which offerings are made to the supernatural. . . . The world is seen as inhab-
ited by the supernaturals: each has his appropriate place in the woods, the sky, or the wells from which the water is drawn. The village is seen as a reflection of the quadrilateral pattern of the cosmos; each cornfield thus is oriented, laid out east, west, north, and south, with reference to the supernaturals that watch over the cardinal points; and the tableaux enacted for the ceremonies again restate the individual of this pattern. The stories that are told at the time when men wait to perform the ceremony below the planting of the corn or that children hear as they grow up are largely stories which explain and lim-
it and sanctify the traditional 'way of life.'

Art also is often so permeated with religion that sometimes, as among the Navaho, what we classify as art is actually religion. To understand the rhythm of their chants, the "plot" of their masks, the making of their sand paintings, we have to understand Navaho religion: the concept of harmony between
man and the universe as basic to health and well being; the concept of continuity, the religious signifi-
cance of the groups of four, the door of contact opened through the fifth repetition, the need to have no completely enclosing frame around any of their works so that continuity can be maintained and the evil inside can have an opening through which to leave.

The sand paintings are no more art than they are ritual, myth, medical practice or religious belief. They are created as an integral aspect of a ceremonial which brings into harmony with the universal order one who finds himself in discord with it; or which intensifies and ensures the continuation of a harmony which is already present. Every line and shape and color, every interrelationship of form, is the visible manifestation of myth, ritual and religious belief. The making of the painting is accompa-
nied with a series of sacred songs sung over a sick person, or over someone who, though healed of sickness by emergency measures has yet to be brought back into the universal harmony; or in en-
hancing and giving emphasis to the present har-
mony. What we would call purely medical practices may or may not be part of all this. When the ceremo-
nial is over, the painting is over too; it is destroyed; it has fulfilled its function.

This is true also of the art of the neighboring Hopi where the outstanding form of art is the drama. In this we find wonderfully harmonious diction, involving careful planning and prepara-
tion, creation of magnificent masks and costumes, rehearsal, organization. Everyone comes to see and responds with upraised hilarity. But this is not mere art. It is an important way of helping nature in her work of growing the corn. Even the laughter of the audience helps in this.

More than dramatic rehearsal and creation of cost-
tumes has gone into the preparation. The actors have prepared themselves as whole persons. They have refrained from sexual activity, and from any-
thing involving conflict. They have had good thoughts only. They have refrained from anger, worry and grief. Their preparations as well as their performance have had a religious dimension. Their drama is one act in the great process of the cyclical growing of corn, a divinity indispensable to man’s well being, and to whose well being man is indis-

pensable. Corn wants to grow, but cannot do so without the cooperation of the rest of nature and of man’s acts and thoughts and will. And, to be happy, corn must be danced by man and participate in his ceremonies. To leave the religious dimension out of all this, and to speak of Hopi drama as merely a form of art, would be to present a disillusioning picture. Art and agriculture and religion are part of the same totality for the Hopi. In our own culture, an activity is considered to be economic when it deals with effective utilization or exploitation of resources. But this definition cannot be used when speaking of Hopi economics. To begin with, it assumes an aggressive attitude toward the environment. It describes the situation of the home-
stead in Alaska, for example, who works against tremendous odds clearing land for a dairy farm, against the inexorable pressure of time, against hos-
tile elements. By his sweat, and through ingenuity and know-how and the use of brutally effective tools, he tames nature; he subjugates the land and exploits its resources to the detriment.

The Hopi Talayeuna however, describing his work on the land, does not see himself in opposition to it. He works with the elements, not against them. He helps the corn to grow; he cooperates with the thunderstorm and the pollen and the sun. He is in harmony with the elements, not in conflict; and he does not set out to conquer an opponent. He de-
pends on the corn, but this is part of a mutual inter-
dependence; it is not exploitation. The corn depends on him too. It cannot grow without his help; it finds life dull and lonely without his company and his ceremonies. So it gives its body for his food gladly, and enjoys living with him in his granary. The Hopi has a personal relationship with it. He treats it with respect, and houses it with the care and courtesy ac-
corded to an honored guest. Is this economics?

In a work on Hopi economics we are given an ac-
count of the Hopi Salt Journey, under the heading, “Secondary Economic Activities.” This expedition is also described in a Hopi autobiography, and here we discover that only three men who have achieved a certain degree of experience in the Hopi way, can go on this journey, and then, only if their winds are pure and they are in a state of harmony with the uni-
verse. There is a period of religious preparation, fol-
lowed by the long and perilous journey which is attended by a number of rituals along the way. Old men, lowering themselves from the overhanging ledge onto the salt deposits, tremble with fear, knowing that they may be unable to make the
ascent. The occasion is solemnly religious. This is no utilization of resources, in the eyes of the Hopi who makes the journey. He goes to help the growing corn; the Salt Journey brings needed rain. Twelve adult men will spend days and court dangers to procure salt which they can buy for two dollars from the itinerant peddler. By our own economic standards, this is not an efficient use of human resources. But Hopi ends transcend our economic categories and our standards of efficiency are irrelevant to them.

In many societies, land tenure, or the transference of land, operations involved in hunting and agriculture, are often a part of a religious way of life. In our own culture, man conceives of his relationship to his physical environment, and even sometimes his human environment, as mechanical and manipulative; in other cultures, we often find what Ruth Benedict has called the animistic attitude toward nature and man, underlying practices which are often classified nonsensically together in ethnography, under the heading of superstitions or taboos. The courteous speech to the bear about to be killed, the offering to the deer world before the hunter sets out, the introduction of the brother-in-law to the garden spirit, or the sacrifice to the rice field about to be sold, the refraining from intercourse, or from the eating of meat or from touching food with the hand, are expressions of such an attitude. They are the practices we find in a democratic society where there is consideration for the rights of everyone as opposed to the brutal efficiency of the dictator who feels free to exploit, considering the rights of none. They reflect the attitude of people who believe in conference and consent, not in coercion; of people who generally find personality or mana in nature and man, sometimes more, sometimes less. In this framework, taboo and superstitious act mean that man acts and refrains from acting in the name of a wider democracy which includes nature and the divine.

With such a conception of man's place in nature, what is for us land tenure, or ownership, or rights of use and disposal, is for other societies an intimate belongingness. So the Arapahoe conceive of themselves as belonging to the land, in the way that flora and fauna belong to it. They cultivate the land by the grace of the immaterial spirits, but they cannot dispose of it and cannot conceive of doing so.

This feeling of affinity between society and land is widespread and appears in various forms and varying degrees of intensity, and it is not found only among sedentary peoples. We have Australian tribes where the very spirit of the men is believed to reside in the land, where a bush or a rock or a peculiar formation is the present incarnation of myth, and contains security and religious value; where a social class, a structured group of relatives, will contain in addition to human beings, an animal and a feature of the landscape. Here, when a man moves away from the land of his group, he leaves the vital part of himself behind. When a magistrate puts people from such societies in jail in a distant city, he had no idea of the terrifying severity of the punishment he was meting; he was cutting the tribe man off from the very source of his life and of his self, from the past, and the future which were incorporated and present in his land.

In the technology of such societies we are again dealing with material where the religious and secular are not distinct from each other. We have, for example, the description which Raymond Firth gives of the replacing of a wornout wash stroke on a canoe, among the Tikopia. This operation is expertly and coherently carried out, with secular and religious acts performed without distinction in continuous succession or concurrently. A tree is cut down for the new wash stroke, a libation is poured out to the deities of the canoe to announce this new timber, and a kava rite is performed to persuade the deities to step out of the canoe and on to a piece of bark cloth, where they can live undisturbed, while the canoe is being tampered with. Then comes the unlashing of the old wash stroke, the expert examination of the body of the canoe in search of lurking defects, the discovery of signs indicating the work of a borer, the cutting of the body of the canoe with a swift stroke to discover whether the borer is there, accompanied by an appeal to the deities of the canoe by the expert, to witness what he is doing, and the necessity for doing it.

Now a kinsman of the original builder of the canoe, now dead and a totality deity, spontaneously drops his head on to the side of the canoe and wails over the wounding of the body of the canoe. The borer is discovered, in the meantime, to be still there; but only a specially consecrated adze can deal with him successfully. The adze is sent for, dedicated anew to the deity, invoked, and finally wielded with success by the expert.

All this is performed with remarkable expedition and economy of motion yet the Tikopia workers are not interested in saving time; they are concerned neither with time limits nor with speed in itself.
Their concern is with the dispossessed deities whose home must be made ready against their return; and the speed of their work is incidental to this religious concern. The end result is efficiency; but unlike our own efficiency, this is not rooted in the effort to utilize and exploit material and time resources to the utmost; its root is that profound religious feeling which also gives rise to the time-consuming rites and the waiting procedures which, from the purely economic point of view, are wasteful and interfering.

The world view of a particular society includes that society's conception of man's own relation to the universe, human and non-human, organic and inorganic, secular and divine, to use our own designation. It expresses man's view of his own role in the maintenance of life, and of the forces of nature. His attitude toward responsibility and initiative is inextricable from his concept of nature as device-controlled, man-controlled, regulated through a balanced cooperation between god and man, or perhaps maintained through some eternal homeostasis, independent of man and perhaps of any deity. The way a man acts, his feeling of guilt and achievement, and his very personality, are affected by the way he envisions his place within the universe.

For example, there are the Tiv of southern Nigeria who, as described by one of them to the author, the people of the universe with potentially hostile and harmful powers, the akiki; man's function in the maintenance of his own life and the moderate well-being of the land and of his social unit, is to prevent the manifestation of akiki evil, through performing rites and observing taboos. So his rites render safe through preventing, through expulsion and purging. His role is negative, defending the normal course against the interference. Violation of the universe, his acts arise out of negative motives. Thus what corresponds to a gift of first fruits to a deity in other cultures is phrased as a rite for preventing the deities from making a man's food go bad or diminish too quickly; fertility rises for a field with actually rites preventing the evil/inaguarded from robbing the fields of their normal fertility.

In the writings of E. E. Burton, who studied the Ilbugo of Luzon in the early part of this century, there people also appear to see deities as ready to interfere and bring evil, but their conception of man's role within the structure of the universe is a different one from that of the Tiv. In Burton's descriptive account, the Ilbugo either accept what comes as ungiven, or act without being themselves the agents; they believe that no act can come to a conclusive end without the agency of a specific deity. They have a specific deity often for every step within an operation, and for every part of the implement to be used. If, E. Burton recorded the name of 1,240 deities and believed that even so he had not exhausted the list. The Ilbugo associate a deity with every structured performance and at least a large number of their deliberate acts. They cannot go hunting, for example, without enacting the aid of the deity of each step of the chase, to render each effective, or to nullify any lurking dangers. There is a deity for the level spot where "the hunter stands watching and listening to the dogs"; one for when the dogs "are spotted on the game"; one for when the "hounds loose on his slip tracing the quarry"; twelve are listed as the deities of specific ways of rendering harmless to the hunter's feet the maws and fangs of snakes which he encounters. If he is to be successful in the hunt, a man does not ask the blessing of a deity. He lays all the particular deities of every specific act and act, getting them to transcendize each act individually.

Even so, in most cases an Ilbugo remains non-aggressive, since the function of many of the deities is to save man from encounter, rather than to give him success in his dealing with it. For example, in the area of interpersonal relations, we have Tuppa who is invoked so that "the marriage comes for dus for what is owed, but on the way he forgets and goes about other business"; and Dolapay, who is invoked so that "the enemies just don't think about us, so they don't attack." His tools, also, are ineffective of themselves; so that, when setting a deadfall, he invokes and bribes such deities as that for the Flat Stone of the Deadfall, the Main Posts of the Deadfall, the Fall of the Deadfall, the Trigger of the Deadfall. Most of the Ilbugo economy is involved in providing sacrifices to the deities, big or little according to the magnitude of the operation and the importance of the deities. There is no worship in the sacrifice; no expression of gratitude or appeal or belongingness. As the Ilbugo see it, the sacrifice is a bribe. With such bribes, they buy the miraculous intervention and transcivilization which are essential for achievement, health, and good personal relations. The Ilbugo show no humility in the face of this ineffective role in the universe, they merely accept it as the state of things. They accept their own failings, the frequent deaths, the sudden and disastrous breaking up at tempers as things that are bound to happen.
irrespective of their own claims and efforts. But they are neither passive nor helpless. They carry on great undertakings, and, even now they go on forbidden head hunts. They know when and how and whom to tribute so as to perform their defensive acts. When however, a deity stows a decision, they accept it as immutably. A Catholic priest tells a story about the neighboring Iloko which illustrates this acceptance. A Cleopatra filed an as his deathbed, and the priest, trying to persuade him to repent of his sin, painted to him vividly the horrors of hell; but the dying man merely answered, "If God wants me to go to hell I am perfectly willing."

Among the Watusi Indians of California we find the man sees himself as effective but in a clearly limited way. An examination of the myths of the Watusi shows that the individual was conceived as having a limited agentive role, shaping, taming, intervening, actualizing and the other person given but not pre-existing; that man was viewed as needing skill for his operations, but that specific skill was useless without "hāk" which a man received through communion and pleading with some universal power. It is to this limited role of man, geared to the working of the universe, that I refer when I spoke earlier of Hopi drama and agriculture. Without an understanding of this role, no Hopi activity or attitude or relationship can be understood. The Hopi have developed the idea of man's limited effectiveness in their own fashion, and have elaborated it systematically in what they call the "Hopi Way." Laura Thompson says of the Hopi, "All phenomena relevant to the life of the tribe—including, man, the animals, and plants, the earth, sun, moon, clouds, the ancestors, and the spirits—are believed to be interdependent...in this system each individual—human and non-human—is believed to have a definite role in the universal order." Traditionally, fulfillment of the law of nature—the growth of the corn, the movement of the sun—can come only with man's participation, only with man's performance of the established ceremonies. Here man was effective, but only in cooperation with the rest of the phenomena of nature.

The Indians of the Plains, such as the Crow and the Sioux, have given a somewhat different form to this conception of man's circumscribed agency. The aggressive behavior for which they have been known, their great personal autonomy, their self-assurance and assertiveness and recent years, their great dependence and apathy, have been explained as an expression of this conception. These societies envisioned the universe as pervaded by an undifferentiated religious force as which they were dependent for success in their undertakings and in life generally. The specific formulation differed in the different tribes, but, essentially, in all it was believed that each individual and particularly each man, must tap this universal force if his undertakings were to be successful. Without this "power" a man could not achieve success in any of the valued activities, whether warfare or the hunt; and no leadership was possible without this power. This was a force enhancing, and intensifying, the being of the man who acted; it was not, as with the Hopi, an effectiveness applied to specific details of activities. The individual himself prepared himself in the hardbread, self-control, skills and areas of knowledge necessary. Little boy of five or seven took pride in his ability to withstand pain, physical hardship, and the terrifies of running errands alone in the night. The Sioux did not appeal for divine intervention, he did not want the enemy to forget to come. Yet neither was he fearless. He appealed for divine strength to overcome his own fears as well as the external enemy.

The relationship with the divine, in this case, is personal and intense. The Plains Indian Sioux did not, like the Hopi, invest a specific relationship when he was born in a specific class. Each man, each pre-adult had to achieve the relationship for himself. He had to go out into the wilderness and survive the high days and nights without food or drink, in the cold, among wild beasts, afraid and hungry and anxious, humbling himself and submitting, sometimes inditing excruciating pain upon himself, until some peculiar manifestation of the universal force took pity upon him and came to him to become his life-long guardian and power. The appeal to the universal force were made sometimes in a group, through the use of the Sun Dance. But here also they were individual in nature. The relationship with the divine was an inner experience and when the Dakota Black Elk recounted his autobiography, he spoke mainly of these intense, personal religious experiences. Within this range of variation in form and concepts and world view, we find expressed by all the same immediate relationship to the divine.